This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Sh-10776

$4.00 a Year. AUTHORIZED EDITION. Single Number, $1.25

CCCCIII. Vol. CXCVII.

JANUARY, 1903.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY.

CONTENTS:

I. The Blockade of Brest.
II. On the Progress of Medicine since 1803.
III. The Novels of Mr. Henry James.
IV. Panslavism in the Near East.
V. Double Stars.
VI. Émile Zola: Les Trois Villes.
VII. The Past and Future of Factory Legislation.
VIII. Modern Motor-Cars.
IX. Madame de Lieven.
X. Public Politics and Common-Sense.

NEW YORK:
LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY,
7 and 9 WARREN STREET.

PUBLISHERS OF

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW — NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER
FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW — BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE
EDINBURGH, QUARTERLY AND WESTMINSTER REVIEWS.

LONDON: LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
Registered at New York Post Office as Second Class Matter.

A SAVING OF 50%

The leading English Reviews at nearly half price. The most conspicuous living writers; the most helpful subjects; the most notable discussions of current events and thought; the most timely publication; the most skilful editing.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER:

Edited by James Knowles.

"For amplitude, variety, and strength of contents it may fairly be called foremost, and regarded as a model in its way." — *Literary World.*

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW:

Edited by William L. Courtney

"Full of readable articles." — *Living Church.* "Cosmopolitan in its view and grasp." — *Zion's Herald.*

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW:

Edited by Percy W. Bunting

"The names of many of its contributors form a constellation of eminence." — *Review of Reviews.*

WESTMINSTER REVIEW:

The leading radical organ

"Discusses questions of world-interest in a liberal and instructive manner." — *Weekly Witness.*

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE:

The English family magazine

"Still survives in undiminished vigor after a career of unexampled splendor." — *The Bookman.*

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

QUARTERLY REVIEW:

"The bulwark of conservative opinion"

"Veritably a condensed library, with varied and attractive articles." — *Philadelphia Press.*

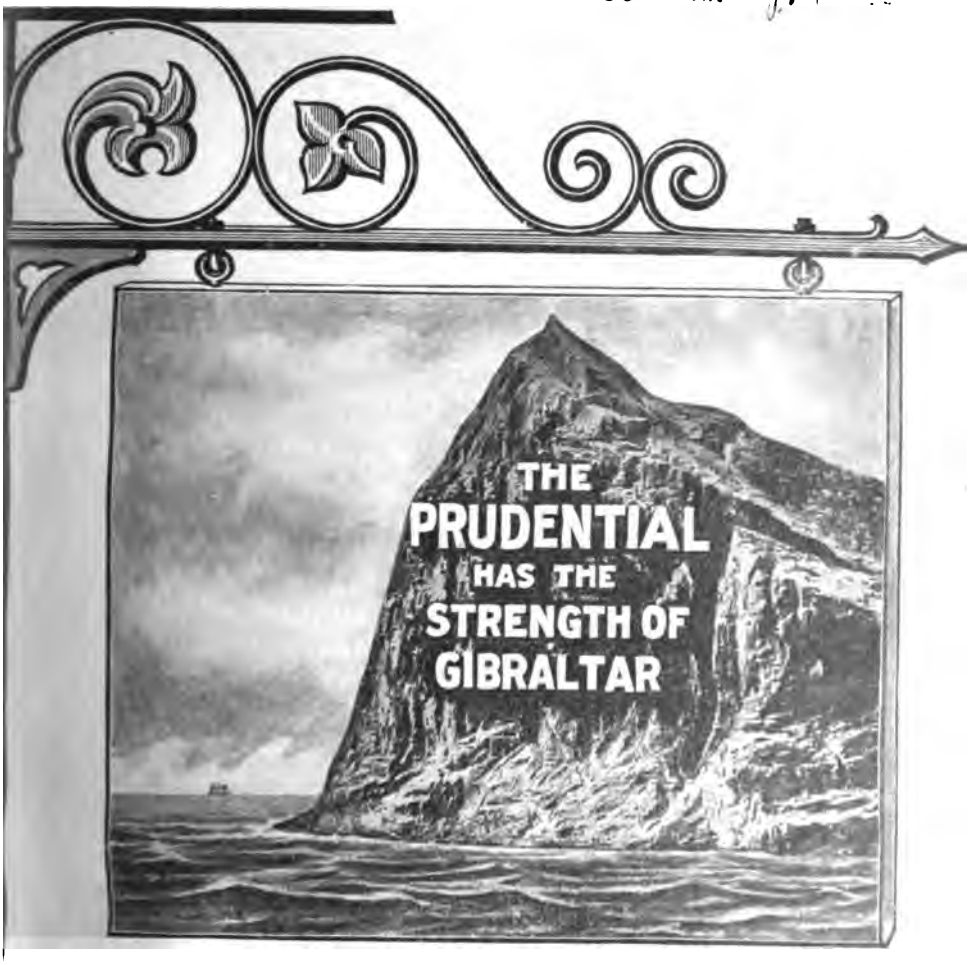
EDINBURGH REVIEW:

The rival of "The Quarterly"

"It is refreshing when magazines are changing to turn again to the old 'Quarterly.'" — *Canada Presbyterian.*

NINETEENTH CENTURY, CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, WESTMINSTER REVIEW, each, $4.50 per year; any two, $8.50; any three, $12.00; all four, $16.00; single copies, 40 cents. EDINBURGH REVIEW, QUARTERLY REVIEW, each $4.00 per year; the two, $7.50; single copies, $1.25. BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, $3.00 per year; single copies, 30 cents; with one quarterly, $6.50; with two, $10.00.

32 89 93ST2 53 005 XL



The Sign of the Rock

Suggests

THE PRUDENTIAL

Which Furnishes Life Insurance Protection
for Men, Women and Children

Investment Unexcelled **Security Absolute**

Write for Particulars at Your Age. Dept. 35

THE PRUDENTIAL

The Nineteenth Century and After

EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES.

Acknowledged the foremost Review of the world.

The original English edition at about half the London price.

The contributors are the leading writers, and the subjects the ablest and most timely discussions of the topics and problems of the day. It is indispensable to all who would keep in touch with the best contemporary thought and criticism.

"This always able monthly."—*The Central Methodist.*

"Rich in contributions to the discussion of economical questions."—*The Dominion Presbyterian.*

"The Nineteenth Century contains not an uninteresting page from beginning to end. There is something for almost every taste and inclination."—*Western Christian Advocate.*

"It is a leading review of contemporary life and thought; its contributors are the foremost men and women of the day; its articles cover most important subjects in the most timely and comprehensive way. Its discussions of current affairs and of incidents at home and abroad, its summary of recent science, its political papers are notable contributions to modern thought, of value to the specialist and the general reader alike."—*The Church Record.*

"The Nineteenth Century is a monthly review in which able up-to-date articles are gathered. Its readings will give a cosmopolitan view to one's thoughts and judgments and will finely supplement our best American magazines."—*Michigan Christian Advocate.*

Yearly subscription $4.50; with the Contemporary, The Fortnightly or The Westminster Reviews, $8.50; any three, $12.00; all four, $16.00.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

"The December number of the Fortnightly Review i one of those splendid specimens of important and thought ful periodicals like which we can, in this country, presen nothing. Its contents are not only temporary in their "time liness" but they are also lasting in their value, thus afford ing the two great desiderata in publications of to-day."– *Boston Evening Transcript.*

DECEMBER NUMBER.

The leading article on Mr. Chamberlain, securing its title "The Greatest Colonial Minister" from Mr. Balfour's speech at Guildhall, Nov. 11, is another of those critical, impartial and adequate estimates which "Diplomaticus" has presented to British reviewers. A digest of its principal points will soon be found in the Transcript. Two articles touch America rather closely; the one on "The Problem of Religious Conversion," by Dr. Beattie Crozier, being a close review of Professor James's Gifford lectures at Edinburgh, and the other on "The Foreign Invasion of Canada," by A. S. Hurd, pointing directly at the movement of American capital and men into the Dominion. The gist of the latter article has already been cabled to this country. It seems hardly to justify the alarm it apparently caused. Canadians are a rather too staid and conservative people to be led into disloyalty because of American immigration or a growing French population. J. A. R. Merriott, in "Socialism Sub Rosa," reviews the Times's warfare on municipal trading, and demands the stamping out of that socialistic propaganda by means of the reappointment of the committee and broad, intelligent attention to the great problems of local government. Mrs. Stobart deals in neat satire and keen logic when treating "Christian Science and Mortal Mind." Mr. M. McD. Bodkin, K. C., explains "Why Ireland is Disloyal," by citing her suffering and injustice, and makes a strong plea for home rule. Sir A. C. Lyall presents an interesting study of "Race and Religion," making a strong argument for diverse treatments and policies on the part of Great Britain in dealing with various races and religions under her Dominion. Mary Duclaux carefully reviews "The Youth of Taine" from a work on "H. Taine, His Life and Correspondence," which has already been reviewed in the Transcript. The address of an actor, Sir Squire Bancroft "On Preaching and Reading the Gospel," is an interesting though not able paper. There are several other articles of value and importance, including the third of the series by H. G. Wells on "Mankind in the Making."

Price, postpaid, 40 cents.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

Finest in the World

BAKER'S COCOA

LOOK AT THE LABEL

TAKE NO OTHER

CHOICE RECIPES, 80 PAGES, SENT **FREE**

WALTER BAKER & CO. Ltd.

ESTABLISHED 1780. **DORCHESTER, MASS.**

40 Highest Awards in Europe and America

Exhaustion

When you are all tired out, feel nervous, sleep does not rest, and your appetite is poor, take

Horsford's Acid Phosphate

It will revive your strength, induce natural sleep, improve appetite, and restore nerve power. It strengthens the entire system, curing the causes of **Headache, Indigestion** and **Debility.**

Pamphlet with full information free.

Rumford Chemical Works, Providence, R. I.

. THE .

REAL ESTATE TRUST COMPANY

OF PHILADELPHIA

SOUTH-EAST CORNER

CHESTNUT AND BROAD STREETS.

Full Paid Capital,	$1,500,000
Surplus and Undivided Profits	1,200,000

OFFICERS

FRANK K. HIPPLE, President.
GEORGE PHILLER, Vice-President.
WILLIAM F. NORTH, Treasurer.
WILLIAM R. PHILLER, Secretary.
THOMAS B. PROSSER, Real Estate Officer.
ROBERT D. GHRISKEY, Cashier.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

JANUARY, 1903 . . . . APRIL, 1903.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. CXCVII.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO., LONDON AND BOMBAY.
LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY, NEW YORK.

1903.

LIBRARY
Leland Stanford, Jr.
UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS.

January, 1908. *No.* 408.

ARTICLE

I. THE BLOCKADE OF BREST.

II. ON THE PROGRESS OF MEDICINE SINCE 1803.

III. THE NOVELS OF MR. HENRY JAMES.

IV. PANSLAVISM IN THE NEAR EAST.

V. DOUBLE STARS.

VI. ÉMILE ZOLA: LES TROIS VILLES.

VII. THE PAST AND FUTURE OF FACTORY LEGISLATION.

VIII. MODERN MOTOR-CARS.

IX. MADAME DE LIEVEN.

X. FOREIGN POLITICS AND COMMON-SENSE.

4508 Binding

CONTENTS OF No. 403.

Page

ART. I.—1. 1793–1805. Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Iles Britanniques. Par Édouard Desbrière, Chef d'Escadrons de Cavalerie. Publié sous la Direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée. 5 vols. 8°. Paris: Chapelot. 1900–02.

2. Dispatches and Letters relating to the Blockade of Brest. 1802–1805. Edited by John Leyland. Printed for the Navy Records Society. London, 2 vols. 8°. 1899–1902, ... 1

II.—1. Autobiography and Memoirs of Sir Robert Christison. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1885.

2. Life of Louis Pasteur. 2 vols. Par René Vallory Radot. Translated by Mrs. R. L. Devonshire, London: Constable, October, 1901.

3. Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget, F.R.S. By Stephen Paget. London: Longmans, 1901.

4. Life of Sir Charles Bell. By A. Pichot. London: Bentley, 1860.

5. Life of Thomas Wakley. By S. S. Sprigge. London: Longmans, 1897, ... 34

[And other works.]

III.—1. Watch and Ward. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1871.

2. Roderick Hudson (1875).* 1886. 3. The American (1877).* 4. The Europeans (1878).* 5. Stories Revived. Second series (1867–78).* 6. Daisy Miller, &c. (1878).* 7. Confidence (1879).* 8. The Madonna of the Future, &c. (1879).* 9. An International Episode, &c. (1879).* 10. Washington Square (1880).* 11. The Portrait of a Lady (1881).* 12. The Siege of London. 1883. 13. Stories Revived. First series (1866–84).* 14. Tales of Three Cities. 1884. 15. The Bostonians. 1886. 16. Princess Casamassima. 1886. 17. The Reverberator. 1888. 18. The Aspern Papers. 1888. 19. A London Life. 1889. 20. The Tragic Muse. 1890. 21. The Lesson of the Master. 1891. 22. The Real Thing. 1892. London: Macmillan & Co., . 59

[* The asterisk in each case denotes date of original publication.]

[And other works.]

Page

ART. IV.—Sir William White, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., for six years Ambassador at Constantinople: His Life and Correspondence. By H. Sutherland Edwards. London: John Murray, 1902, ... 86

V.—1. A General Catalogue of 1290 Double Stars discovered from 1871 to 1899. By S. W. Burnham. Publications of the Yerkes Observatory. Vol. I. Chicago: 1900.

2. Reference Catalogue of Southern Double Stars. Compiled by R. T. A. Innes. Annals of the Royal Observatory, Cape of Good Hope. Vol. II. Part II. Edinburgh: 1899, ... 117

[And other works.]

VI.—1. Lourdes, 1894. 2. Rome, 1896. 3. Paris, 1898. Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, ... 141

VII.—1. The Case for the Factory Acts. Edited by Mrs. Sidney Webb. With a preface by Mrs. Humphry Ward. Second edition, 1902. London: Grant Richards.

2. Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for the year 1901. Blue-book [Cd 1112], 1902. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 174

[And other works.]

VIII.—1. Motors and Motor-Driving. By Alfred C. Harmsworth, and others. London: Longmans. 1902.

2. Cantor Lectures on Mechanical Road Carriages. By W. Worby Beaumont, M.I.C.E. London: Society of Arts. 1896, ... 202

[And other works.]

IX.—Letters of Dorothea, Princess Lieven, during her Residence in London, 1812–1834. Edited by Lionel G. Robinson. With two Photogravure Portraits. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1902, ... 230

X.—1. Speech of the Right Hon. Arthur Balfour, M.P., First Lord of the Treasury, at the Guildhall, November 10, 1902. (The 'Times.')

2. The Enemies of England. By the Hon. George Peel. London: Edward Arnold. 1902.

3. England and France in the Mediterranean, 1660–1830. By Walter Frewen Lord. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1901.

4. Imperialism: A Study. By J. A. Hobson. London: Nisbet & Co. 1902, ... 253

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW FOR 1902.

CONTENTS.

January, 1902. *No.* 399.

ARTICLE

I. LOCAL TAXATION.

II. LORD WANTAGE, V.C.

III. EDUCATIONAL IDEALS.

IV. MARTIAL LAW.

V. BOLINGBROKE AND HIS TIMES.

VI. PRESENT IRISH QUESTIONS.

VII. MADAME D'ÉPINAY AND HER CIRCLE.

VIII. VOYAGE OF THE 'VALDIVIA.'

IX. LADY LOUISA STUART.

X. MODERN PORTRAIT-PAINTING.

XI. THE EMPIRE AND THE KINGDOM.

April, 1902. *No.* 400.

I. WAR AS A TEACHER OF WAR.

II. A WHIG LADY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

III. THE RECENT HISTORY OF ABYSSINIA.

IV. THE RABBIT.

V. THE DEATH-LEGEND IN FOLK-LORE.

VI. BRITISH POLICY IN PERSIA AND ASIATIC TURKEY.

VII. JOHN RICHARD GREEN.

VIII. THE ENGLISH FORESTS AND FORESTAL LAWS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

IX. ASSYRIAN POLITICS.

X. M. ANATOLE FRANCE.

XI. LIFE OF NAPOLEON I.

XII. LORD ROSEBERY AND THE OPPOSITION.

July, 1902. *No.* 401.

ARTICLE

I. THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE.

II. WAR AND POETRY.

III. THE ALBANIAN QUESTION.

IV. THE LAST VOYAGE OF ULYSSES.

V. THE CAUSES OF ENGLISH SCENERY.

VI. SOME RACIAL CONTRASTS IN FICTION.

VII. THE ROYAL PALACES OF LONDON.

VIII. VICTOR HUGO.

IX. MODERN ENGLISH AND FRENCH DRAMA.

X. THE MASTERY OF THE PACIFIC.

XI. THE EDUCATION BILL.

XII. PEACE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

October, 1902. *No.* 402. (*Centenary Number.*)

ARTICLE

I. THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

II. THREE RACE HEROINES IN EPIC STORY.

III. GOVERNMENT AND TRADE.

IV. THE RISE AND INFLUENCE OF DARWINISM.

V. THE MILITARY CAREER OF THE FIRST EARL GREY.

VI. POETRY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

VII. THE EMPIRE AND THE COLONIES.

VIII. THE ENGLISH NOVEL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IX. M. EMILE FAGUET AND THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

X. ENGLAND AND RUSSIA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CONTENTS OF No. 404.

Page

ART. I.—The Emperor Charles V. By Edward Armstrong, M.A. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1902, . 273

II.—Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. Edited by T. F. Henderson. 4 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1902, ... 303

III.—1. Aerial Navigation. By F. Walker. London: Crosby Lockwood & Son. 1902.

2. Travels in Space. By E. Seton Valentine and F. L. Tomlinson. With an Introduction by Sir Hiram Maxim. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1902.

3. The Dominion of the Air. By the Rev. J. M. Bacon. London: Cassell & Co. 1902.

4. The Greatest Flying Creature. By S. P. Langley. From the Smithsonian Report for 1901. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1902, . . . 323

IV.—1. Imperialism: a Study. By J. A. Hobson. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1902.

2. A Rectorial Address. By Andrew Carnegie. Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable. 1902.

3. The Control of the Tropics. By Benjamin Kidd. Macmillan: London and New York. 1898.

4. Free Exchange: Papers on Political and Economic Subjects. By the late Rt. Hon. Sir Louis Mallet. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1891.

5. Fabianism and the Empire. By Bernard Shaw. London: Grant Richards. 1900, ... 347

V.—Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary. Being a Survey of the Condition of Europe at the end of the Sixteenth Century. With an Introduction and an account of Fynes Moryson's Career by Charles Hughes. London: Sherratt & Hughes. 1903, ... 373

VI.—Works of Edgar Poe. London. Through a Glass Darkly, &c., by Sheridan Le Fanu. London. Stories, by FitzJames O'Brien. Boston. (1) Twice-told Tales, (2) Mosses from an Old Manse, by Nathaniel Hawthorne. Le Horla, &c., by Guy de Maupassant. Paris. (1) Spirite, (2) Nouvelles, by Théophile Gautier. Paris. Spiridion, by George Sand. Paris. Countess Eve, by J. H. Shorthouse. London. A Beleaguered

Page

City, by Mrs. Oliphant. London. Flames, &c., by R. Hichens. London. La Peur, par Mosso, tr. par F. Hément. Paris, 1886. Psychologie de la Croyance, by Camille Bos. Paris, 1901. Life of Edgar Allan Poe, by George Woodberry. Boston, 1885. &c. 395

VII.—1. The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham. By George Lipscomb, Esq., M.D. In 4 vols. London: J. & W. Robins. 1831–1847.

2. Magna Britannia. By Rev. D. Lysons and S. Lysons, Esq. New Ed. London: 1806.

3. The History and Antiquities of the Town, Hundred, and Deanery of Buckingham. By Browne Willis, Esq., LL.D. London: Printed for the Author. 1755, ... 419

[And other works.]

VIII.—1. Early Flemish Artists. By Sir W. Martin Conway. London: Seeley & Co. 1887.

2. Hans Memlinc. By W. H. James Weale. London: George Bell & Sons. 1901.

3. Catalogue de l'Exposition des Primitifs Flamands, Bruges. 1902.

4. Catalogue Critique de l'Exposition de Bruges. Par Georges Hulin de Loo. 1902, ... 447

IX.—Rural England: Being an Account of Agricultural and Social Researches carried out in the years 1901 and 1902. By H. Rider Haggard. In 2 vols. London: Longmans. 1902, ... 475

X.—1. Contributions to: 'The Rambler,' 1859; 'The Home and Foreign Review,' 1862–1864; 'The Chronicle,' 1867; 'The North British Review,' 1868–1872; 'The English Historical Review,' 1875–1895.

2. Sendschreiben an einen deutschen Bischof, 1870.

3. Das Vatikanische Concil, 1871 (translated).

4. Letters to the 'Times,' November–December, 1874, 501

[And other works.]

XI.—1. The Naval and Military Defence of the Empire. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates of the present Session.

2. Imperial Defence. By the Right Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart., M.P., and Spenser Wilkinson. London: Macmillan. 1892, . . . 535

[And other works.]

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1903.

No. CCCCIII.

ART. I.—1. 1793–1805. *Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Iles Britanniques.* Par ÉDOUARD DESBRIÈRE, Chef d'Escadrons de Cavalerie. Publié sous la Direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée. 5 vols. 8°. Paris, Chapelot. 1900–02.

2. *Dispatches and Letters relating to the Blockade of Brest.* 1802–1805. Edited by JOHN LEYLAND. Printed for the Navy Records Society. London, 2 vols. 8°. 1899–1902.

IN May 1803, when the war that for a space had failed began again to thunder, it was the common belief of French and English that the First Consul, soon to be Emperor, was bent on carrying out the long-conceived plan of invading England. For more than a hundred years this had been a favourite idea of the old monarchy, and the republic had inherited it. During the early years of the Revolutionary war, several attempts at the invasion of England or Ireland had been planned, some had actually been made; and though they had ended in disappointment, there were few Frenchmen who knew why, or who, in 1803, doubted that, under the guidance of Bonaparte, the time for success had arrived. In England, too, there were very many who feared this, and the enormous muster of volunteers may be taken as a measure of the general apprehension and of the necessity the Government was under of meeting it in a way that the public could understand. It was a political rather than a military provision, for in fact the actual and efficient defence of the country was entrusted to the navy. Within a few days of the declaration of war, the whole coast of France was blockaded; in the North Sea, the Channel, the Bay of Biscay, the Mediterranean, it was equally

impossible for French ships to leave the shelter of the shallow water or the protection of the coast batteries. The French soldiers, to the number of about 150,000, were assembled on the coast fronting England, whose white cliffs many of them could see day after day, when the weather was clear. What they could not see was the obstacle in the way, the absolute hindrance to their proceeding, of which Captain Mahan wrote in lines that at once became classical:—

'Far away, Cornwallis off Brest, Collingwood off Rochefort, Pellew off Ferrol were battling the wild gales of the Bay of Biscay, in that tremendous and sustained vigilance which reached its utmost tension in the years preceding Trafalgar. . . Farther distant still, severed apparently from all connexion with the busy scene at Boulogne, Nelson before Toulon was wearing away the last two years of his glorious but suffering life, fighting the fierce north-westers of the Gulf of Lyon. . . . They were dull, weary, eventless months, these months of watching and waiting of the big ships before the French arsenals. Purposeless they surely seemed to many, but they saved England. . . . Those far-distant, storm-beaten ships, upon which the Grand Army never looked, stood between it and the dominion of the world.'

The military and naval history of these years is thus of the very highest interest to both countries and to all students of the art of war. It includes the operations for attack on the one side and for defence on the other, which are none the less important and impressive because the defence proved so convincingly strong that the attack, though carefully prepared, was never delivered, and the failure was so absolute that, 'to save the face' of the would-be conqueror, the theory has been started that the invasion was never really intended, and that—on the part of Napoleon—the whole operation was only a blind. To this theory we shall presently recur, in order to examine it by the new evidence now before us, provided, on the one hand, by the General Staff of the French army, and on the other, by our own Navy Records Society, to which bodies and to the comprehensive labours of the Editors selected by them, we are indebted for the full, careful and, above all, accurate detail of what was prepared and what was done on both sides. That two such works, each the correlative of the other, should have been independently published at practically the same time is one of those happy coincidences which are almost peculiar to literary history.

The English volumes are, in the main, what the title denotes—the documentary history of the blockade of Brest;

but the blockade of Brest was maintained by the fleet under Admiral Cornwallis, whose command extended from the Breton coast to Bayonne, and westwards as far as Cape Finisterre, and when need was to Cadiz and Cape Spartel; so that whilst the main action of Mr. Leyland's story lies with the Grand Fleet before Brest, many and important episodes are referred to Rochefort, Ferrol, or other localities within the somewhat wide limits. The greater part of the work consists of the official correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief and the Admiralty, including not only Cornwallis's own letters, but also those written to him by Collingwood or Calder off Rochefort, Pellew or Cochrane off Ferrol, and many junior officers—captains, commanders or lieutenants—commanding detached squadrons or single ships, occasionally on service that might be fairly described as romantic. By the kindness of Colonel Cornwallis-West and other members of the family, Mr. Leyland has also been able to use the Admiral's own papers, which—among others—include the semi-private letters of Lord Melville, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and thus to bring into clearer light the character of the man whose greatness history has hitherto been content to take very much on trust, or with a carefully restrained approval. It was, indeed, known that as a captain he had repeatedly distinguished himself, and especially in the celebrated battle of April 12, 1782, when the capture of the French flagship was mainly due to the pertinacity with which Cornwallis hung on to her. With Rodney's conduct in the latter part of that action, Cornwallis was by no means satisfied; and Mr. Leyland has found a copy of doggerel verses, which, whether they were composed by Cornwallis himself or not, is in his own handwriting, so that they may fairly be supposed to express his opinion. They tell how the French line was broken up, the 'Glorieux' a wreck, and how, with a most glorious prospect before him, the Admiral laid his main topsail aback:—

> The French fleet were beaten and put to the run,
> And the English with copper bottoms looked on the fun.
> To larboard a sweep did Hood's squadron make,
> And the 'Cæsar' and 'Ardent' did both of them take.
> Our chief, he lay quiet, with good ships around him—
> Some willing to move, but—the devil confound him—
> He made no signal to chase, nor would let others go. . . .
> A ship or two pushed on, whether he would or no,
> Intent upon honour and to conquer the foe,
> By which the French Admiral and 'Hector' were taken,
> And this, perhaps, may save our brave Admiral's bacon.

At night he lay to on the victorious field,
Though the poor beaten French were ready to yield.
Had a chief worthy Britain commanded our fleet,
Twenty-five good French ships had been laid at our feet.

This is almost identical with what Hood wrote to Mr. Jackson, and the agreement of opinion and judgement on this tactical question suggests a correspondence of ability, though not of temper. Cornwallis's verse is not flattering; but it is of honeyed sweetness in comparison with the mingled vinegar and gall of Hood's prose. As an admiral, Cornwallis had never the opportunity of commanding a fleet in action, and his fame has rested principally on his brilliant retreat, with a small squadron, in front of the whole Brest fleet, though indeed his escape was largely due to the French Admiral's want of nerve. It was, indeed, known that he commanded in this long and wearing blockade; but as there was no fighting on a grand scale, people have rested content in the belief that what happened was in the natural course of things, and did not tell of any particular merit. How differently Nelson judged of him appears from a charming letter written from the Mediterranean on December 30, 1804, when his own watch off Toulon was drawing near an end. It has been now printed, for the first time, from the original in the Cornwallis papers:—

'My dear Friend,—I always feel happy in hearing from you, for I never, never shall forget that to you probably I owe my life, and I feel that I imbibed from you certain sentiments which have greatly assisted me in my naval career—that we could always beat a Frenchman if we fought him long enough; that the difficulty of getting at them was oftentimes more people's own fancy than from the difficulty of the undertaking; that people did not know what they could do until they tried; and that it was always to err on the right side to fight. I was then at that time of life* to make the impression which has never been shaken. But on the score of fighting, I believe, my dear friend, that you have had your full share, and in obtaining the greatest victory, if it had been followed up, that our country ever saw.

'I own I should like to see you with the Brest fleet well clear of the land, and from my heart I hope that will happen. There is not, my dear friend, that man breathing who would rejoice more than your most attached and affectionate friend, Nelson and Bronte.'

The public and private correspondence of Cornwallis naturally forms the greatest and most important part of these volumes, but Mr. Leyland has been able to add a few other

* At the time referred to Nelson was twenty-two. Cornwallis was fifteen years older,

private letters, and has also given some of the more interesting letters of Napoleon, the minister of the navy (Decrès), the commander in chief at Brest (Ganteaume) and others, so that, all together, we have here a very full account of what the western blockade really was and how it was maintained.

From the French point of view Major Desbrière has given an equally detailed account of what was going on at Brest and other ports from Flushing to Toulon. In its entirety, his work is still more comprehensive; for though the last three and largest volumes are devoted to the record of affairs during 1803–4–5, the first two relate the earlier attempts on Ireland, and naturally give, at very full length, the story of Hoche's abortive expedition to Bantry Bay, which M. Desbrière, quoting from Mr. Lecky, believes to have been much nearer success than it actually was. Mr. Lecky, in fact, arguing from the state of Ireland at the time, has spoken of the very serious trouble which would have accrued to the English Government had Hoche, with 15,000 disciplined soldiers, been able to give a backbone to the jelly-like mass of seething discontent and potential rebellion. But he has enormously exaggerated the numbers of Hoche's force, and has taken for granted the statement so often made, that its landing was prevented only by the bad weather; he has not noticed that the expedition sailed in unfavourable weather because the English fleet had prevented its sailing when the weather was fine; that its dispersion and the untoward accidents of the voyage were due entirely to the fear of meeting the English fleet on the way; and that finally, those ships which, shattered and storm-beaten, succeeded in reaching Bantry Bay, could not wait till the weather moderated because they were in hourly dread of the English fleet breaking in on them. From beginning to end it was the threat of the English fleet—not by any means well conducted—that overthrew the expedition; and M. Desbrière, appointed to edit these volumes, on account of his experience of sea affairs and his thorough knowledge * of English, ought to have known this, and been able to understand it.

* The many mis-spellings of English words and names might suggest that 'sa connaissance approfondie' is intended more as a complimentary expression than a bald statement of fact, were it not that there are also many blunders in dates and in French names—personal and geographical; far too many in a semi-official work of this character and authority.

We do not, however, propose to follow him into the detailed story of these earlier expeditions or plans. The interest of the idea is concentrated on that great attempt which seemed to be preparing during the early years of the Napoleonic war, till finally submerged in the waves off Cape Trafalgar. The preparations at Toulon were as distinctly connected with this as those at Brest or the other western ports, and supply many most interesting pages to M. Desbrière's work, though the English opposition to them does not come within Mr. Leyland's plan, having, indeed, long since been given to the English public in Sir Harris Nicolas's 'Letters and Dispatches of Viscount Nelson,' to which the present volumes are rightly described as 'an 'essential complement.' The two are, in fact, parts of one whole, and ought to be taken together as the correlative of M. Desbrière's weighty tomes.*

The object which, from the first, Cornwallis had in view was to prevent the French fleet sailing from Brest, or rather, to prevent it sailing without fighting. His station was before Brest, coming into the Iroise—the basin immediately outside the Goulet—when the wind was light or easterly, and keeping further to seaward when the wind was blowing so strong from the west as, on the one hand, to render it impossible for the French fleet to come out, and on the other, to make it very dangerous for the English ships to keep near in. Occasionally, and indeed in the winter months frequently, they stood over and sheltered themselves from the violent westerly gales in Torbay, but always prepared to sail the moment the wind, veering to the north, rendered it possible for the French to get out. And thus, from May 1803 to December 1805, Cornwallis, either in person or by his lieutenants in a few short absences, kept such a watch on Brest that, with the best will in the world, the French fleet never ventured outside. We now know from M. Desbrière's pages what was wished, ordered or suggested inside the port, whilst Mr. Leyland enables us to see how far it was understood and prepared for.

Through all, the secrets of the French Government were

---

* Contrary to the general rule with French books, these volumes are excessively heavy, weighing on the average 3 lbs. apiece. One of them—vol. iii.—weighs 4 lbs. 3 oz., and is far too heavy to be held comfortably in the hand whilst reading. Vol. iv., which weighs 5½ lbs., is happily divided into two, and so makes the work in five volumes, though numbered in four.

wonderfully well kept. It is a commonplace of the life of Nelson that, in 1798, he was not able to find out the destination of the expedition to Egypt—a secret so well kept that even the superior French officers did not know it till after the fleet had left Malta; * and during the whole course of Nelson's blockade of Toulon the same strict secrecy was preserved. Nelson had plenty of intelligence, but it was always false, carefully fabricated for his special use. As he did not trust it, it did not lead him astray, but no doubt it puzzled him, and kept him to the last uncertain whether the French fleet, if it got out, was to go to Egypt or Ireland, to the West Indies or to the East, but 'if it goes to the Antipodes,' he wrote, 'I follow it.' On the whole, he concluded that its destination would be out of the Mediterranean, and most probably Ireland; but he hoped to bring it to action before it got very far from Toulon. His wish was to tempt it out by apparent slackness; and indeed the slackness was often quite real, for Nelson never had a sufficient force to enable him to keep up the close, unremitting watch which Cornwallis did on Brest. As it was, there were very capable officers who doubted the excellence of his particular method; and as early as June 11, 1804, Captain Whitby, an old friend of Cornwallis, who had just come home from the Mediterranean, wrote to him, explaining and commenting on the situation of Toulon, and continuing:—

'From all this I draw one general conclusion—that it is very possible for them [the French] to escape him [Nelson]. Upon the last occasion they might have got to the West Indies or elsewhere, without the possibility of discovery, had they so chosen. . . . They have ten sail of the line at Toulon, one at Cadiz, four, I think, at Ferrol, six at Rochefort, and twenty, you say, at Brest, making, in all, one-and-forty sail of the line. If they pass Lord Nelson they can relieve Cadiz, Ferrol, Rochefort; and if in their way to Brest you meet them some morning, when they are attempting a grand junction, I shall not be surprised. I mention this to you that you may pay what attention you choose to this scheme of probabilities, and have your ships so much in your eye at daylight that you may be prepared for their reception.'†

It is more than interesting to compare with this letter of Captain Whitby's, Napoleon's instructions to Vice-Admiral Latouche commanding at Toulon, at about the same date:—

'Sa Majesté Impériale, voulant faire concourir l'escadre que vous

* Cf. Edinburgh Review, October 1901, p. 263.
† Leyland, i. 344.

commandez aux opérations de la flotille destinée à porter une armée de cent vingt-cinq mille hommes en Angleterre, vous fait connaître, par les présentes instructions. . . . Pour arriver au but qui va vous être marqué, votre navigation se divise en trois parties principales et distinctes. Votre départ de Toulon, votre entrée dans l'Océan et votre jonction avec l'escadre de Rochefort, constituent la première partie; votre départ de Rochefort avec les deux escadres réunies sous votre commandement, et votre arrivée sur un point de croisière déterminé, constituent la deuxième partie; et enfin votre navigation de ce point de croisière au vent et à la vue de la rade de Cherbourg constitue la troisième.'

They go on to speak in minute detail of these three parts. The ships are to be provisioned with victuals and stores of all kinds, so that they may be able to keep the sea for fully four months. All communication with the shore, beyond what is absolutely necessary for the service, is forbidden; and, morning and evening, the men are to be exercised at the guns. Whenever the enemy is in sight, the ships are to get under way, or pretend to do so, so that he may become careless about it, and keep further off, especially if he thinks he knows the destination of the French fleet, as to which pains are to be taken to deceive him. Pilots for Sicily and for Egypt are to be embarked, and if this is judged too transparent a trick, letters can be sent to Corsica ordering such pilots to be got together—'et vous feriez 'partir le bateau porteur de votre dépêche dans des circon-'stances telles qu'il ne pût éviter de tomber au pouvoir de 'l'ennemi.' And so, waiting for a fair wind and favourable opportunity, the squadron is to get under way by night, and, keeping the closest possible order, take the shortest and quickest route out of the Mediterranean, call off Cadiz for the 'Aigle,' if the weather permit her to get out, but if not to proceed without her, and keeping well out to sea, thirty or at the very least twenty-five leagues from the land, go round Cape Finisterre, past Ferrol, release the squadron at the Île d'Aix, and take up a station in latitude 48°30′ N. and longitude 12° W. of the meridian of Paris. During the whole voyage the greatest care is to be taken to prevent the squadron's nationality and route becoming known. Neutrals are to be hailed in English; English ships that become prizes are to be sunk after their crews have been taken out.

'Quant aux bâtiments de guerre que vous pourriez rencontrer, il importe essentiellement qu'ils ne puissent reconnaître la force et la direction de l'escadre, ni l'observer en suivant sa route. . . . Mais,

cette croisière n'ayant d'autre objet que de vous placer sur un point convenable d'où vous puissiez, à la faveur d'un bon vent, vous porter rapidement dans la Manche, avec la presque certitude d'éviter l'escadre de lord Cornwallis, qui est la seule dont la rencontre puisse être dangereuse pour la vôtre; dès que les vents s'élèveront avec apparence de stabilité . . . vous vous porterez, avec toute la vitesse dont vos vaisseaux sont susceptibles, sur Cherbourg' . . .

where he would receive further instructions for his guidance.* The whole order ought to be carefully read in its minute detail, which seems more clearly than anything else to show Napoleon's mind at the time. M. Desbrière thinks that it may have been written in May or June 1804, but had certainly not been sent by July 2, and was probably not sent at all. If not, a letter embodying the same instruction, but in fewer words and with less detail, was written on July 2. In it, as in the other, Latouche was ordered to pass out of the Mediterranean, to raise the blockade of Rochefort, add the ships there to his squadron, raising it to sixteen ships of the line and eleven frigates, and then 'without anchoring, without losing a moment, either passing 'round Ireland or coming up the Channel, appear off 'Boulogne. Que nous soyons maîtres du détroit six heures, 'et nous serons maîtres du monde.'

It will be noticed that throughout these instructions the one measure indicated as essential to success is evasion: everywhere the enemy is to be avoided; if sighted, he is to be deceived and escaped from, never to be fought with and crushed. On this point, the teaching of history is emphatic and single-voiced: a strategy of evasion can lead only to disaster, and in this instance it is the more curious as so totally at variance with Napoleon's own practice on land. Latouche, with a squadron of ten ships, is to escape, like a thief in the night, from the watch which often could not muster more than seven; he is to avoid Ferrol, so as not to disturb the blockading force; the enemy's squadron off Rochefort may, perhaps, be crushed by overwhelming numbers, but it is more important to beguile them by a false route; with sixteen ships of the line he is to come into the Channel, or go north about to the Narrow Sea, taking the utmost care to avoid Cornwallis, who with fifteen ships is already occupied in watching Ganteaume and his twenty-three ships in Brest. A victory, Napoleon frequently wrote, would be useless; the ships as they came to Boulogne must

* Desbrière, iv. 3–8.

be sound and effective, not in need of repair, as after a hard-fought battle. It is extraordinary that he never realized that after a battle of thirty-nine ships—if the junction could be effected—against fifteen, the damage sustained by the fifteen would necessarily raise the blockade, and that, with the resources of Brest behind them, a fair proportion of the thirty-nine would be speedily refitted.

From the merely historical point of view, however, it is perhaps of more interest to note the evidence which these instructions and this letter afford of Napoleon's intention in the summer of 1804—evidence that does not rest on any assertion of his, which might or might not be made with intent to deceive, or yet on any operations open to the world, which might be a blind, or for beguiling traitors into giving false information, but on confidential orders known only to Latouche and to Ganteaume. No argument or assertion, as it seems to us, can possibly upset this proof that in June and July 1804 it was Napoleon's intention to invade England as soon as he could, and that his preparations had that objective distinctly in view. Was this a new idea? In the confidential letter of July 2, already referred to, he says: 'Entre Etaples, Boulogne, Wimereux et 'Ambleteuse, deux nouveaux ports que j'ai fait construire, 'nous avons 1800 chaloupes canonnières, bateaux canonniers, 'péniches, etc., portant 120,000 hommes et 10,000 chevaux;' and on previous pages Major Desbrière has given detailed accounts of the gathering of troops and of the building of the boats, together with excellent plans of the works at the new ports. Many of the boats, pinnaces or praams were heavily armed, and everything points to the intention of carrying over the troops in these—by stealth and evasion, if possible; by force of arms, if necessary.

For the evasion, the long nights of winter were needed, as Bonaparte had suggested to the Directory in March 1798;* and now with the power in his own hands, he laboured to give the idea effect in his own way. This was public; all France and all Europe, including England, knew of it. Politicians certainly believed in the reality of the threat, and in France the soldiers believed that their opportunity was at hand. In England, the popular alarm was a true cry 'To arms!' and the volunteers mustered by their hundreds of thousands; but neither in England, nor indeed in France, did the sailor-men think much of it.

* Cf. Edinburgh Review, October 1901, p. 253.

Pellew openly said so in the House of Commons, considering the passage of the boats, in face of Keith's squadron in the Narrow Sea, quite impossible; and, with a bitter humour peculiarly his own, St. Vincent, then First Lord of the Admiralty, is said to have snarled, 'I don't say the French 'can't come; I only say they can't come by sea.'

It is thus quite permissible to urge that Bonaparte was able to take a naval view of the situation; that his public declarations were purposely false; that the extended operations were a mere blind, and that the very costly excavation of harbours, old and new, was to form shelters for the privateers and small cruisers who were to worry the English trade. On the other hand we refuse to believe the statement—made by Napoleon himself in after years—that the troops were assembled, the 'Grand Army' organised and disciplined to the point which made it the marvel and terror of Europe, solely as a precautionary measure against the Austrians, with whom France had then no quarrel; or that when engaged in a war against the most dangerous of all his enemies, Bonaparte frittered away his resources in preparing to meet a hypothetical enemy. The story is altogether 'too thin,' and is contradicted not only by its intrinsic improbability, but by the formal order of Decrès, which concludes:—

'Cette grande opération n'a pas été conçue par le Premier Consul sans qu'il eût profondément calculé les chances de son succès, et tout marin qui connaît les côtes respectives conçoit que pour ce succès il ne faudra que persévérance dans l'attente du moment opportun pour porter un coup decisif. Peu de lieues nous séparent de l'Angleterre, et quelle que soit la surveillance présumée de ses croisières, elles ne peuvent se proposer cette continuité de mesures et de concours des éléments nécessaires pour fermer la route à une flotille qui sera aidée de l'avantage de sa situation, de la multiplicité de ses moyens, et de la vélocité de son appareillage.' *

This order, which was clearly drawn up by Bonaparte, not by Decrès, in whose name it was issued, cannot be considered a mere blind, and may be taken as positive evidence that in the winter of 1803 the scheme was not mere pretence. Major Desbrière, however, after describing the whole in exact detail, pooh-poohs it as being neither new nor original, and thus quite unworthy of serious consideration by a man of Bonaparte's genius. There is no doubt that a scheme very similar to that of 1803 was proposed in

* Desbrière, iii. 304.

1798 and again in 1801. By these, M. Desbrière thinks, Bonaparte must have been convinced of the faulty nature of the design; but in fact the conditions were very different, for in 1803 Bonaparte wielded the whole power and controlled the treasury of France, whereas in 1801 he was still feeling his way, and had neither the political nor the military strength to carry it out, and in 1798 he was the servant of the Directory. M. Desbrière thinks it right to ignore these conditions, and summing up Bonaparte's share in the plan of 1798, he puts forward the most astounding proposition that was ever made by an historian. He says:—

'Le rôle de Bonaparte dans son court passage au commandement de l'armée d'Angleterre et le fond même de ses intentions ont été très diversement appréciés. Il y a dans toute cette affaire beaucoup de choses qu'on ne peut s'expliquer. Or, l'hypothèse de fautes, d'erreurs, de maladresses absolument incompatibles avec le plus grand génie de l'histoire devant être écartée, il ne reste que des motifs personnels. . . .'*

To Major Desbrière the argument has appeared so sound that he repeats it with reference to the 'conception' of 1803:—

'Si celle-ci, quelque audacieuse qu'elle puisse se révéler, présente des chances de succès, on pourra continuer à prêter au Premier Consul le désir sincère de la faire aboutir et persister à croire qu'il en a effectivement poursuivi la réalisation. Mais si, au contraire, il devient évident que le projet est insuffisant, faux, qu'il pèche par la base, il sera absolument impossible de l'attribuer au plus grand génie de l'histoire, et il faudra chercher ailleurs les motifs de sa conduite.'†

We are not now writing an appreciation of Napoleon's character or genius; but we suppose that M. Desbrière is of opinion that it was not the Emperor, but some evil spirit in his form, who afterwards led the great army into Russia without providing for its food, its clothing, or its retreat. Major Desbrière's military opinions are, fortunately, of greater value than his historical or biographical estimates, and he is quite clear that the conception of 1803 was a predestined failure. When the winter, with its long nights, came on, the boats were not ready, and such as were could not be trusted at sea in the seasonable weather. It would seem that Bonaparte was already becoming conscious that his darling project was not quite so easy as he had fancied, and a letter of December 1, 1803, from Ganteaume, then

* Desbrière, i. 383. † Ibid. iii. 305.

préfet maritime at Toulon, accelerated his conviction, and gave a new turn to his 'conception':—

'I do not think it absolutely impossible,' wrote Ganteaume, 'for a violent gale, such as we have every winter in the Channel, to clear our coast of the enemy's ships appointed to keep watch on and beat back our flotilla; for a calm following the gale, as is common enough, to favour the passage of the flotilla; or for the dash, courage, and good fortune of our troops, once landed, to sweep everything before them;—mais ce que je considère comme extraordinairement difficile, c'est de pouvoir conserver, sans accident et sans de grandes avaries, un nombre prodigieux de petits bâtiments accumulés nécessairement dans les ports pendant la grosse tempête qui doit écarter l'ennemi, pour les avoir prêts et en état de recevoir la troupe au premier et seul moment favorable; car, ce moment perdu, l'ennemi est encore à notre porte et toute tentative est inutile.'

He went on to speak of the very great difficulty of getting such an enormous number of boats to sea in one tide; and, as the time of high water was different in the several ports, the impossibility of carrying over the army in one united body, sufficient to stand up against the enemy, who had been so long warned, and would be fighting for their hearths and homes:—

'Tenter dans une nuit obscure de tromper la surveillance de l'ennemi, et hasarder le passage lorsqu'il ne sera pas définitivement écarté de nos côtes et du canal que nous devons traverser, me paraît presque impossible. . . . Ne peut-on pas craindre qu'après les grandes lenteurs, suites naturelles de la confusion et du tumulte qui règnent dans l'obscurité, particulièrement à la mer, le jour ne surprenne notre flotte à mi-chemin et sous le canon des armements ennemis, sans qu'elle puisse espérer de regagner le port, ni atteindre la côte d'Angleterre? La surveillance des Anglais, en fait de marine, dans les temps ordinaires et dans les guerres précédentes, nous a paru parfois tenir du prodige; que ne doit-elle pas être en cette occasion? . . . Je regarde l'expédition de la flotille, sinon comme impossible, mais comme extrêmement chanceuse et dont le succès ne peut avoir lieu que par quelque grand événement impossible à prévoir. . . .'

All these are the rational objections of a sailor who could see the difficulties to which a soldier—even one of the greatest—was blind; and then, thinking perhaps that an absolute condemnation of a step favoured by the First Consul might be impolitic, he suggested that a flying squadron might be able to escort the flotilla, not by evasion, but by force. For such a squadron—

'Peut-être n'eût-il pas été impossible, quoique la chose soit fort difficile, de se porter dans la Manche inopinément, et, après avoir employé diverses fausses routes pour donner le change à l'ennemi,

surprendre les croiseurs stationnés devant Boulogne, dont je ne suppose pas la force au-dessus de quelques vaisseaux et quelques frégates, les écarter du canal non pendant huit heures seulement, mais pendant quarante-huit. Cette tentative, je le répète, serait extrêmement hardie, extrêmement périlleuse, mais je ne pense pas qu'elle puisse être jugée impraticable par des marins.' *

In this suggestion Bonaparte saw an escape from the embarrassment of the flotilla design, and appropriated it with such readiness that M. Desbrière, unable or unwilling to admit that his hero could be in error, or that any mere sailor could see further into the problem, maintains that the new proposal was really Bonaparte's, but that he had allowed Ganteaume to fathom his intentions. For such an opinion there is no valid evidence, and all presumption is against it. Ganteaume's criticisms on the winter flotilla are those of a sailor; his suggestion of convoying the boats by a special squadron—avowedly a very dangerous *pis-aller*—is still a sailor's; whilst from first to last every scheme put forward by Bonaparte has the certain mark of emanating from a man very ignorant of everything relating to the sea. But, in fact, Major Desbrière, in the excess of his Bonapartism, is very far from consistent; and the bases of his belief, repeated over and over again, may be summarised as—first, the several projects for the invasion of England were so evidently unsound, that it is incredible that a man of Bonaparte's superb genius could have seriously entertained them; and, second, the several projects were certainly the conception of Bonaparte, and the measures devised for carrying them out have the stamp of his genius and indomitable will. We will readily admit that the projects were unsound, but there can, we think, be no longer any doubt that Bonaparte did very seriously entertain them. That he spent long and anxious months in planning the measures for carrying them out is also certain; but his share in the conception, which has attracted the greatest notice, was modifying a scheme which—in Ganteaume's words—was 'extrêmement hardie, extrêmement 'périlleuse,' into one which was absolutely impossible.

We have seen that in July, 1804, Napoleon was intent on bringing the united squadrons from Toulon and Rochefort

* Desbrière, iii. 632–4. This interesting and remarkable letter, now first printed from the Archives Nationales, is headed, in error, 'Au général Ganteaume, préfet maritime à Toulon.' The heading clearly should be, 'Le général Ganteaume au général Bonaparte.'

into the Narrow Sea, and there can be little doubt that this would have been attempted but for the death of Latouche-Tréville on August 19. The delay in appointing Villeneuve as his successor, and, possibly, as M. Desbrière suggests, the coronation *fêtes*, suspended the proposal for some months. M. Desbrière adds: 'Ce n'est peut-être assez dire, et il est 'infiniment probable qu'à cette époque Napoléon a pensé 'non pas seulement à remettre l'expédition, mais à y 'renoncer complètement.' He thus holds that the sending of the Toulon and Rochefort squadrons to the West Indies in 1805 had no reference to any plan for the invasion of England, but was distinctly a raid on the English colonies; and he dwells on the wording of the orders sent to Villeneuve on December 12, 1804—detailed orders for his conduct in the West Indies, for meeting the Rochefort squadron at Martinique and taking it under his orders, and for returning to France. 'Vous atterrirez sur le Ferrol, vous débloquerez 'la division aux ordres du capitaine Gourdon, qui, forte de 'cinq vaisseaux et de deux frégates, sera prête à vous 'rejoindre, et vous rentrerez à Rochefort.' * What was to follow was not stated, though Napoleon's memorandum to Decrès, of December 14, refers explicitly to making 'a land-'ing in Ireland or elsewhere;' † and, in any case, it was not with these orders that Villeneuve finally sailed, but with others, sealed, which are not now given. We may, however, fairly judge of their tenor by Napoleon's letter to General Lauriston, commanding the troops of the squadron, dated April 13, 1805, reprinted from the 'Correspondance 'de Napoléon':—

'J'éprouve une petite contrariété, c'est que l'amiral Ganteaume, hermétiquement bloqué et contrarié par des calmes constants, n'a pu encore sortir. . . . J'ai peine à croire qu'il ne fasse pas dans ces huit jours un coup de vent, puisque nous ne sommes pas encore au 15 avril. Cependant, s'il en était autrement, et si, d'ici au 10 mai, il ne pouvait partir, je me trouverais contraint de le retenir. J'en ferais prévenir l'amiral Villeneuve par deux frégates que je lui expédierais. . . . Aujourd'hui . . . je fais partir le général Magon avec deux vaisseaux et 800 hommes; et si, un mois après l'arrivée du général Magon, vous n'avez reçu aucune des frégates que je vous aurai expédiées, et que l'amiral jugeât à propos et prudent de retourner en Europe, mon intention est que vous opériez votre retour sur le Ferrol; vous y trouverez 15 vaisseaux français et espagnols tout prêts. Avec ces 35 vaisseaux vous vous présenterez devant Brest, où Ganteaume vous joindra avec 21, et, avec cette force

* Desbrière, iv. 277. † Ibid. iv. 279.

de plus de 50 vaisseaux, vous vous présenterez dans la Manche et me trouverez à Boulogne.'*

On the same day he wrote to Villeneuve, in almost the same terms; and on April 17 Decrès wrote to Villeneuve, explaining more fully what he was to do in the West Indies while waiting for Ganteaume, and continuing :—

'Si l'amiral Ganteaume vous rejoint aux Antilles, vous devrez être préparé à le suivre immédiatement avec les forces des deux puissances; mais si le temps donné par l'Empereur est expiré sans qu'il ait paru, vos instructions nouvelles vous tracent l'opération que vous avez à faire jusque devant le Ferrol. . . . Les escadres du Ferrol étant réunies à votre armée, vous arriverez brusquement sur Brest; vous trouverez probablement 18 à 19 vaisseaux anglais sur Ouessant; vous les détruirez autant qu'il sera possible; vous ferez seulement entrer une frégate à Brest pour prévenir l'amiral Ganteaume de votre présence, mais l'armée n'y entrera pas. . . . L'armée de Brest réunie à la vôtre, et sous votre commandement général, fera route avec l'armée espagnole pour se rendre devant Boulogne. . , Arrivé devant Boulogne, vous y trouverez l'Empereur en personne, et lui-même vous fera connaître ses intentions ultérieures . . . Du succès de votre arrivée devant Boulogne dépendent les destinées du monde. Heureux l'amiral qui aura eu la gloire d'attacher son nom à un événement aussi mémorable.'†

These were the last orders which Villeneuve received before his return to Europe, and on these he must have acted, had not Calder intervened. Major Desbrière considers that the order to go off Boulogne was altogether a new thing—not at all a modification of the order to Latouche in the previous July, but conditional on Villeneuve's bringing off Ushant a squadron—'à elle seule très supérieure à ce que lord Corn-'wallis avait réuni ou pourrait réunir.' There is here, he says, no longer any doubt as to the Emperor's intentions; several battles are foreseen as certain—one, at any rate, off Ferrol, another off Brest. 'Cela revient à dire que la 'descente en Angleterre ne sera tentée que si de grandes 'victoires navales ont donné à la France, unie à l'Espagne, 'la domination de la mer.' Naturally, when the way was to be cleared by force, the force became part of the project; and if it failed, the project could not be carried further. But the probability of victory was only arrived at by supposing—as was, indeed, Napoleon's custom in naval matters—that the enemy was going to do everything that would favour the interests of France, and to leave undone

* Desbrière, iv.(v.) 509. † Ibid. iv. (v.) 515.

whatever might be prejudicial to them. Decrès, who, though a courtier, could not forget that he had been a seaman, and had had some personal experience of Nelson and Nelson's ways, wrote on June 1 a long comment on the news from England, and showed, first of all, the probability that Nelson with eighteen ships had already met Villeneuve with twenty. In this case 'le sort en est jeté, et, d'ici à quinze jours, 'le dieu des batailles aura prononcé.' But, secondly, if Villeneuve succeeded in avoiding this battle—the inference as to Decrès' opinion of what would otherwise happen is pretty clear—the English squadron off Ferrol, warned by a fast sailing frigate, will fall back off Brest, where Nelson himself will join Cornwallis, bringing the numbers of the English fleet to forty-four or fifty, to oppose Villeneuve with forty-nine, French and Spanish, of which the French ships and those with Gravina were effective;

'mais il y a 19 vaisseaux espagnols sortant du port pour la première fois, commandés par des capitaines peu exercés, médiocrement armés. Et j'avoue que je ne sais ce qu'on peut oser le lendemain de leur appareillage avec cette partie si nombreuse de la flotte combinée.'*

Though Major Desbrière does not explicitly say so, he seems to imply that this remarkable letter is only a draft—that was, perhaps, not sent. It is, in fact, very probable that Decrès was not too eager to point out to Napoleon that the whole project was based on misconceptions of the actual conditions, and was doomed beforehand to failure. Villeneuve did, indeed, escape Nelson off Martinique; but he fell in with Calder off Cape Finisterre; and if he had, afterwards, ventured north, he would have come off Ushant with a combined force of twenty-five or thirty ships of the line, to meet Cornwallis with a force greatly superior in numbers, and overwhelmingly so in point of quality. By turning south, he postponed his destruction for another two months. But Major Desbrière speaks with contempt of those historians who represent Napoleon as burning with impatience for Villeneuve's arrival in the Channel. The first of these historians is Napoleon himself, and the representations occur in letters to Villeneuve, belated indeed, but before he knew of Villeneuve's approach to Europe. One sentence from such a letter, dated July 26—four days after the battle off Cape Finisterre—will be almost sufficient illustration of this:—

'Mon intention est que vous ralliez à Cadix les vaisseaux espagnols qui s'y trouvent, que vous débarquiez vos malades, et que, sans

* Desbrière, iv. (v.) 599.

séjourner à Cadix plus de quatre jours au plus, vous remettiez à la voile, vous vous reportiez sur le Ferrol, vous vous joigniez aux 15 vaisseaux combinés qui sont dans cette rade, et qu'avec toutes ces forces réunies, vous vous portiez devant Brest et de là devant Boulogne, où, si vous me rendez maître, pendant le seul espace de trois jours, du Pas de Calais, et avec l'aide de Dieu, je mettrai un terme aux destins et à l'existence de l'Angleterre. . . . 150,000 hommes, un équipage complet, sont embarqués à Boulogne, Étaples, Wimereux et Ambleteuse, sur 2,000 bâtiments de la flotille qui, en dépit des croisières anglaises, ne forment qu'une seule ligne d'embossage dans toutes les rades, depuis Étaples jusqu'au cap Gris-Nez. Votre seul passage nous rend, sans chances, maîtres de l'Angleterre.'*

But a month later, August 22, he wrote again :—

'J'espère que vous êtes arrivé à Brest. Partez et ne perdez pas un moment, et, avec mes escadres réunies, entrez dans la Manche. L'Angleterre est à nous. Nous sommes tous prêts, tout est embarqué. Paraissez 24 heures et tout est terminé.'

And to Ganteaume, on the same date :—

'Villeneuve a appareillé du Ferrol le 10 août, mais n'est effectivement parti que le 14, afin de vous rejoindre à Brest. . . . Il me paraît qu'il doute si, joint avec vous, il ne passera pas plusieurs jours à Brest pour se ravitailler. . . . Mon intention est que vous ne souffriez pas qu'il perde un seul jour, afin que, profitant de la supériorité que me donnent 50 vaisseaux de ligne, vous mettiez sur-le-champ en mer pour remplir votre destination, et pour vous porter dans la Manche avec toutes vos forces. . . . Partez et venez ici. Nous aurons vengé six siècles d'insultes et de honte. Jamais, pour un plus grand objet, mes soldats de mer et de terre n'auront exposé leur vie.'†

No evidence of Napoleon's intentions in July and August, 1805, could be stronger than these confidential letters, which were certainly meant to be acted on. But the more conclusive the evidence, the more heavily must Major Desbrière's very telling argument recoil on Napoleon's military reputation. By an elaborate table of musters, he shows that in the beginning of August there were nothing like 150,000 men in or near the places named by Napoleon. He says :—

'Dans ces premiers jours d'août, où la situation est critique, où les historiens ont représenté Napoléon attendant fiévreusement l'escadre de Villeneuve qui doit balayer les croiseurs anglais et laisser libre le passage pendant les quelques heures demandées par l'Empereur, quelle est la force de cette armée qui prétend conquérir l'Angleterre à elle seule, puisque le passage sera fatalement fermé derrière elle? En voici le calcul :— . . . . En résumé, et c'est la chose capitale, si Villeneuve était arrivé avec une escadre devant Boulogne, et avait

* Desbrière, iv. (v.) 671–2. † Ibid. iv. (v.) 811–12.

ouvert la route à la flotille, il pouvait, du 1er au 15 août, 1805, sortir des quatre ports d'Ambleteuse, Wimereux, Boulogne, et Étaples, 90,000 soldats et 2,700 chevaux. Napoléon a été, sans conteste, le plus grand organisateur que le monde ait vu. Si donc dans une organisation essentielle pour la réussite de son entreprise, où l'ordre et la rapidité de l'embarquement étaient des facteurs de première importance, son génie s'est complu à des systèmes simplement symétriques, ne répondant en rien, ni à l'état réel des troupes et services, ni aux moyens d'embarquement accumulés dans les ports, on peut vraiment se demander s'il a jamais voulu sérieusement effectuer un départ subit.'*

But as the evidence of Napoleon's intentions is clear, incontrovertible, the proof—according to the method of Euclid—is that Major Desbrière's assumption is false, and that Napoleon, far from being infallible in all matters relating to war, was, on the contrary, quite incapable of appreciating either the possibilities or the difficulties of naval strategy; and that, when his passions were strongly moved—as by his rage against England—notwithstanding his undoubted powers of organisation, he saw things as he wished them to be rather than as they were. Major Desbrière's inability to see this limitation of his hero's genius is the one† weak point in what is otherwise a most excellent work, important to all as a contribution to military history, and to us as the detailed account of operations in which we were mainly interested.

Next to this unbounded belief in Napoleon's genius and truth, what has rendered possible the extraordinary notion that the invasion was never really intended is the way in which, from time to time, the details of the plan were changed. But these changes did not affect the main idea. Those who have followed the literary history of fifty years ago may remember in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' a story of a self-seeking old negro, who defended himself from a charge of being a turncoat on the ground that the end he had in view—his own interest—was always the same. 'Suppose,' he said, 'I want to get to the top of a haystack. I try on 'one side, but can find nowhere to set the ladder, so I go 'to the other side, and there I get up.' This, he argued, was true consistency. England was Napoleon's haystack; and, though he never found where to place his ladder, he spent a large part of three years in seeking. First of all,

* Desbrière, iv. (v.) 465–6.

† Always excepting the carelessness with which the proof-sheets have been read.

he wished to cross by evasion in the long, dark, and stormy nights of winter. A great number of boats—gunboats and others—were prepared, many of them heavily armed; for he supposed that even if the evasion partially failed they might, to some extent, fight their own way. When unwillingly convinced that the boats could not live out a winter gale, nor pass either by evasion or their own force, the idea of a light squadron—as suggested by Ganteaume—sufficient to overpower the ships under the command of Lord Keith, may have been entertained for some little time. It had, perhaps, more of the elements of success in it than any other, but it was based on the getting the sufficient light squadron together and at sea. Till this was done the proposal could not be tried, and by July, 1804, it had been so far modified that the light squadron had become the whole Toulon fleet, reinforced by such ships as might be at Cadiz and by those at Rochefort. But Toulon and Rochefort were closely watched, and though—as was proved some months later—it was quite possible for either squadron to get out separately, it was not possible for them to get to sea together; and the death of Latouche-Tréville seems to have put an end to this idea.

Then came the suggestion of appropriating the naval power of Spain—numerically strong, though weak in efficiency. That Spain had no quarrel with England was an insignificant detail, when the Prince of the Peace was Napoleon's slave. The addition of the Spanish ships to the French modified and enlarged the scheme. There was a considerable squadron at Cartagena, another at Cadiz, another at Ferrol, where were also several French ships. Out of which situation of affairs sprang the conception which has often been spoken of as held from the beginning, but was really formed in the very end of 1804 or the beginning of 1805. The three French squadrons from Toulon, Rochefort, and Brest were to get out as they best could by themselves and meet at Martinique; the Toulon squadron was to be accompanied by the Spanish ships from Cartagena and Cadiz; and all together, numbering something like seventy ships of the line of battle, were to return, release the ships at Ferrol, sweep the English off the sea, and render the passage for the army safe and easy. This scheme, gigantic in its entirety, was confused with others which from time to time were entertained. The Brest fleet was to get out and land some 15,000 men in Bantry Bay or in Lough Swilly; and, whilst the English Government was

distracted by the revolution in Ireland, the fleet coming off Boulogne was to cover the passage of the 150,000 soldiers who were to decide the destinies of England. The proposing or ordering of some new scheme, differing from its predecessors in some important details, was of almost monthly occurrence; so that it is not altogether so strange as it at first seems, that the intention of invasion has been denied by many capable men, as by M. Desbrière; though the vast mass of evidence which he has collected, dispassionately weighed, seems to us to render absolutely certain what was before only a very strong presumption.

We have already spoken of the remarkable ability with which the French Government concealed its designs; but in respect of those of the projected invasion this ability was largely assisted by the continual change of plan. Even so, our leaders were not so ignorant as has been supposed. It has been very generally said that they were completely hoodwinked by the superhuman cleverness or the devilish cunning of Napoleon. This is by no means correct. To judge of another man's intentions before he begins to act is necessarily difficult, and may be impossible: but an experienced horseman knows what his horse is going to do before he does it; the glint of his antagonist's eye tells a boxer or a fencer what is coming next; and the correspondence of Cornwallis shows that he and the Admiralty had a fairly clear idea of what was going on at Brest, Ferrol, or Rochefort, and were thus able to form a general conception of what was intended. Nothing, indeed, comes out more plainly than the excellence of what we may call Cornwallis's Intelligence Department, whose work was carried on under the greatest difficulties and most commonly with very inadequate means. It is, indeed, surprising to find, from the official returns now printed by M. Desbrière, how correct were the returns furnished to Cornwallis by the frigates and small craft which, at great risk, stood close in and examined the numbers, positions, and state of the French ships, or visited such neutral vessels as came out, and sifted their reports, which were always under suspicion of being specially prepared for English consumption.

In France, too, as in England, there were some no-nation scoundrels who made their profit out of the losses and blood of their countrymen, and sold to the hostile Governments such information as they could pick up. It was, of course, a commodity to be suspected; for not to dwell on the possibility of the fellow being an honest man, acting

the part for his country's advantage, or the probability of his being doubly a traitor, a paid spy is bound, by the incidence of his trade, to show value for money received, and, if he has no news, to manufacture some. The first necessity for the Government, then, was to sift, compare, and examine such reports as they received, and by care and caution they did not go far wrong in their conclusions. Napoleon, whose estimate of the acumen of the English Government was very low, believed that they were made to be gulled and would greedily swallow any lie that he prepared for them. It happened, however, that the Admiralty was exceedingly well served, and that the several admirals, especially the commanders-in-chief, were men of exceptional ability, so that the false intelligence was manufactured in vain; and as Cornwallis in the Western seas, like Nelson in the Mediterranean, laid down the rule of acting only on certain knowledge or his own instincts, he could not come to much harm. A remarkable instance of the accuracy referred to is given by a letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty to Cornwallis on October 18, 1803, informing him that they had received intelligence 'of the 'preparations making by the enemy in the ports of Brest 'and Lorient, with a view to a descent on Ireland.' He continued:—

'The source from which this intelligence has been obtained is of that description that no doubt ought to be entertained that the expedition will be attempted whenever a favourable opportunity presents itself to the enemy for so doing, either by the absence of the squadron under your command from its station, or of its being from any circumstances so reduced in point of numbers as may induce the enemy to risk an attack from it. Their Lordships have, therefore, deemed it of importance to the public service that I should call your immediate attention to the object of the enemy, as pointed out in the intelligence above mentioned, and that such a disposition for a part of your squadron should be made as may under the different circumstances be best adapted for defeating the enemy's designs, whenever he may make an attempt to carry them into execution.' *

The letter goes on to speak in detail of the numbers and stations of the ships and of the measures to be adopted both by Cornwallis and by Lord Gardner at Cork, with whom Cornwallis was to act in concert. It is unnecessary to speak of this detail here further than saying that it so completely answered the intended purpose that the proposed

* Leyland, i. 174.

expedition never came off. It is, of course, open to anyone to say that our Government were being fooled, and that no such expedition was really intended. If so, more Frenchmen than Englishmen were being fooled, and among them some of the highest rank. It is certain that during October and November troops were assembled in Brittany on this pretext, and that, in a detailed order dated December 4, 1803, and signed by Bonaparte, we have:—

'Le corps de troupes rassemblé à Brest et destiné à se porter en Irlande sera commandé par le général Augereau, qui prendra le titre de général commandant en chef le camp de Brest. Il ne portera le titre de général en chef de l'armée d'Irlande qu'au débarquement dans cette île. . . . Le corps du général Augereau sera composé, savoir: . . . . Enfin d'un bataillon irlandais; ce qui fera en tout environ 13,000 à 14,000 hommes. . . . Un second corps formé à Rochefort se réunira sous le commandement du général Augereau, ce qui lui fera une force de 24,000 à 25,000 hommes. Comme l'expédition d'Irlande a besoin d'embarquer un grand nombre de fusils, il faut connaître. . . . Il faudrait que l'on pût embarquer de 30,000 à 40,000 fusils.' *

This idea of the invasion of Ireland from Brest continued for a full year and longer, but was latterly mixed with the gathering at Boulogne. On September 29, 1804, we have Napoleon writing to Decrès about the transports which were to carry 18,000 men from Brest to Lough Swilly. How they and the fleet which was to escort them were to get out is not stated. That they were to get out is the working hypothesis. But the landing in Lough Swilly is only the beginning—the first act.

'L'escadre doit donc, après s'être renforcée de tous les bons matelots des six transports, entrer dans la Manche, se porter sur Cherbourg, recevoir là des nouvelles de la situation de l'armée devant Boulogne, et favoriser le passage de la flotille. Si, arrivée devant Boulogne, les vents étaient plusieurs jours contraires et l'obligeaient à passer le détroit, elle devrait se porter au Texel; elle y trouverait sept vaisseaux hollandais et 25,000 hommes embarqués, les prendrait sous son escorte et les conduirait en Irlande. Une des deux opérations doit réussir . . . Lorsque l'escadre sera sortie de Brest, Lord Cornwallis ira l'attendre en Irlande. Lorsqu'il saura qu'elle est débarquée dans le nord, il reviendra l'attendre à Brest; il ne faut donc pas y retourner. Si même, en partant d'Irlande, notre escadre trouvait les vents favorables, elle pourrait doubler l'Écosse et se présenter au Texel. Lorsqu'elle partira de Brest, les 120,000 hommes seront embarqués à Boulogne et les 25,000 au Texel. Ils doivent rester embarqués tout le temps que durera l'expédition d'Irlande.' †

* Desbrière, iii. 420–1. † Ibid. iv. 192–3.

And very nearly at the same time, October 17, Lord Melville was writing to Cornwallis:—

'Of late there has been a good deal of agitation and restlessness in Ireland, from which we conjecture that the disaffected spirits in that country have recently received some additional assurances of support from France. You probably will be likely to know sooner than any person when there are any appearances in Brest harbour indicative of any effort to get from thence. But indeed, independent of any intelligence, I never have had a doubt that if an attempt seriously to invade the king's dominions at home is meant to be made, the object must be Ireland. . . . As Brest is the place to be chiefly watched, I remain in the opinion . . . that exclusive of the blockades of Rochefort and Ferrol, you must never have less than a blockading force of sixteen sail of the line under your immediate command.'

In addition to this the force with Gardner was being strengthened to at least ten sail of the line; so that 'I cannot 'help thinking that an attempt to invade Ireland must be a 'very desperate undertaking, and can only end, if attempted, 'in the ruin and discomfiture of their fleet.'*

Another point of the utmost importance, on which the English had much better information than might have been supposed, much better than Napoleon suspected, was the difficulty which Ganteaume experienced in manning his ships. Every exertion was made to create a fleet, which grew, whilst Cornwallis was watching, from four ships of the line to twenty-one; but without Cornwallis's permission no exertion could make seamen. On November 2, 1804, Lord Melville wrote:—

'As to the state of the French fleet in point of manning, it is a point certainly incapable of being precisely ascertained, but I am led to believe it is inadequately manned from various circumstances. In the first place, although the French got back at the peace a great number of their seamen, they have since had very little commerce, and, without that source to feed it, there will always be infinite difficulty to furnish the supply of seamen to any fleet. Secondly, it must be recollected that those immense flotillas, to which they have turned so much of their attention, must exhaust the great body of their seamen. And lastly, I understood, by the reports which came from your own fleet, that when, in the course of the summer, ten or twelve of the French fleet came down Brest water, apparently with a view of sailing, they were obliged to man that detachment of their fleet by taking a considerable portion of the men from the remaining ships.'†

It cannot be doubted that Cornwallis knew all this and much more a great deal better than Melville, though he did

* Leyland, ii. 95-7. † Ibid. ii. 119-20.

not find it necessary to write much about it; and the knowledge must certainly have lessened the strain of the blockade. In point of fact quite half of the French ships' companies seem to have been soldiers, and a large proportion of the rest were sailors only in name. Napoleon never wearied impressing on Ganteaume the necessity of exercising the men at the great guns and at general quarters; and from time to time Ganteaume reported that they worked the guns exceedingly well in smooth water, but that he doubted if they would be good for much in a seaway.

'Tous les hommes'—he wrote on September 14, 1804—'que nous avons à bord sont parfaitement exercés au canon; ils se battraient bien dans une belle mer, mais, s'il fallait manœuvrer avec le mauvais temps, nous serions fort embarrassés.' . . .*

As the greater number of these men had never been to sea at all, it may be imagined that it was not only the guns that would have been useless in anything like bad weather, and that the ships themselves would have been in great danger. What they might be expected to do in presence of an enemy inured to the sea by the long blockade, Ganteaume knew a great deal better than Napoleon then or Major Desbrière now, who heads a chapter—'L'immobilité de Ganteaume.'

It would have been well for the Spaniards if they could have resolved to imitate Ganteaume's immobility; but though their incompetence at sea was nearly as great, the pressure was brought more home to them and they were sacrificed. The immediate causes of our war with Spain have never before been so fully explained as now by Mr. Leyland. From the beginning of the war with France the Spanish neutrality at Ferrol had been little more than nominal; the French ships of war lay there, and their men marched through Spain as through allied or subject territory. The actual breaches of neutrality in favour of the French were reported in many letters from Pellew and Cochrane, who successively commanded the squadron off Ferrol, watching it as if it was an enemy's port. Letters from Frere, the Minister at Madrid, show his great and increasing irritation at the paramount influence of the French. This was indeed personal with Godoy, but as he was practically the dictator, it affected all official life. On January 28, 1804, Frere wrote to Pellew:—

'This Court have it in contemplation to send out a considerable

* Leyland, ii. 69.

reader of this extended correspondence—the very different tone of the writers. Melville, Cornwallis, and his colleagues always speak of the French in terms of respect—foolish as many of their schemes were, from the naval point of view. There is a seriousness, a sense of gravity about their letters which is in marked contrast with those of Napoleon, who always writes of the English admirals with a more or less covert sneer: they are always about to do something which will open the position and put the game entirely into his hands; or, if they do not do this, they are stupid fools who do not do what clearly they ought to do. We have already seen that in ordering the landing in Lough Swilly, he laid it down that, as a matter of course, Cornwallis, on hearing of the landing, would take his fleet off Brest, so as to leave the Channel open. Of course, on the contrary, he would have done no such thing; his station would have been exactly where Napoleon did not want him, covering the fairway of the Channel. Similar instances are everywhere. Here are a few. When Missiessy slipped out of Rochefort in January 1805, Cochrane, from off Ferrol, was detached in pursuit and followed straight to the West Indies. Napoleon wrote that he would go to the Cape Verd Islands, then to Madeira; 'et si à Madère il ne trouve point de renseigne-'ments, il ira aux Grandes Indes: c'est tout ce qu'un 'amiral et un officier général sensé doit faire dans sa 'position.' Again, on the escape of Villeneuve from Toulon, he wrote that the English were weakening their fleet off Brest, so as to prepare new squadrons to go in search of him. 'Bientôt ils enverront des escadres aux deux Indes. 'Soyez certain que nous n'avons pas affaire à un cabinet 'prévoyant'; or again, on June 9, to Decrès:—

'Il serait très possible que les Anglais, ayant envoyé 15 vaisseaux aux Grandes Indes, armés et équipés à neuf, eussent fait partir en même temps Nelson pour l'Amérique. Je suis d'opinion, cependant, que Nelson est encore dans les mers d'Europe. Le sentiment le plus naturel est qu'il devrait être resté en Angleterre pour se ravitailler et verser ses équipages sur d'autres bâtiments; car ses vaisseaux ont besoin d'entrer dans le bassin, et son escadre peut être considérée comme étant en très mauvais état. . . . Venons aux opérations de l'escadre de Rochefort: les Anglais détacheront, sans nul doute, quelques vaisseaux pour courir sur cette escadre; mais ils ne rentreront pas à Ouessant. Votre défaut est de calculer comme si les Anglais étaient dans le secret; il faut calculer comme doit le faire l'Amirauté: 100,000 hommes sont à Boulogne; 7 vaisseaux de guerre sont au Texel avec une armée de 30,000 hommes, et une escadre de 22 vaisseaux de guerre est dans le port de Brest. . . . Si l'Angleterre est

pénétrée du jeu sérieux qu'elle joue, elle doit débloquer Brest; mais je ne sais pas en vérité quelle espèce de précaution elle peut prendre pour se mettre à l'abri de la terrible chance qu'elle court. Une nation est bien folle, lorsqu'elle n'a point de fortifications, point d'armée de terre, de se mettre dans le cas de voir arriver dans son sein une armée de 100,000 hommes d'élite et aguerris. Voilà le chef-d'œuvre de la flotille! Elle coûte de l'argent, mais il ne faut être maître de la mer que six heures pour que l'Angleterre cesse d'exister.' *

Many other passages might be brought forward, but the sense is always the same—the English are too stupid to see what they ought to do. We must suppose that the Emperor found this persistent depreciation of the English to serve some purpose; this affectation of believing that the measures which, one after another, foiled his plans and defeated his efforts, were mere blundering accidents, resembling, we might almost say, the exploits of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, as related by himself, which nevertheless won him honour, rank, and the Grand Cross of the Bath.

A question of present and everyday interest, one, too, frequently discussed by naval officers, is whether in any future war, and in view of the use by the enemy of sea mines and torpedoes, blockades, similar to those of the past, will be possible. As a matter of fact, however, every blockade has had its own peculiar character; and perhaps when naval officers doubt the possibility, they are thinking more of the blockade of Cronstadt nearly fifty years ago, of the coast of the Confederate States forty years ago, or of what they can imagine a blockade under steam if torpedoes were not, than of the blockades of Toulon or Brest in our old wars with France. But the close blockade of Cronstadt at anchor was only maintained during the light nights of summer; as the nights got darker, the fleet moved down the Gulf. Similarly the close blockade of the Confederate coast was possible only against the naval impotence of the enemy. But neither off Brest nor Toulon was a blockade at anchor ever attempted. On November 6, 1804, Cornwallis, commenting on some suggestions by Captain Hurd, a man distinguished as a surveyor, wrote:—

'A few chosen two-decked ships, when called the advanced squadron, have occasionally anchored off the Black Rocks. Some of our bravest captains in the last war, I have been told, got into three-decked ships to avoid such service. Would Captain Hurd place the whole squadron, chiefly composed of three-deckers, in such an alarming situation?' †

* Desbrière, iv. (v.) 610–11. † Leyland, ii. 123.

Hurd suggested that the whole fleet might safely anchor in Douarnenez Bay, out of reach of the enemy's guns. No such anchorage could now be found; but even in 1804 Cornwallis did not consider the suggestion advisable, and never adopted it. Anchoring close in, if judged excessively dangerous then, would be still more so now, and would scarcely be attempted except under very peculiar circumstances. But under way and in the offing, it is difficult to believe that, with proper care, torpedo-boats could be any serious danger and, as yet, submarines have not emerged from the realm of the sensation novelist. The difficulty of the blockade, under modern conditions, does not lie in any danger of the kind indicated, but in the inability to prevent the enemy's ships, no longer dependent on the wind, escaping from the port. The torpedo threat will probably keep the blockading force at a respectful distance, greater or less according to the state of the weather and the admiral's nerves; and the interned ships may, it is contended, be out and away before the movement can be known. How far destroyers, gunboats and other small craft may suffice to keep the watch, say, in the Iroise, the waters of which were so familiar to Cornwallis's inshore squadron, how clearly and constantly they may be able to communicate with the admiral in the offing, experiments in time of peace may suggest, though nothing but the incidence of war can decide. It may be that, as has been suggested, it will be found effective, as it will certainly be economical, for the main fleet to keep its watch in the Sound or Torbay; and in that case Hurd's proposal to seize Ushant as a signal station, both for our own use and to prevent its use by the enemy, would probably be considered.

But whatever may be the gain from the use of torpedoes, it will by no means be all on the side of the blockaded fleet. Sea-mines have been spoken of as a most valuable defence. They would be, if the blockading force wished to come in; but any such wish, if entertained, has never taken form in an attempt. The batteries have been sufficient for the defence of Brest; the Channel fleet, for the defence of Portsmouth; and to lay down sea-mines in the entrance to either of these places would only render it difficult, or even dangerous, for the defender's ships to come out. If we can imagine a fleet—ignorant, unpractised, inexperienced—such as Morard de Galles led out of Brest in December 1796, they might easily find an entanglement of sea-mines even more dangerous than their predecessors found the Raz du

Sein. On the other hand, it is conceivable that a few active, intelligent, and above all bold young men, in command of torpedo-boats, might make a fleet anchored in the roadstead of Brest, Toulon or Cadiz, fancy that the day of judgement had arrived.

All history suggests the possibility of such an attempt being successful. Those who have learnt that there were navies and naval war before Nelson's time may have read that, early in the Seven Years' War, a bold Frenchman named Thurot, a privateer captain, volunteered to take a dinghy by night into Portsmouth harbour, and set fire to the dockyard or shipping. There were no doubt great difficulties in the way. Ships are not easily burnt from the outside, and the tide in or out of Portsmouth Harbour would be a serious obstacle to the navigation of a dinghy. The project was not considered feasible and was not allowed; otherwise, there can be no doubt that Thurot was a man to have tried it. A hundred years later, an attempt of a very similar kind was actually made in the harbour of Sebastopol by a petty officer of the 'St. Jean d'Acre,' and failed of success by a very narrow margin, only through a fortuitous change of the Russian routine.* But what is more to our immediate purpose is the story of a project off Brest in 1804, now told publicly for the first time by Mr. Leyland.

It was in the end of June that Captain Puget of the 'Foudroyant'—who, as a lieutenant, had been a companion of Vancouver, and whose name lives to future ages in Puget's Sound—sent to Cornwallis a proposal for burning the enemy's fleet in Brest. He had examined the position of the French ships, had taken into account the peculiarities of the navigation of the Goulet, and conceived that—given a favourable opportunity—it would, or at least might, be possible to take in a flotilla of small vessels fitted as fire-ships and fire the whole French line; after which, the men, taking to the boats, would land on the south-western shore of the roadstead, and escape over the isthmus to Camaret Bay, where they would be met by other boats and small vessels. The plan was written out in full detail, and was accompanied by a chart—which Mr. Leyland has reproduced—which, more clearly than any words, explains the proposed operation. He believed the plan would succeed, for he thought that the enemy would be panic-struck; and 'if one man jumped 'overboard, the rest would follow.'

* Sir H. Keppel, 'A Sailor's Life under Four Sovereigns,' ii. 282.

'There certainly appears,' he wrote, 'at the first glance, something like desperation in the attempt; but when it is considered that our plans have the advantage of arrangement, and the enemy off his guard, we may presume that the boldness of the measure, its sudden operation, and the certain confusion and consternation it would produce, will induce success to this enterprise. . . . As to the chance of losing men, which may be called an objection, I can only say we cannot all expect to survive. But I can perceive no more danger attached to this plan than in many attempts during the last war. To cut out vessels from the enemy's port, it frequently occurred that 200 men have been sent to board a single ship. I only require in all 156 persons for this attempt, which combines objects of far greater magnitude.' *

He concluded by expressing a hope that should Cornwallis approve of the attempt being made, he himself might have the honour of leading it, and with him Captain Patrick Campbell, then of the 'Doris,' whose name shines in the annals of our navy as that of a man whose courage was distinguished even in that age of brilliant adventure.

Cornwallis did approve; but as the fireships had to be found and fitted in the home ports, he referred the proposal to Melville. Melville also approved of it; but, for some reason which does not appear, unless it was the traditional desire of the First Lord to keep the initiative in his own hands, he determined that the command should be given to Captain Charles Brisbane, who, on his part, thought it necessary to make the plan his own by suggesting various modifications, shown also by a chart. It is possible that the details of the new plan were as good as those of the old one; better they certainly were not; and the keenness was, to some extent, taken out of Puget, Campbell, and their younger friends by a stranger to the scheme being thus put in command. They readily agreed to serve under Brisbane, but even from their very honourable letters their natural mortification peeps out. After this, in the hands of the Admiralty, the port admirals, and the dockyards, the affair dragged exceedingly, and three months later the fireships were not ready. Still the idea lived, and on September 11 Cornwallis wrote to Melville:—

'I intend to go to the advanced ships and see them all before any attempt is made. It is a daring service, but I have always been of opinion that much might be done by surprise, and I have formerly thought that our ships, though superior to all the world at sea, were not always so secure at anchor.'

* Leyland, ii. 6–7.

A few days later, however, September 17, he had to write to Brisbane:—

'Lord Melville tells me he had mentioned the intended secret service to the sea-officers at the Board, and from them he has received no encouragement to persevere. They concur in thinking the enemy must be supine beyond example, and totally negligent of the common vigilance which the commander of a fleet, &c., &c, and that it gives the most remote chance of success. The opinion of those in office ought undoubtedly to have very great weight, and I would not on any account have the attempt made unless you, Captains Puget and Campbell . . . should continue firmly of opinion as to the favourable prospect. . . .'*

This seems to have given the plan its *coup de grâce*. It had lingered for three months amid the delays and misunderstandings of the dockyards, but was killed outright by the disapproval of the sea-lords, that is to say, of Admiral Gambier, the same who, in a better known case, rendered abortive the plan for destroying the French fleet in Basque Roads. Of Gambier's personal courage there was no doubt, but he had singularly little experience either as captain or admiral. He shrank nervously from the responsibility of anything out of the ordinary, and screened his timidity with a veil of humanity and religion. That a scheme sanctioned by Cornwallis had in it some elements of success there can be no doubt; and, as Puget rightly put it, more men had frequently been risked for a much smaller object.

It is impossible to read this curious story without forming a conception of the possibilities when men as daring as Puget, or Campbell, or their younger companions, lay the counterpart of such a scheme before a commander-in-chief as fearless of responsibility as Cornwallis, who has with him a sufficient number of torpedo-boats, destroyers—or possibly submarines—to allow the scheme to be carried out without consulting any 'damned psalm-singing old woman,' as, with greater regard to truth than to the requirements of naval discipline, Gambier was publicly called by the distinguished captain of the 'fighting "Téméraire."'

* Leyland, ii. 23–4.

'streets and the houses, but nothing at all of what went on 'in the houses.' Physiology was in its infancy. Harvey's immortal discovery was nearly 200 years old, but no great advance had been made in the interval. Physiologists were waiting for a modern microscope and for improved methods of research. Pathology, the study of the origin of diseased conditions, and of the structural changes produced by them, was in its infancy. It waited for Rudolf Virchow. Even on the surgical side not much of practical value had so far grown out of pathology, Hunter's operation for the cure of aneurism by ligature of the artery being perhaps the only one which at that time could have been quoted as a direct result of pathological study on the part of the surgeon who devised and first practised it.

Operative surgery was in advance of medicine, as from its nature it always tends to be. 'Its note was manual 'skill, meaning by this rapidity, courage, and perfection in 'doing surely and neatly what had to be done. The great 'surgeon was he who could amputate a limb in the smallest 'number of seconds.' But the mortality was frightful, and it did not seem to be considered the first duty of the surgeon to think how it could be diminished. It was supposed to be due to influences beyond his control. The same was true of midwifery. In the absence of precise statistics only general statements can be made, but it is certain that both from the inevitable risks of difficult parturition, and from blood-poisoning after childbirth, the midwifery mortality was many times greater than it is at present. Practical medicine received but little aid from accurate diagnosis or from hygiene. It rested, as to diagnosis, on the precarious basis of observation, and as to treatment, on the still more untrustworthy one of experience—*i.e.* on the empirical evidence of the power of certain drugs or methods to do good under conditions believed to be the same as those which called for treatment. 'Experience' was under the dominion of hypotheses which were mostly baseless. It is not, however, necessary to withhold a certain measure of respect from that stage of the developement of the science and art of medicine.

'Observation must precede the birth of real knowledge. In many cases empiricism and observation guided the best physicians of the unscientific ages to remedies which we cannot doubt were potent for good; and it is probable that physicians often acquired a power of minute and correct observation which is more rare now than it was then. The two great remedies of the eighteenth century—bleeding

and the giving of mercury—were, it is certain, often of great value. They were prescribed by men who could not talk about arterial tension, they did not know the condition by name, they had no real knowledge of how it tells upon the heart and leads to degeneration of the main organs of elimination. But the sagacious among them recognised high arterial tension by the pulse, and they arrived somehow at the two modes of relieving it, which could not be improved upon now. They gave mercury and they bled.' *

On the other hand, these same powerful weapons were often used unwisely, and with disastrous results. Practitioners of mediocre ability, of which there must always be many, were more dangerous without the modern aids to diagnosis than they are with them. And besides the practitioners there was the vast body of perfectly ignorant people who were fond of doctoring themselves and their neighbours, and for whom faith healing and homœopathy would have been safer weapons than the mercury and bloodletting then in fashion. The note of modern medicine is *precision*. Everywhere, and by a variety of means, the physician seeks for precise knowledge. He is no longer content to be guided to a diagnosis by facial expression and by his own unaided eyes and fingers. He looks, with the aid of modern instruments, into the eye, the larynx, and other organs; he measures the heart, and the size of its cavities; he listens to the sounds of the chest, observes the reflexes, tests the nutritional condition of nerves and muscles, and records the temperature. With the help of a modern microscope he studies the blood. He asks, by all these new powers of observation, for a precise diagnosis, and having, as he thinks, found it, he demands from the pharmacologist or organic chemist weapons which he can trust to do precisely that to the organism that he wants done. Horace Walpole, in his 'Letters,' gives us many examples of the quackery of the eighteenth-century drawing-rooms, examples which would no doubt be easily matched at the present day. He was a valetudinarian himself, and, like most of that class, he despised doctors, and had an exaggerated respect for his own opinion on medical subjects. He made the mistake of thinking that interest condoned ignorance. For example, meeting his niece's husband, Lord Waldegrave, at his club, evidently seriously ill (Lord Waldegrave was sickening with severe smallpox, of which he died a few days later), Walpole's

* The Progress of Medicine in the Victorian Era, by E. G. Anderson, M.D.

advice was, 'Go home at once, my dear sir, and take 'James's powder. I assure you it is the one thing in the 'world that does good in conditions like yours.' Lord Waldegrave was much obliged for the suggestion, and went home and acted upon it. Walpole was not to blame for not recognising severe smallpox before the eruption appeared, or for not knowing the composition of James's powder; his mistake was in giving advice without knowing anything about the illness or the remedy. It is rash to say what amateurs will not do, but no respectable doctor at the present day would be so hardy as to order James's powder before trying at any rate to find out the nature of the illness. When did the change of system begin? When did doctors begin to take pains to discover what was wrong before attempting to correct it? or perhaps we should rather say, When did they begin to leave off guessing and try to investigate? It is impossible to trace all the steps of the process, and certainly the nineteenth century was well advanced before any great change occurred in this direction. England and Scotland were not, apparently, behind France in diagnostic skill. Christison, with his appreciation of humour, shows us how even a man of Broussais's position was governed in his diagnostic judgement by trifling and fallacious signs. 'Coming to a 'patient in the ward with a pointed tongue, clean all but a 'streak down its centre, "Ah!" exclaimed he, "la langue '"pointue! Voilà! signe infaillible d'une gastrite. Any '"appetite?" "Appetite? Yes, I could eat a horse." '"Néanmoins c'est gastrite. Any thirst?" "No, no thirst." '"Néanmoins gastrite. Any pain in the stomach?" '"No; none at all." "Néanmoins voilà la langue pointue; '"c'est gastrite! Cinquante sangsues à l'estomac!"' This was in 1820, and from a man of renown in the Paris school. At the best, under such conditions, diagnosis was only guesswork. It was not science. The nascent spirit of modern medicine may, however, be said to date from 1796, when Jenner made known his great discovery of the method of producing immunity to the contagion of smallpox by the inoculation of cowpox. He arrived at this discovery by a critical study of other people's observations, and by putting them to the test of experiment. The tradition that persons who had contracted cowpox would not take smallpox was very widely spread in the various dairy counties of England and Ireland, and in Switzerland. The virus of cowpox had even been deliberately inserted in

more than one case in order to escape smallpox. It was Jenner's great glory that he tested the truth of this common tradition, and conceived the idea of passing the protective lymph through an indefinite number of human beings. In that idea lay the deliverance of mankind from a grievous plague, but it contained further the germs of a large part of modern medicine, germs which were destined, however, to remain quiescent for more than fifty years.

In the early part of the nineteenth century Edinburgh was for long the only medical school of fame or repute in the British Empire. The explanation of this is not difficult to find, though the conditions of the Edinburgh school, trammelled as it was by being practically controlled by the town council, were not, one would suppose, specially favourable. The higher standard of primary education in Scotland was, no doubt, an important factor. Lads of marked ability from all the parish schools were encouraged to go to Edinburgh. The cost of university teaching and living was small enough to allow many of these lads to act upon the advice, and the Scotch character helped them to distinction when they were there. It is obvious, too, that Edinburgh gained largely by the absence of competition and by the value of its professional Chairs. It not only had the pick of all the ablest students, but it attracted and kept the best professors. There was nothing in the United Kingdom which would tempt a good teacher to leave Edinburgh. In London, medical education then, as now, was carried on at many centres, no one of which could compete with Edinburgh in size or in the emoluments paid to its teachers. There was, however, a reverse side to the medal. The professors at Edinburgh, being better off there than anywhere else, stayed on too long. New blood was rarer at Edinburgh than even elsewhere. The three Munros, for instance, monopolised the Chairs of Anatomy, Surgery, and Physiology for 141 years. Duncan taught as a professor for thirty-nine years, Gregory for forty-five years, Hope for fifty-three years, Thomson for forty years. It is certain that new ideas were in each of these cases not assimilated for more than a fraction of these long periods. As the professors examined their own students, the school did not suffer in comparison with others, but the progress of scientific medicine certainly suffered. On the other hand, the organisation of the bedside medical teaching was much better at Edinburgh than at the best of the London schools, such as St. Bar-

tholomew's. Even as late as 1820 Christison records that there was practically no clinical teaching on the medical side at Bartholomew's, and no students. He cannot remember learning anything at all from the three physicians there. The surgical students, of which there were several hundreds, never entered a medical ward:—

'Nevertheless, men with only this training were passed annually in hundreds by the London College of Surgeons into the ranks of the general practitioners of England. I could thus easily understand subsequently the superiority of the general practitioners educated at Edinburgh, where medicine proper held a prominent place in the system of hospital instruction, the preference in which they were held in England, and their success and reputation, especially in most of the large English county towns.'

Sir James Paget, in his autobiography, confirms all that Christison said as to the teaching at St. Bartholomew's at that date. In 1842 only thirty students entered there for the lectures on anatomy, and it was in that year only that physiology began to be taught as a separate subject. A few years earlier Paget could find at Bartholomew's no microscope at all when he wanted one. The importance and better organisation of the medical school at Edinburgh, as contrasted with any one of the schools in England during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, make it fitting to begin the study of the progress of medicine in the century, and in the United Kingdom, with a brief mention of some of the leaders of medicine at Edinburgh a hundred years or so ago.

An early worker in the direction of scientific medicine was Dr. James Currie. He studied the effects of cold affusion in fever, and published a series of carefully recorded thermometrical observations. Currie died in 1805, and his epitaph at Sidmouth runs thus:—

'Art taught by thee shall o'er the burning frame
The healing freshness pour, and bless thy name.'

He was the father of much that is valuable in hydrotherapeutics. Clinical surgery was first taught at Edinburgh in 1803 by James Russell, who succeeded in getting a Chair endowed with 50*l.* a year out of 'Bishops Rents.' He held the Chair himself for many years, and then, at the age of eighty-one, sold it to James Syme for an annuity of 300*l.* for the rest of his life. Dr. James Gregory (1753–1821) was a ruling spirit in Edinburgh for nearly fifty years. He took over and completed his father's lectures at the age of twenty, and he was

a professor himself at twenty-three. His measures for the cure of disease were sharp and incisive. Gregorian physic ruled medical practice through his pupils for many years, and in all quarters of the British Empire. He is described by Sir Robert Christison as a consummate professor and a lecturer of the highest order. He belonged to the noble army of fighters. It was greatly due to him that a permanent medical staff was appointed at the Edinburgh Infirmary. Up to his time all the members of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons took turns, for a month each, in attending the hospital wards, with results which may easily be imagined. The reform Gregory advocated was stoutly resisted by the two colleges, and it was the occasion of a long law suit. On one occasion Gregory caned a brother professor. Another law suit resulted, and the defendant was fined a considerable sum. He paid it with an expression of the pleasure it would give him to part with as much more if the satisfaction of 'dusting' his enemy could be repeated. He said of himself that he was 'irascible and 'obstinate, and would willingly see some of his medical 'enemies hanged.'

Two advances of the utmost value were made about the end of the second decade of the century, and within a little of each other. Charles Bell, another Edinburgh man, demonstrated the distinction between the motor and sensory nerves, and Laennec published in France in 1818 his 'Treatise 'on Mediate Auscultation of the Lungs.' Charles Bell worked for ten years or more at his idea before his final essay on the 'Nervous System' appeared in the 'Philo-'sophical Transactions' for 1821. An earlier paper had been printed in 1816. His constitutional modesty permitted him to write to his brother: 'Joking apart, I stand alone in 'anatomy. This business of the nerves may be long of 'coming forward exactly as it should; but my ambition has 'a rest in this—"I have made a greater discovery than ever '"was made by any one man in anatomy, and I have not '"yet done;"' and in another letter, 'It is the only thing 'that has appeared in anatomy since the days of Hunter.' It is pleasant to know that in spite of many disappointments in his life Bell recognised the immense value of the step in solid knowledge he had been able to make, and that the estimate he put upon his work has been fully confirmed by his successors. Laennec's work on auscultation and his invention of the stethoscope were of the greatest value not only in the study of the diseases of the chest, but in the

promotion of a sounder method in the investigation of morbid conditions generally.

James Syme (1799–1870) was another valiant worker towards scientific surgery. It is stated that he never attended a course of lectures on surgery, but he inaugurated a system of clinical surgical teaching at Edinburgh, outside the University, which made him famous, and through the reputation thus gained he forced his way to the Chair of Clinical Surgery, created by Russell, in less than five years from the date of his graduation. It was said of him that 'he never wasted a word, a drop of ink, or of blood.' He was a sort of 'John the Baptist' to antiseptic surgery. In many ways he anticipated its results, and by similar though undeveloped methods. He took immense care in the healing of wounds, by extreme strictness as to cleanliness of hands and instruments, by drainage, and by the evacuation of pus wherever found. Dr. John Brown characterised him as 'verax, capax, perspicax, sagax, efficax, tenax.' Lord Lister became his son-in-law, and it is likely that Syme's powerful influence in the right direction did much to encourage Lister to ponder over the problems connected with the healing of wounds, and to prosecute the researches which have revolutionised the art of surgery. Dr. John Brown was apprenticed to Syme. Brown's fame is literary and personal. 'Rab and His Friends' will survive the reputation of many good surgeons. He was an early contributor to the 'Edinburgh Review.' The last of the Edinburgh medical worthies who belonged in part to the early years of the century was Robert Christison, a man of great ability, honesty, and energy. His influence was all in the right direction so far as scientific medicine was concerned. His mind was truly scientific. He looked facts fairly in the face, and questioned them by experiment. He was not bound up in the trammels of tradition and empiricism. His researches upon poisons and his works on medical jurisprudence are still valuable.

The years between 1806 and 1829 witnessed a regular succession of resurrectionist horrors and worse, both in Edinburgh and in London. The Professor of Anatomy at Edinburgh, Dr. Knox, in 1827, had a class of three hundred students to provide with material for the study of anatomy, and perhaps he had wilfully shut his eyes to incidents which ought to have excited his suspicions. Graves were perpetually rifled of their contents, and the perpetrators were seldom caught. Several people were murdered by

bodylifters. Sir Astley Cooper even said before a committee of Inquiry in the House of Commons, 'There is not an 'individual dies in London, let his rank be what it may, 'whose body I cannot have in my amphitheatre if I choose.' This disgraceful state of things ended with the passing of the Anatomy Act of 1834.

About the year 1824 a powerful influence began to make itself felt in support of reform in medical education, and in medical corporations, and the person who more than anyone else created that influence was Thomas Wakley, the founder and first editor of the 'Lancet.' Wakley was a born reformer and fighter. His biographer says:—

'The abuses that Cobbett and his school were quick to spy out in the body political, but not always quick to persuade other people to see, were, in the case of the medical profession, bare to the casual eye. Nepotism was there rampant, ignorance was too often exalted, and pecuniary traffic determined success. The soul of the reformer had always been in Wakley, and to set right these things he determined to take the field with a weekly newspaper devoted to the interests of the medical profession. The first number of the "Lancet" was issued on October 5, 1823. It was devised to disseminate medical information primarily, and incidentally to make war upon the family intrigues and foolish nepotism that swayed the elections to lucrative posts in the metropolitan hospitals.'

Not unnaturally hospital surgeons and physicians were unanimous in their opposition to the new and mischievous periodical. In the first ten years of the 'Lancet's' existence its editor was engaged in ten actions, six of them being for libel. The aggregate sum of 8,000*l.* was claimed as damages, while 155*l.* only was awarded by the juries, and the editor's costs were largely met by public subscription. It was mainly owing to Thomas Wakley and the 'Lancet' that the medical schools and the examining bodies of London were gradually reformed, that the Medical Registration Act of 1858 was at last passed, and the General Medical Council created.

The 'Lancet' was presently followed by the formation of the British Medical Association, which was represented by its journal. The Association now includes some 21,000 members, and it has done much to encourage the best interests of the medical profession and to promote research.

Turning from the political and educational side of the subject to the scientific, we see that about the middle of the century two great advances were made in the evolution of

modern medicine. Anæsthetics were discovered and Virchow's 'Cellular Pathology' was published.

'It is difficult to explain in simple language the importance of Virchow's work, or even the precise meaning of its title. Pathology is the science of disease, or of life under morbid conditions; it is a step beyond physiology, which is the science of life under normal or healthy conditions. No exact line can be drawn between them, because it is impossible to say where health ends and disease begins; but, obviously, pathology embraces a great many conditions beyond the range of physiology, and it is by so much obscurer and more complex. . . . Before Virchow's time disease was thought to be a sort of entity taking possession of the body or of particular tissues, and to be treated as such. Doctors treated the disease by rule of thumb; they did not treat the condition which gave rise to it, because they did not know what it was. Virchow forged the key to unlock the closed door, and established the principle upon which all subsequent study of the nature of disease is founded. He showed that the "cell" is the unit of life in morbid as well as in healthy conditions, and that every cell originates directly from a pre-existent cell. Even the most abnormal structures are derived from normal cells driven to abnormal developement by injurious agencies. . . . Virchow, in short, gave the art of medicine a real scientific basis.' *

Sir Samuel Wilks has said that Virchow came to generalise, like another Newton, and to give pathologists the Principia of Medical Science.

'The present theory of disease is that all disease presupposes life, and that life is the property of the cell. The activities of the cell are the expression of its life, and they are evoked by stimuli of various kinds which reach the cell from without. The activities of cells, individual or collective, are called physiological or normal so long as the general equilibrium of the organism is not disturbed. They become pathological when they overstep this limit. The conception of disease was changed by Virchow from an entity to a process. . . . It is perhaps not too much to say also that the developement of our knowledge with regard to immunity to the formation of toxins and antitoxins is founded on principles which have been directly evolved from the fundamental conception that the cells in the animal body react mechanically and chemically to foreign stimuli.'†

The discovery of anæsthetics was made known a few years before Virchow's great work was published. Its importance can scarcely be over-estimated.

The initial step towards the discovery might almost be called accidental. It had been noticed empirically that pain was abolished by the inhalation of the vapour of ether.

---

* The Times, September 6, 1902. Obituary notice of Prof. Virchow.
† The Lancet, September 20, 1902.

In 1842 Long, of Georgia, operated under ether narcosis. In 1844 a dentist, Horace Wells, used it several times, and in 1846 it was given by him in the Massachusetts General Hospital while Dr. Morton removed a tumour from the neck. Morton from that date continued to use it. In December of the same year the news of the discovery reached England. Professor Simpson took it up in Edinburgh, studied the comparative merits of several chemically related bodies, pronounced in favour of chloroform, and in 1847 he published details of fifty cases in which, with perfect safety, it had been used to relieve the pain of childbirth. It was very soon applied to surgery. The enormous gain to patients from the abolition of pain is obvious to everyone, but it is not on this ground that the claim of anæsthesia to be counted an important factor in the advance of medical science rests. The discovery of anæsthetics removed the necessity for great rapidity on the part of the surgeon. He was now, for the first time, able to be careful and minutely painstaking as to details. Another and less obvious result of anæsthetics was the improvement of nursing which immediately followed. So long as all surgery was torture scarcely less terrible to see than to bear, very few women were likely to adopt hospital nursing as a profession. Only those of unusually strong nerves would voluntarily place themselves in the way of having to witness, almost daily, suffering on that scale. At the time of the Crimean War this effect of the abolition of pain during operations was just beginning to be felt, and the enthusiasm called forth by Miss Nightingale's services, high character, and ability, expressed itself in the adoption of nursing as a profession by many women who would not have thought of entering hospitals as nurses in the pre-anæsthetic days. The influence of the discovery of anæsthetics on research work has also been immense and far-reaching. Spite of all that has been said to the contrary by excited and thoughtless persons, physiologists are not more cruel than other people. In their search for experimental proof of the truth or falsity of theories, operations on living animals are often necessary, and till these operations could be performed with the minimum of suffering they were very rarely done; consequently the advance of scientific medicine was slow and halting. Very little of that which we now know for certain as to the action of drugs, of physiology, and of bacteriology could have been arrived at had we been without the aid of anæsthesia. It is mainly because Morton and Simpson's discovery has made antiseptic

surgery, good nursing, and medical research work possible that we claim it as one of the corner-stones of modern medicine. That there must always be a certain amount of danger in completely paralysing the sensory part of the brain no one can doubt who is able to realise what this means, and it is best to recognise frankly that there is no such thing as absolute safety with any anæsthetic which abolishes consciousness. Local anæsthesia was made known about 1858, and the anæsthetic effect of cocaine, applied to a mucous membrane or injected subcutaneously, became generally known in 1884. It is reasonable to anticipate that local anæsthesia will in the near future be so far improved that for almost all short operations it may replace the more dangerous anæsthesia produced by inhalations. Already in the United States many important abdominal operations are done solely with the help of cocaine.

Immediately resulting from the discovery and general use of anæsthetics was the remarkable advance in abdominal surgery, beginning, as it did, with the revival of ovariotomy in the hands of Charles Clay, Spencer Wells, Baker Brown, and Thomas Keith. Pioneers in this direction had not been wanting in the pre-anæsthetic days. One of the most important of these, Dr. Ephraim McDowell, was an American. Part of the credit of the advance he made may, however, be given to his teacher at Edinburgh—Professor John Bell—who taught with much vigour and distinctness that ovarian tumours ought to be removed, though it does not appear that he had the courage to act upon his belief. Probably John Bell in the centre of the Edinburgh school was not well placed for making an advance of this kind. Ephraim McDowell in Kentucky had a better chance, and in 1809 he operated successfully on a Mrs. Crawford. In those days nursing was by no means the high art and the invariable handmaid to surgery it has since become, and Mrs. Crawford seems to have nursed herself. Dr. McDowell visited his patient at the end of five days, and, much to his astonishment, found her 'making up her bed.' He operated on five cases in all, and only lost the last. Very probably John Bell was familiar with suggestions which both William and John Hunter had thrown out in favour of a radical cure for ovarian dropsy, William Hunter, in particular, having made several excellent suggestions as to the procedure to be followed in the operation. Even a century earlier, in 1701, an Englishman, Dr. Robert Houston, had operated successfully on a similar case, but his experience had been over-

looked and forgotten. In 1836 two general practitioners in Suffolk, Drs. Jeaffreson and King, each had the courage to attempt the operation and the delight of recording a success. In 1842 Dr. Clay, of Manchester, operated eight times, with three deaths. In 1848 he published a series of thirty-three similar cases. Then there was a pause of several years, in which few successful cases were recorded. Ovariotomy was waiting for three things, without which it could not advance to its full measure of success and usefulness. It needed anæsthesia; it needed a man with the qualities of mind and temperament which should fit him to win for it the sanction of the medical profession and of society at large; and, most of all, it needed the new light upon the conditions which lead to success in all surgery, more especially in peritoneal surgery, which the world owes to the work of Pasteur and of Lord Lister. In 1857 anæsthesia was a familiar factor in surgical work, and to none more so than to the surgeons who had recently gone through the Crimean War. Spencer Wells had had this training, and had just settled in London. Baker Brown had then performed ovariotomy nine times, with only two successes. Wells helped him in his eighth case. It ended badly, and Brown said: 'It's the peritonitis that beats us.' Wells next attempted the operation himself, could not complete it, and the patient died. By this time the voices of the profession and of the public were not unnaturally calling out against the procedure. The medical press denounced it, the leaders of the profession at all the medical societies protested against it, and coroners threatened to take action against surgeons who performed it. But in December 1858 Wells operated again, and shortly afterwards he had two more cases, all three ending well. From this time Clay, Wells, Baker Brown, and a little later Thomas Keith, operated frequently, and with results that did them infinite credit, though they are not comparable with the statistics of the present day. In England the quelling of the opposition was due chiefly to Spencer Wells.

'His strength as an advocate of an unpopular and dangerous procedure lay mainly in his qualities of character and temperament. He was splendidly honest. He promised to tell the whole truth about his results, to publish every case, successful or disastrous, and to show his methods to every surgeon who desired to see them. He kept his word to the letter. But he was helped by a temperament of quite amazing cheerfulness and elasticity. He knew he was doing his best, with such lights as he had, to perfect the operation and to save life

and he would not allow himself to be discouraged by failure in whatsoever shape it came. He had the courage to be hopeful and confident, and encouraging in spite of many disappointments. His radiant optimism was infectious, and his patients forgot there was any risk to speak of in what he was about to do. Nothing is more contagious than optimism or more useful to a practitioner, if he can keep himself from being misled by it.' *

Spencer Wells's success was obtained mainly by a minute attention to detail in every step of the operation. He was never thoroughly converted to Pasteur's and Lister's views, or rather it should be said, perhaps, that he was too old to completely master the technique, so minute and exacting, that their views demand. To be thoroughly aseptic as a surgeon requires the drilling of years in early life. It cannot be 'picked up' after a lifetime of habitual disregard of the infinitely little and of the numerous germ enemies with which Pasteur made us acquainted.

We approach here the great glory of nineteenth-century medicine, the revelation given to us by Pasteur and Lister as to the origin of many diseases through the admission of germs, an advance which has revolutionised theory and practice in surgery and midwifery and in many departments of medicine. The beginning of the search for antiseptics may be dated, in Great Britain, from Sir James Paget's address in 1862 on 'The Treatment of Wounds.' He appealed to his hearers not to be content with the present state of things. He spoke of 'the sore plagues of surgery,' septicæmia, pyæmia, and erysipelas; of the supreme value of repose and cleanliness, and of the difficulty of getting either, and more especially cleanliness in a surgical sense. He thought surgeons should aim at 'keeping out mischief, 'always a very difficult task,' and he added these almost prophetic words: 'I can only suspect that there are yet 'some things hidden.' We know now that in 1862 nearly the whole of bacteriology was hidden. The first step towards the discovery of the influence of micro-organisms in the production of disease and in the healing of wounds had been made in 1857 through M. Pasteur's investigations into the nature of the various kinds of fermentation. He proved that this process was due solely to the entrance into the material capable of fermentation of almost infinitely small particles from the outer world, and that these particles were living bodies, not arising spontaneously, breeding true each to its species, requiring nutriment to build up and

* Anderson, *op. cit.*

renew their substance, and leaving a residuum of excrete waste products. He proved further that by excluding micro-organisms fermentation was absolutely prevented. As early as 1860 he recognised the bearings his studies on fermentation had upon pathology. In a letter to his father he said at that date: 'God grant that by my persevering 'labours I may bring a little stone to the frail and ill-'assured edifice of our knowledge of those deep mysteries 'of life and death where all our intellects have so lamentably 'failed.' Presently he saw that putrefaction was but fermentation applied to animal material, and he writes: 'All 'my ambition is to arrive at the knowledge of the causes of 'putrid and contagious diseases.' Side by side with these investigations he was studying the diseases of wine and of silkworms, and in both cases he found experimental proof that they came from germs introduced from outside. He found also practical methods of preventing these diseases by keeping out or destroying the noxious germs. The studies on fermentation went on, with intervals, till 1872, when he put his theory into the concise formulæ, 'Fermenta-'tion is life without air; ferments are living beings; there 'is a special ferment corresponding to each kind of fer-'mentation; ferments are not born spontaneously.' He then went on to the study of contagious diseases. Villemin had brought the proof of the specific character of tubercular infection, and Davaine had found parasites, which he called 'bacteria,' in the blood of animals that had died of anthrax. Pasteur showed how to obtain a pure culture of the anthrax bacterium and how to test Davaine's theory experimentally. The doctors were, in the great majority, violently opposed to the germ theory of disease. They answered experimental proof with oratory. The less excited among them urged temporising. The surgeon Chassaignac, for example, warned Pasteur that 'laboratory results should 'be brought out in a circumspect, modest, and reserved 'manner, as long as they have not been sanctioned by 'clinical researches, a sanction without which there is no 'real and practical medical science.' Everything, he said, 'could not be resolved into a question of bacteria.'

The great Trousseau, almost alone among the leaders of medicine in Paris, had before his death in 1867 predicted a splendid future for Pasteur's work. After explaining Pasteur's views about ferments, Trousseau said:—

'Perhaps this is likewise true in respect of morbid viruses. Possibly they, too, are ferments deposited in the organism, which, at

a given moment and under certain determinate circumstances, make themselves known by the multiplicity of their products. . . . Under these circumstances, may we not admit that the ferment, or organised matter, of these viruses is transported to one place by the lancet, and to another by the air or the dressings? '

Trousseau could scarcely, however, have imagined the revolution Pasteur's work was soon to make in surgery and midwifery. Instances of the appalling mortality in both these departments of medicine are easily found. In the Paris Maternité Hospital in 1856, in five weeks, out of 347 women admitted 64 had died. The survivors were moved to another hospital, where many of them also died. In 1864, out of 1,350 cases 310 died. The hospital was again emptied and cleaned, but soon afterwards there were 28 deaths out of 103 cases. In 1874 Drs. Tarnier and Budin introduced the new views of Pasteur and Lister, and in spite of what Dr. Roux called ' the tyranny of medical education,' they were by degrees accepted and acted upon by the younger men with the best results. Nearly thirty years earlier at Vienna the Hungarian Semmelweiss had proclaimed the truth that puerperal fever was mainly due to the inoculation of the patient with poisonous matter by the hand of the accoucheur or nurse, and that this mode of contagion could be absolutely prevented. Semmelweiss was persecuted in every way by his medical brethren, turned out of his professorship and ruined. But he had proved his thesis, and the death-rate in the Vienna Hospital, which in 1846 was 13 per cent. from puerperal fever alone, fell in 1848 to 1⅓ per cent. Semmelweiss knew nothing exact about germs, but he arrived very near to Lister's methods by observation, common sense, and minute care. At the present time in England puerperal fever is one of the rarest of calamities in lying-in hospitals where antiseptic methods can be strictly enforced; it is still unfortunately much less rare in private practice.

In surgery proper there was a similar experience, a ghastly mortality after operations, even as late as in the Franco-German war. M. Verneuil wrote:—' Nothing was successful, ' neither abstention, restricted or radical operation, early or ' late extraction of bullets, dressings rare or frequent, emollient ' or excitant, dry or moist, with or without drainage; we tried ' everything in vain.' Nélaton declared that he who should conquer purulent infection would deserve a golden statue. It occurred to Alphonse Guérin that if Pasteur's views as to germs in the air were true, the air in contact with wounds could be filtered by many layers of cotton-wool, and putting

this idea into practice in an imperfect way he had the satisfaction of seeing nineteen out of thirty-four operation cases recover. Guérin asked Pasteur's help towards further improvement, and presently Lister's methods became known in France, partly through the medium of Professor Tyndall's well-known article on 'Dusts and Diseases,' which was republished in a French review.

But the science of the study of micro-organisms did not stop with the rise of antiseptic surgery; it continued to develope. Improved methods of investigation were devised by both French and German biologists, and about 1880 it became possible to separate the various bacteria found in an animal or material, to get a pure or unmixed culture of each, and thus to be in a position to study the effect of each, and to be able to estimate any variation in strength of infective power it might develope under varying conditions. Immense influence resulted from the method Koch elaborated for growing many mixed micro-organisms separately. Step by step, and with infinite labour and patience the specific micro-organism of tuberculosis (discovered by Koch in 1882), of glanders, anthrax, tetanus, diphtheria, cholera, malaria, plague, and influenza has been found, and its life-history traced. It was while searching for the bacillus of rabies that Pasteur found that the poison it created was certainly located in the nerve tissue of the affected animal, that this tissue varied in virulence, and that the virulence could be increased or diminished by varying the species of the animal inoculated, and by the length of time the poisoned tissue had been exposed to the influence of dry air. He found, too, that it was possible to acclimatise animals to the poison by inoculating first a very weak virus, and gradually increasing its strength.

From these observations grew the Pasteur treatment of hydrophobia. It is now known that much of the effect of the pathogenic bacteria is due to the poisons or toxins they manufacture in the process of growth; these poisons have also been isolated and studied, and their effects are known as certainly as are those of the alkaloids derived from the vegetable world. It was further demonstrated that by gradually introducing a specific poison into an animal, immunity could be developed till at last very large doses of poison could be given without serious result. This effect was believed to be due to the gradual formation in the animal of a substance which counteracted the poison and served as its antidote, which substance remained for some

time stored in the blood and was capable of exerting its specific antidotal property when injected subcutaneously into another animal. From this has arisen the antitoxic treatment of diphtheria. Every step in such a research as this had to be tested over and over again upon humble animals, before the results could be finally accepted. Therefore every child saved by the antitoxic treatment of diphtheria owes its life to the scientific use of vivisection. Diphtheria kills through the toxins formed by the bacillus, and if the antitoxin is to have its chance it must be given early in the illness before the nutrition of the nervous system has been profoundly damaged by the poison. By waiting till the toxin has done irreparable harm, say, to the nerves of the heart, the opportunity of saving life has been lost. The poison needs to be antagonised before it has done its fatal work, and not after.

The mortality from diphtheria, in spite of the fatal delay which has too often occurred before using the antitoxic serum, has been reduced more than 50 per cent. since the introduction of the new treatment.

To discover by experiment any easily applied and trustworthy method of producing immunity to the morbific influence of the microbes which cause dysentery and typhoid fever would be worth the lives of many rabbits, or even of many dogs. It would save each year many thousands of valuable lives in the prime of life and vigour, and it would be a powerful factor in the civilisation of the human race. Investigations upon possible methods of treatment, or prevention, of dysentery, pneumonia, and typhoid fever, based upon the knowledge now gained of their microbial origin, are being carried on. Often the problem is complicated by evidence which suggests that one illness—*e.g.* pneumonia—may result in different cases from the developement of any one of several micro-organisms; that the specific cause of an inflammation may be multiple. There is also much to learn as to the conditions which morbid germs require for their power to develope and to produce disease. The diphtheria bacillus, for instance, is often found to be present on the mucous membrane of the fauces in persons exposed to the infection of diphtheria, but in whom no illness has resulted, or does result. What is the secret of immunity in such cases? We do not know. In the South African war typhoid fever and dysentery killed many more than the Boers did. How to prevent typhoid in armies is a problem which ought to be studied

with open minds and with immense patience by those responsible for the health of the soldiers. Official optimism and indifference to all loss of life with which the Army Medical Department is familiar ought to be sternly checked at the War Office. Even with our present knowledge, it is nothing less than a disgrace to admit that soldiers cannot be protected in large measure against typhoid. The provision of an adequate amount of boiled water is not a task beyond the skill of man to perform, and there is good reason to believe that even with this precaution alone the loss of life from enteric would be enormously diminished. In civil life also the number of valuable lives lost from typhoid fever is a reproach to medical science, and no efforts should be spared to wrest from Nature the secret by which immunity might be gained.

Closely connected with the study of bacterial organisms, and depending, like it, upon the greatly increased power of the modern microscope, is the study of the blood, in which most important advances have been made within recent years. Even under normal conditions the serum of the blood has some antitoxic or bactericidal property. The white cells in the blood are of several kinds; they have different functions, and it is the special function of some of them to attack and incorporate bacteria by a process which can only be called digestive. These cells are the scavengers of the tissues; they pull down and remove waste material, wage war with noxious bacteria, and the immunity we usually enjoy from the assaults of bacterial invaders is due in part, at least, to their ceaseless activity and digestive power, or, as it is called, to phagocytosis. This view of the protective action of the wandering cells, which we owe chiefly to Metschnikoff (one of Pasteur's pupils), goes far to explain the connexion we all know to exist between immunity from acute illness and good general health. While our garrison of defenders is strong and active, we are competent to deal with any ordinary attack from our bacterial foes, more especially if our tissues are unwounded. It has long been known that the best preservative against tubercular disease, for instance, is to be in a state of good health and nutrition; and we know now that this is because our standing army of white cells in the blood and the lymphoid system generally is then in its most effective condition. The knowledge of the importance of a high state of nutritional activity has of recent years been applied with excellent results in many morbid conditions, of

which the more conspicuous are the treatment of tubercular disease of the lungs, and of chronic functional disorders of the nervous system. What is called the open-air treatment of phthisis is essentially an attempt, happily often quite successful, to so increase, by pure air and much food, the resisting forces of the system that the morbific bacteria are overpowered, and the healing of the injuries they have caused becomes possible. Lung tissue that has been destroyed cannot be replaced as such, but the wounded parts may heal with scars and fibrous tissue and contraction. The Weir Mitchell treatment of chronic nervous failure also depends upon a recognition of the immense value of high nutritional activity.

Our knowledge of the life-history of the red blood-corpuscles has also been greatly extended. We know now that they are mainly developed from the nucleated colourless cells of the bone marrow, that they vary greatly in size, form, and oxygen-carrying power, and that these variations are related to different forms of anæmia. Another advance in practical medicine made in recent years is the fuller recognition we now have of the interdependence of all parts of the organism; the belief that every gland contributes something to the blood which is necessary for the general well-being; that excretion is only one side of the function of even the chief excretory glands, what they put into the blood being of importance as well as what they remove from it. This 'internal secretion' has been specially studied in the case of several organs the true and important functions of which have only recently, by means mainly of experimental physiology, been appreciated. We know now that a semi-cretinoid condition is caused by the wasting of one gland, diabetes by the wasting of another, and Addison's disease by the wasting of a third. In one of these diseases the morbid condition can be arrested and health restored—and it is one of the most wonderful facts in medicine—by eating daily a small quantity of the gland that has failed, deriving the substitute from the sheep. The investigation into the real nature of malaria, and into the mode in which the disease is communicated to man, is another of the great triumphs of modern medicine. The existence of a malarial parasite had long been suspected. Exact knowledge on the subject has only been gained within the last twenty-two years. It is now certain that malaria is due to the presence in the blood of a parasite which occupies a definite time in going through its life cycle, and that the hot and cold stages

of the illness correspond precisely with certain of the steps of this cycle. The varying forms of malaria depend upon parasites of related but separate groups, each of which has its own life-history and rate of developement. The malarial parasite is conveyed from man to man through the agency of the mosquito and of the genus anopheles. The mosquito receives into its stomach from man some blood containing the parasite, which forthwith goes through certain developemental changes, and in the end the germs make their way to the salivary gland of the mosquito, and thence get transferred to a new victim. The mosquito is not only the carrier, but also the intermediary necessary host of the malarial parasite during an important part of its life-history. These facts have been ascertained by immensely patient work on the part of Laveran, Grassi, Celli, Ross, Manson, &c.; the steps gained by reasoning and by microscopic investigation have been confirmed by two carefully planned experiments. Five people spent the worst months of the year in a highly malarious district in Italy, taking no quinine and living out of doors except when the mosquitoes feed—*i.e.* just before sunset and in the night. At these times they were carefully protected by wire blinds to their windows and doors, and mosquito curtains round their beds. They had no malaria. The second experiment consisted in feeding mosquitoes of the anopheles group on patients suffering from malaria in Italy, sending the infected mosquitoes home, and letting them feed on two of the heroic investigators, who forthwith had well-marked attacks of malarial fever.* That the problem is absolutely solved in all its points is probably not the case. It may be questioned, for instance, if man is the only necessary host for the parasite in its first stage, and, if so, why severe malaria has often occurred in exploring countries hitherto uninhabited by man. Does man share with some other animal the melancholy honour of being the parasite's first host, or is his position unique? In the latter case, how does the parasite live in the absence of man? It will probably be found that the malarial parasite is capable of using several animals, of whom man is one, as its host. But the knowledge that has been gained, even if not all we want on the subject, promises to be of enormous practical advantage. Life in tropical and semi-tropical countries will be indefinitely helped if malaria can be controlled and prevented, and

* Lancet, p. 923, February, 1900. Dr. Manson.

it no longer seems Utopian to hope that this will soon be possible.

Within the last decade of the century under review several important advances have been made in the study of light, and in the therapeutical effects which may be derived from light. It has been discovered that the ultra-violet rays are more powerful in their effect upon tissues and upon morbid bacteria than any others, and on this discovery the Finsen's light treatment of lupus and of some forms of malignant disease has been based. There is already good reason to hope that several diseases hitherto considered incurable have been, in some cases at any rate, absolutely removed by the action of the ultra-violet rays, applied with due precautions, for a considerable length of time. Further developement of knowledge and of therapeutic usefulness may be expected in this direction at no distant date.

Even more remarkable has been the discovery of a new form of radiation, known as the X or Röntgen rays. These rays are produced only in tubes containing highly rarefied air, through which an electric current is passed. When the tube is covered with a closely fitting mantle of black cardboard, it is observed (in a completely darkened room) that a paper screen washed with barium-platino-cyanide, or with certain other chemicals, lights up brilliantly, whether the side washed with the fluorescing material or the other side be turned towards the tube. The fact that rays capable of exciting brilliant fluorescence were able to pass through thick black cardboard led to the discovery by Röntgen in 1895 that all bodies are transparent, though in different degrees, to the rays so produced. It was found that the rays were also photographic if received upon a duly prepared plate. This new form of radiation has been extensively used in surgery, and its application to medicine, both for diagnosis and treatment, is daily extending. What is seen is the shadow (or the photograph of the shadow) of the parts or structures through which the rays have passed, the shadows deepening in proportion to their resistance to the rays. The correct appreciation of the depth of many shadows, and the power of calculating the plane on which a hidden foreign body showing a shadow will be found, are obviously only possible after considerable care and practice. The exposure required to get the shadows varies considerably, and it is never very short, as in photography. The rays themselves can do harm, especially after a long or frequently repeated exposure, or undue nearness of the focus-

tube to the skin. A large number of instances of severe injury have been reported, some of which have ended fatally. It is therefore not probable that as a method of investigation the Röntgen rays will ever become of great use except as applied by experts. On the other hand, the high degree of potency which these rays possess may very possibly be applied to therapeutic usefulness. If tubercular or malignant disease of the skin can be removed by them, it is not impossible that they may favourably affect deeper structures. We have at any rate in them a new power, which it may eventually prove possible to apply usefully in many directions, and which demands most careful study.

In the progress of medicine during the last twenty-five years the influence of the best universities in the United States, and in a smaller degree of those in Canada, has been a factor of considerable importance. The standard of work at, for instance, the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore, U.S.A., has conspicuously succeeded in influencing the best European workers on pathology, clinical medicine and surgery. The reasons why certain universities in the United States have made their work felt so much more powerfully than any similar institutions on this side of the Atlantic cannot be stated in a few words and at the end of an article. It is a complex problem made up of many factors. Among them, however, it is safe to say that the magnificent liberality shown by rich men and women in endowing some of the best universities in the States and in Canada occupies a very important place. Original research on any large scale is impossible in the absence of big endowments. The patient study of how to apply the results of research to clinical medicine and surgery is almost equally impossible without endowments. The best intellects of the age are wanted for progress in both these directions, and they cannot be had for the work if they are forced to allow themselves to be absorbed in the duty of earning a living on a lower intellectual plane. If England is to keep up with the United States in research and its applications to pathology and medicine, large endowments must be forthcoming for Oxford and Cambridge, and for the University of London. Failing them we shall have to be content with admiring the work done in the best American universities, and with taking a second place ourselves.

Space compels us to leave unmentioned the advances made in many other directions, notably in knowledge of diseases of the nervous system, in ophthalmology, in otology, in

psychology, in rational therapeutics, in hygiene, in public health, and in the administration of hospitals. The new century begins its history from a vastly higher standpoint all round than its predecessor did. But chiefly our hope for it lies in the desire, which has become so much more acute and general within the last fifty years than perhaps ever before, to get away from the bondage of theories and hypotheses, and to be able to question and cross-question facts till their full meaning becomes plain. The true students of medicine are to-day everywhere struggling to get to the heart of the disturbing influences which break up the harmony of health and life. They are asking not for petty nostrums against this ailment or the other, but for the wisdom which shall make them 'privy to the mystery 'of knowledge' in all that concerns health.

ART. III.—1. *Watch and Ward.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1871.

2. *Roderick Hudson* (*1875*).* 1886. 3. *The American* (*1877*).* 4. *The Europeans* (*1878*).* 5. *Stories Revived.* Second series (*1867–78*).* 6. *Daisy Miller, etc.* (*1878*).* 7. *Confidence* (*1879*).* 8. *The Madonna of the Future, etc.* (*1879*).* 9. *An International Episode, etc.* (*1879*).* 10. *Washington Square* (*1880*).* 11. *The Portrait of a Lady* (*1881*).* 12. *The Siege of London.* 1883. 13. *Stories Revived.* First series (*1866–84*).* 14. *Tales of Three Cities.* 1884. 15. *The Bostonians.* 1886. 16. *Princess Casamassima.* 1886. 17. *The Reverberator.* 1888. 18. *The Aspern Papers.* 1888. 19. *A London Life.* 1889. 20. *The Tragic Muse.* 1890. 21. *The Lesson of the Master.* 1891. 22. *The Real Thing.* 1892. London: Macmillan & Co.

23. *The Private Life.* London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co. 1893.

24. *Terminations.* 1895. 25. *Embarrassments.* 1896. 26. *The Other House.* 1896. 27. *The Spoils of Poynton.* 1897. 28. *What Maisie Knew.* 1898. 29. *The Two Magics.* 1898. London: Heinemann.

30. *In the Cage.* London: Duckworth & Co. 1898.

31. *The Awkward Age.* London: Heinemann. 1899.

32. *The Soft Side.* 1900. 33. *The Sacred Fount.* 1901. London: Methuen.

34. *The Wings of the Dove.* London: Constable. 1902.

IN every final consideration of a novelist's achievement the most significant question will probably concern itself with the ground he has covered. Romance has stepped into the place of poetry as a criticism of life; the novelist has become the reviewer, and one asks, not unreasonably, in measuring his accomplishment, how much of life can he review. One thus requires for the sum of his books a measure differing from that imposed by any one of them. One asks vitality of the particular performance, but one demands variety from the whole. There may be less of 'life' in a romance that deals with empires and dynasties than in some obscure chronicle of a city slum, but a continued preference for the slum as a subject would confess parvitude in

* The asterisk in each case denotes date of original publication.

the point of view. For the novelist is an interpreter as well as a reviewer, and the value of his total interpretation will depend not only on his knowledge of one tongue, but on his acquaintance with many. He has to select his subjects for us from every language of the world's emotion, and the adequacy of his selection must depend essentially upon the number he knows. Our interest in romance to-day is much more personal than was such interest in the past. We demand actuality, we demand character; and, behind the artist's craving for beauty and his sense of form, we look for a desire and an ability to render circumstance available to our appreciation; a mission to translate for our cognition the circumstance and sentiments with which he is impressed. So, though it prove the duller way, we would consider the compass of Mr. Henry James's work before its quality, even though that quality must be considered its most intrinsic feature.

The amplitude of his work, the sheer space of shelf which his novels cover comes as a first surprise to the collector. One has somehow regarded him as the reverse of a prolific writer, and the pleasures conferred by his successive volumes have always seemed too far apart; yet there have been published for the English reader close upon a hundred novels and tales, and others still are beached unprofitably in the stagnant harbourage of magazines. Such an output is clearly not that of a man who regards literature as an amusement, and it is very interesting to observe that Mr. James's fecundity has increased with every decade of his working life. He was born on April 15, 1843, and, as his first tale appeared in 1866, he has been transcribing his impressions for thirty-six years. To his work such a description is especially applicable, for he has throughout adopted the part of the social recorder, and only for the briefest season has his attention been diverted from his own time. So close indeed has his attention been that the period of which he writes is most often that in which he is writing, an intimacy in association which gives his work a freshness of colour like that of a canvas painted in the open air.

Freshness of colour would perhaps be by some critics considered the quality most conspicuously absent from his work, but by freshness we do not mean that false air of reality which is the result of superficial imitation, and may be produced so cheaply. The freshness of Mr. James is an effect of atmosphere, not of outline. One might say that in some of his work he is preoccupied with atmosphere,

and occasionally resembles the artist who preferred to paint a purple cow to sacrificing the serenity of his twilight to the true colour of the animal. Mr. James's pictures have their purple cows; he is concerned pre-eminently with effect, and to that end is always prepared to subordinate his material. Even in his longest stories he maintains marvellously the sense of tone, he keeps down his accessories, and produces a continuity of impression which makes him the admiration and the despair of his fellow-craftsmen. No doubt to those who have no fondness for effect, who desire that every character should be depicted in the blinding light of noon-tide knowledge, his delicacies, his hesitations, his designed obscurity are an irritation, and his method seems as artificial as they proclaim it. Yet artifice of some sort must always be used in reducing from the life, and impressionism may be but the finest order of realism, the rendering of a feeling instead of a fact.

In his earlier stories, which are mostly short, there are but few hints of the line along which his sympathies were to travel. In his first nine years of work we have record of but ten stories, and of these only 'Watch and Ward' runs to the dignity of a separate cover. It is a trite enough theme, not made remarkable by the handling, and suggesting only in certain sketches of character the author of to-day. Of the others 'A Passionate Pilgrim' is of the order of tales that owe everything to the telling. It tells, indeed, only how an impoverished American came to see in England the home of his ancestors, saw there also, after a day's acquaintance with its inmates, the ghost of the woman for whose shame and death his particular ancestor was responsible, and died himself as a consequence of the vision before many days. The subject, touching the spiritual evasively, is one for which Mr. James has shown a more than occasional fondness, and one can imagine how, if treated in his latest manner, the sense of mystery would have been deepened by a different finish, by retention throughout of the tragic numbness with which the story opens. Except the 'Pilgrim' there is nothing in this nine years that would be seriously missed from the author's work; nothing, despite retouching, which produces its essential features.

In 1875 appeared 'Roderick Hudson,' his first long novel, characteristic of the work to follow in the fifteen years which we will call for the sake of definition his middle period, covering the volumes by which he is generally estimated and best known. But 'Roderick Hudson'

marks a significant extension of the author's interest across the Atlantic, and it is something in favour of our 'periods' that whereas America supplies themes for the first, the second is essentially European, while the third scarcely wanders from English soil. Also that handling of the supernatural which figures so prominently in his earlier and later stories finds in the 'middle period' no place at all; and the contrast in national temperament, which so frequently affords a subject in that middle period, disappears in the more subtle scrutiny which marks the last. The story of Roderick Hudson is in fact immersed in the shadow of such a contrast: a contrast between Massachusetts and Rome, the New World and the Old, the Puritan aloofness of Mary Garland and the voluptuous Paganism of Christina Light.

Roderick, weak brilliant unhappy Roderick, passes between them, from a tepid satisfaction in the one, to breathless worship of the other. A speedy transit, for Roderick, though sprung from New England, was born to a wider heritage of the past than was Christina. She was beauty but he was its priest. The story of the brief outburst and burning of his genius is admirably told. There is a tragic hint even in his first successes. He leaves port like some flimsy galleon under a great cloud of sail. One holds one's breath at its disastrous loveliness. And the catastrophe comes not from without but of his inherent weakness. Christina arrives in time to complete the wreckage, but she is not the cause of it. She is, on the contrary, responsible for the last leap of his genius. It is the inspiration of her beauty that breathes a final glow into the smouldering ashes of his capacity, and forces him by a final effort to burn himself out. After that only the tragic note is sounded, a note to which Christina unwillingly and unwittingly contributes. Poor Roderick's efforts to raise himself for a flight after losing the counterpoise of his inspiration resemble nothing so much as the pitiful comical winged somersaults of a bee whose body has been bitten off, and death comes to him as the least ruinous ending. The book is wonderfully complete for a writer's first sustained effort; wonderfully balanced and free from crudity, abounding in happy bits of portraiture and observation. Mrs. Hudson is the first of many ordinary middle-aged women whom the author has drawn with such curious appreciation and fidelity.

'She was excessively shy, and evidently very humble-minded; it was singular to see a woman to whom the experience of life had conveyed

such scanty reassurance.' 'There was no space in her tiny maternal mind for complications of feeling, and one emotion existed only by turning another over flat and perching on top of it.' 'These were the reflections of a very shy woman, who, determining once in her life to hold up her head, was actually flying it like a kite.'

Mary Garland is treated much less definitely; hers is indeed almost one of those portraitures by omission for which Mr. James developed later such a liking. But then her life was so largely made up of omissions that she has a right to the method. Yet she is no less charmingly and more completely presented than magnificent Christina, whose likeness is rendered unavoidably lustrous by the radiation of her beauty.

'The American,' which followed two years later, is another international novel, but the contrast is social, not artistic, a contrast between the New World with its naked millions and the proud penury of the old nobility of France. Christopher Newman, who had served an apprenticeship to most trades before making his fortune, sets his intentions more than his affections on Claire de Cintré, the daughter of a house that had looked forward to Charlemagne, and regards trade as somewhat more dully incompatible than crime with its traditions. The situation has obvious possibilities; obvious pitfalls too, of insistence and exaggeration. The author avoids these till near the finish, for Mrs. Bread and the melodramatic mystery of the Bellegardes must be considered one into which he has fallen. Newman, with his 'look of being committed to nothing in 'particular, of standing in an attitude of general hospitality 'to the chances of life, of being very much at one's own 'disposal,' is of a delightful type. He stands smiling, with his back very firmly set against his fortune, ready to admit any man, even a French Marquis, to be his equal, yet fully conscious how much of the pleasure and beauty of life lies outside his compass; shrewd, simple, tender and strong, a figure well worth drawing; and the old hotel in the Rue de l'Université throws it into almost violent relief. But the relief is attenuated by Valentin de Bellegarde, and the pert little Marquise, both more modern than America itself, and he, frankly, ardently, gallantly alive, without money, morals, or the fear of death, is, as a type of manhood, no whit less attractive than Christopher Newman. Claire de Cintré is another portrait by omission; indeed, perhaps in no other of his characters has the author left so much in by leaving so much out. Nothing is explained, very little enumerated; we see her only as a vague figure in those forbidding halls,

yet her memory remains as an exquisite fragrance when the vigour of the book is almost forgotten. And the book abounds in vigorous portraiture; the canvas is wonderfully well filled. Little M. Nioche and his audacious daughter are as perfectly seen and as excellently placed as Urbain de Bellegarde and his forbidding mother; and though the book may be most commonly esteemed for its sketch of the deadly serious pretension of life in the Faubourg St. Germain, its real value lies rather in its grip and coherent inclusion of a wide and moving scene. The unheralded melodrama of its close is a commentary on the criticism that, whatever may happen in Mr. James's novels, nothing comes of it. The truth being that the author occasionally in his earlier work displays almost a relish for violence in his conclusions.

In 1878 'Daisy Miller' and 'The Europeans' were published, the one as widely quoted as the other is unknown. It was natural that so simple and dispassionate a study of the American maiden then looming into prominence—a maidenhood as lacking in the finer as in the fuller shades of feeling—should have commanded attention, but the extent to which 'The Europeans' has escaped it seems unaccountable. It has all that one imagines a book needs to attract the unintelligent reader, and yet contains nothing that could distract the most fastidious. It is conceived in a delightful atmosphere, a delicate severity of Puritanism tempered by competence, an atmosphere perfectly preserved throughout, which the Europeans agitate without disturbing, and completely indicated by grave Mr. Wentworth's attitude to his household. He had 'a vague sense of jealousy being an 'even lower vice than the love of liquor,' and Felix, his brilliant foreign nephew, appeared 'so bright, and hand-'some, and talkative that it was impossible not to think 'well of him; and yet it seemed as if there were something 'almost impudent, almost vicious—or as if there ought to be —in a young man being at once so joyous and so positive.' The story makes something like a record in happy endings. Every one but the wicked Baroness, who has one already, finds a predestined mate. One might suppose that Mr. James set himself to show how satisfactory he could make a story without making it absurd. But the achievement which one feels most concerned him was the development of Gertrude Wentworth. She is suggested rather than drawn, with a marvellous economy of means, yet with such exquisite felicity, that one feels to know much more about her than the author can tell us, and takes leave of her with

a curiosity which he cannot satisfy. Mr. James has sketched nothing with a more sensitive point than the evasive opening of her flower to love; not to the love which, in that Puritan community, was three parts a duty, but to love which in her cousin's arms was wholly a joy. Yet Gertrude is by no means an obtrusive figure of a comedy in which all the characters are so happily arranged, so admirably fitted, that one could read it a dozen times for sheer pleasure in its workmanship. 'Confidence,' which followed a year later, differs from 'The Europeans' in almost every particular save that of a happy ending. Yet its happiness is not of that sweet inevitableness which subsides gently into its place through the last chapter. The scene changes restlessly across Europe and America, and the consequences of Angela's perversity illustrate an occasional tendency on Mr. James's part to over-elaborate an issue.

In 1880 came 'Washington Square,' which must rank as one of the author's significant novels. One can think of no one else who could have written it, who could have used the spareness, the dulness of its material with such effect. Surely no heroine ever had less in her favour than plain Catherine Sloper, yet we follow the conversion of her humble deference into a kind of heroic obstinacy with absorbed attention. 'Her dignity was not aggressive; it never sat in 'state; but if you pushed far enough you could find it.' The dignity disengaged itself at last, as a hard determination, from the pulp of her sad crushed sentimental spirit, and it is the slow creation of that hardness, not by the cruelty of fate, nor from her lover's falseness, but by the injustice of the father she had trusted and admired, which makes her story so engrossing. He had killed something in her life, and she turned its coffin into a kind of altar. Not consciously. It is the essence of her pathos that she seems never more than numbly conscious of what she feels. The whole story is a miracle in monotone; of the monotonous in life treated unmonotonously.

The 'Portrait of a Lady,' which appeared a year later, is the longest and most intricate novel of the 'middle' period. It is exactly defined by its title. Only once or twice, in a certain callous indifference to the pain she inflicts on her lovers, does Isabel Archer seem to forfeit the designation. For the rest she adheres almost too closely to it. She is often so much of a lady that one ceases to think of her as a woman, not from worldly or social ambition, but from an

emotional temperament too thin to disturb its intellectual impressions. She did not desire marriage, but required in that event the finest thing in the way of a husband. That she could have considered Gilbert Osmond in such a light is the severest criticism on her perception, and severs her from sympathies which had not been alienated by her somewhat too obvious self-esteem. She had every right to think well of herself, she was a very charming and delicate product of the New World, and it is really because one shares her complacency that one is humiliated by her choice. To her aunt it had 'an air of almost morbid perversity,' but one resents most its seeming so reasonable to herself. She was not influenced by circumstance, nor blinded by passion; she took almost as much time to her mistake as to its amending, and it is only a hint of this towards the finish which restores her to our esteem. She makes the one possible reparation by leaving the man she has learnt utterly to despise. In its presentment of Ralph Touchett the book offers a companion portrait of a gentleman, from which no deductions need be made. Tender, and whimsical, and open-handed, 'with all the illumination of wisdom and none of its 'pedantry,' a humorous perception that included his own decrepit lungs, and 'a kind of loose-fitting urbanity that 'wrapt him about like an ill-made overcoat,' Ralph even by his bitterest disappointment is never betrayed into an ungenerous word.

The book yields little to quote, nor do the figures in its background much concern us. It is occupied with its great effort, and, while offering that a tribute of admiration, one can only wish that it had painted for us a lady on somewhat less exclusive lines.

The four following years produced nothing but short stories, three of them, 'The Siege of London,' 'Lady 'Barbarina,' and 'A New England Winter,' being devoted to the contrast between the American and European mind, and one, 'The Author of Beltraffio,' being the first of several studies of a literary contingence; no considerable novel appearing till 1886, when both 'The Bostonians' and 'Princess Casamassima' saw the light. 'The Bostonians' deals with the designs of a coterie of women in Boston City to force the rights of their sex upon America: a portentously dull subject, and treated with such diffuseness that its first seventy pages only advance it by a single evening. Yet the story gains on one's attention, and contains some wonderful portraits of unattractive women. Miss Olive Chancellor

was perhaps the most difficult. She belonged to the class of people

'who take things hard. She was subject to fits of tragic shyness, during which she was unable to meet even her own eyes in the mirror.' 'She had a fear of everything, but her greatest fear was of being afraid.' 'Of all things in the world contention was most sweet to her (though why it was hard to imagine, for it always cost her tears, headaches, a day or two in bed, acute emotion).' 'She was unmarried by every implication of her being. She was a spinster as Shelley was a lyric poet, or as the month of August is sultry.'

Such qualities complicated with a passion for the position of her sex, a store of learning, and the New England conscience constitute a character of the highest difficulty, but it is perfectly, even pathetically realised. Of the others Miss Birdseye and Miss Farrinder are the best done. Miss Birdseye

'had a sad, soft, pale face, which (and it was the effect of her whole head) looked as if it had been soaked, blurred, and made vague by exposure to some slow dissolvent. The long practice of philanthropy had not given accent to her features; it had rubbed out their transitions, their meanings.' 'In her large countenance her dim little smile scarcely showed. It was a mere sketch of a smile, a kind of instalment, or payment on account.' 'She belonged to the Short-Skirts League, as a matter of course; for she belonged to any and every league that had been founded for almost any purpose whatever.' 'She looked as if she had spent her life on platforms . . . in her faded face there was a kind of reflection of ugly lecture lamps: with its habit of an upward angle, it seemed turned towards a public speaker, with an effort of respiration in the thick air in which social reforms are usually discussed.' 'She talked continually, in a voice of which the spring seemed broken, like that of an overworked bell wire.'

One can but give a few lines in the portrait, yet how amazingly it comes out, with, for all its comedy, not a touch that alienates. Mrs. Farrinder is of a type entirely different.

'There was a lithographic smoothness about her, and a mixture of the American matron and the public character. There was something public in her eye, which was large, cold, and quiet; it had acquired a sort of exposed reticence from the habit of looking down from a lecture desk over a sea of heads, while its distinguished author was eulogised by a leading citizen. Mrs. Farrinder, at almost any time, had the air of being introduced by a few remarks.' 'The ends she laboured for were to give the ballot to every woman in the country and to take the flowing bowl from every man.'

The two are but secondary characters, indeed Mrs. Farrinder is hardly that, yet Mr. James contrives, by what in an artist would be called brush-work, to hold our attention to these queer women, while he develops leisurely a more romantic element.

'Princess Casamassima' deals with ambitions of another kind, the ambitions are anarchical, and the scene is mostly laid in London slums. The Princess is Roderick Hudson's Christina Light separated from her husband, and embracing in his stead the fashionable nihilism of the day. She remains delightful, though not quite with the fresh insolent charm of her maiden days: but the most admirable portrait of the book is again of an unlovely middle-aged woman, poor foolish faithful Amanda Pynsent, a dressmaker in a squalid court—with the meagrest 'connection,' a touching reverence for things as they are, and an absorbing affection for the little boy she has adopted. Beside poor 'Pinnie's' steadfast goodness, the Princess seems a hollow charlatan, and Lady Aurora loses colour. Indeed, the only woman in the book whom she does not affect is big vulgar bouncing brilliant Millicent, the shop girl in the Palace Road, a good comrade, sharp as a rat, obtrusively respectable, but capable of compromise for an adequate stake. The book gives a further extension to Mr. James's range, but it lacks balance and is not very well put together.

The next year showed nothing but short stories, and in 1888 came 'The Reverberator,' a variant of 'The American,' the intending invader of an old French family being this time a girl. Here the story is acceptable chiefly for its fun, and is the only instance in which Mr. James has relied on humour for his main interest. His humour is never of the explosive kind. He does not let it off as out of a mortar to convulse you suddenly with a burst of laughter. His humour no more aims at laughter than his tragedy at excitement, or his pathos at tears. It is a quiet illumination of life which is a pledge against bathos more than an incitement to be merry. He very seldom uses it to heighten irony. It is really rather the sanity of his point of view, of his seeing nothing quite as it sees itself. One feels that his enthusiasms will never betray him. He will see under the 'make-up' even though he say nothing about it. He often says nothing about it. He leaves the picture to your discernment; sometimes out of tenderness for his subject, sometimes as a compliment to his reader. The humour in much of the pretence of life is often lost if it be pointed out; the showing spoils it. You must see it if you can; otherwise you cannot.

'She had a handsome inanimate face, over which the firelight played without making it more lively, a beautiful voice, and the occasional command of a few short words.'

'The foreman, who was sixty years old and wore a wig, which constituted in itself a kind of social position, besides being accompanied by a little frightened, furtive wife, who closed her eyes, as if in the presence of a blinding splendour, when Mrs. Crookenden spoke to her.'

'He seldom had much conversation with Miss Pynsent without telling her that she had the intellectual outlook of a caterpillar. . . . He always compared her to an insect or a bird, and she didn't mind, because she knew he liked her, and she herself liked all winged creatures.'

Such touches may be found everywhere in Mr. James's sketches of character, their humour lying in their terse fidelity, and only occasionally owing a shade to sentiment. But in his drawing of Whitney Dosson Mr. James has engaged directly the humorous idea. The American parent has always appealed to him. His discomfort, his tractability, his air of being a mere adjunct to his family, his pathetic acceptance of incompatibility with his offspring. Parentalism, probably, never previously was conceived on such a scale, in such a spirit. Despite his detachment from his surroundings, his subservience to his daughters, his cheerful tribute to the inferior, he never becomes ridiculous, nor loses the placid dignity of his unruffled mind. In Paris he passed his days revolving about the court of his hotel, but he had no sense of waste; 'that came to him much more when he was con-'fronted with historical monuments, or beauties of nature or 'art which he didn't understand or care for: then he felt 'a little ashamed and uncomfortable—but never when he 'lounged in that simplifying way about the court. Mr. 'Dosson never doubted that George M. Flack was brilliant. 'He represented the newspaper, and the newspaper for this 'man of genial assumptions represented mind—it was the 'great shining presence of our time. To know that Delia 'and Francie were out with an editor or a correspondent 'was really to see them dancing in the central glow.'

'To Mr. Dosson . . . his girls somehow seemed lonely; which was not the way he struck himself. They were his company, but he was scarcely theirs; it was as if he had them more than they had him. They were out a long time, but he felt no anxiety, as he reflected that Mr. Flack's very profession was a prevision of everything that could possibly happen. . . . When at last they met his view . . . they had evidently done a good deal and had a good time, an impression sufficient to rescue Mr. Dosson personally from the consciousness of failure.'

But the book is not at all about Mr. Dosson—he really counts for but little more than the hotel in which his daughters live—and its humour is as much concerned with little delicate plastic Francie Dosson, with Delia's attempts

to graft on her American vulgarity the tone of ancient France, and with George M. Flack and his monstrous 'Reverberator.' But though the comedy of the story is, perhaps, closer together than in any other of Mr. James's books, it is different neither in character nor in keenness from that which may be found in any of them. In the same year as 'The Reverberator' were published three short stories under the title of the first, 'The Aspern Papers,' and in 1889 a similar volume of four stories entitled 'A 'London Life.' The two are of interest from occupying the closing years of what we have termed the middle period, and therefore from containing possibly some hint of the new manner. The hints are there, but not so marked as to make exposition profitable; indeed, traces of the older method may be found for seven years to come, 'The Other House' being, perhaps, the first work of importance in which they cease to count. In the period which one is leaving lies the greater part of the labour by which Mr. Henry James is popularly known, if, indeed, one may without suspicion of irony use such a description. It contains nine of his novels and some twenty-seven tales, and only in some of the slighter of these could the casual consumer of fiction pretend to discover any esoteric intention or other obstacle to the enjoyment of an easily exhausted mind. They have just that unreality which the public desires, the note of romance; sentiment and character are fitted with that consistency which gives the novel such an advantage over life; opinions are held with a clarity, and expressed with an accuracy which are of so great assistance in the development of character; and the dialogue has just that appositeness and cohesion which our ears are so accustomed not to hear. In short they have all the qualities that should commend them to a public which is very ignorant and very incurious of life, and one would have expected for them a far greater success even than they commanded. The chief preventive to such a popularity is a delicate and exquisite style which, because it tried to achieve an actuality to which they were unaccustomed, the critics called artificial. Style in every country of the world warns off the 'stupid,' but it seems to possess a particular irritation for English and American readers. It is, to their appreciation, a sort of glittering and wholly unnecessary envelopment. Indeed, they consider style so distinct from creation, that one might imagine they supposed it to be applied when the work was finished, like varnish to a picture or 'frosting' to a Christmas card.

But in addition to the wilful offence of their style, one must admit, as an unconscious one, that the author is always free from moral prejudice or intention. He only aims at giving a direct impression of life without preconception as to its purpose. Nowhere does he come forward with explanation and reproof; nowhere does he attempt any re-arrangement of the elements of life, to enforce a lesson or illustrate a theme. He tries seriously, strenuously, to produce the illusion of being, and he is well content to succeed in performing that part of his business. His seriousness lives, indeed, beyond reproof. That *is* his moral purpose. He recoils indignantly from the apologist to whom fiction is but 'making 'believe.' Life may often be nothing better than 'making 'believe,' but its recording shall not suffer such indignity. He will no more tolerate a tampering with the facts of life, than with the events and dates of an era. Indeed of the two he probably considers it of more importance to receive a trustworthy impression of existence than of any particular period to which the historian may devote himself.

So far, he may be spoken of as having a direct moral intent. But it is the intention only of the honest accountant. He is determined that his book shall balance with the book of life; but he has as little concern as the accountant with the figures of its expenditure. It is none of his business to put a bad mark against items of extravagance or depravity or so to manipulate the entries as to convey a warning against either. And this detachment from his subject is, of course, against him with a British audience which, inveterately commercial, craves to derive profit from the occupation of its leisure, and is always suspicious of amusement which has no secondary aim. Yet (on the moral count), apart from the fact that Mr. James is an artist, there seems no reason why these books of his should not have been more widely read. He takes none of an artist's liberties, makes no excursions into the by-ways of life; the code of his characters is almost always that of the decalogue tempered by good manners, indeed the constancy of their decorum is not unfrequently depressing. We will consider his limitations later on, and only refer to this one of them in passing, since in England an artist seems to be esteemed rather by his limitations than his inclusions. Mr. James drew the line in those days an appreciable distance to the safe side of Mrs. Grundy. He refers to the influence of this lady, on one occasion, in a fashion that hardly prepares one for the extent to which he had acknowledged it. He is replying in

an essay, written also in the middle period, to some remarks of the late Sir Walter Besant upon 'selection.'

'For many people art means rose-coloured windows, and selection means picking a bouquet for Mrs. Grundy. They will tell you glibly that artistic considerations have nothing to do with the disagreeable, with the ugly; they will rattle off shallow commonplaces about the province of art and the limits of art, till you are moved to some wonder in return as to the province and the limits of ignorance. It appears to me that no one can ever have made a seriously artistic attempt without becoming conscious of an immense increase—a kind of revelation—of freedom. One perceives in that case—by the light of a heavenly ray—that the province of art is all life, all feeling, all observation, all vision.'

That is a pronouncement that now reads otherwise than at the time when it was written, for the writer certainly seemed at that time not only to have been picking a bouquet for Mrs. Grundy, but to have selected the flowers with some care. Not that one would demand from an artist the treatment of offensive subjects, one would only ask a somewhat wider interpretation of 'freedom' than had until then been granted us from Mr. James's pen. But the freedom was to come.

In 1890 the publication of 'The Tragic Muse' inaugurated the new era. The inauguration possibly will not be apparent to many, for the book is certainly not a whit 'freer' than any of its predecessors; but it is strikingly nearer the ideal of 'an immense and exquisite correspondence with life.' There is a beautiful looseness, an inexpectancy in the handling. The story wavers, advances, retreats, and ceases in the very fashion of life itself. Its cohesion suffers naturally in consequence. It reads, indeed, in places like a very splendid first attempt. The author seems to be trying to write it in spite of his art, to be aiming at a simplicity, a closeness to life, which is being continually clouded by the charm of form and phrase which he is as yet unable wholly to transfuse with his new intention. With Miriam Routh, for example, he is entirely successful. It is the most difficult piece of work in the book, this quick development of an uncouth girl into a famous actress, since the stage and literature seem with us so unhappily incongruous that the passage of an actress always seems to put the author's perception out of focus. But Miriam only becomes more natural as she advances in repute; she has to the finish that air of feeling for herself, of being confronted inwardly with surprises of thought, sentiment, and intention, of an imperfect self-realisation which is so constant in life and so absent in fiction. Absent,

indeed, with reason, since in fiction it is immensely difficult to give such an effect and yet retain the sense of character. Miriam's character is more than retained; it is developed, and from most unpromising material. We feel her personality soaking up the sources of supply about it, as a sponge swells with water. And yet we never know her better than she knows herself, and her actions retain to the very end the fascinating uncertainty of life; although we realise her so completely as an acquaintance that it seems almost a breach of manners to denote her by her Christian name. Nick Dormer, another fine piece of work, and Julia Dallow are also well in the picture, but Gabriel Nash, almost wilfully, and Peter Sherringham seem out of it. Peter was, of course, also difficult, but his passion and his phrases are too far apart even for an ambassador, especially in his last love scene with Miriam.

The book is of another interest, however, than its excellence. Its theme, its theories, appear to be the direct outcome of an attention which Mr. James was paying to the theatre, an attention taking the form of two comedies which saw the footlights in London, and of four unacted plays which, in volume form, have rather the air of a bouquet presented by an unsuccessful admirer.

The occasion was one of those curious disturbances of the theatrical mind, or perhaps it is safer to say temperament, in favour of literature. There seem to be, in England, fitfully recurrent periods when the actor, forgetting his generic limitations, his own inalterable fitness for the 'stock sizes' of his profession, dreams of a play which shall represent something more than a dramatist's ability to repeat a success in time-honoured situations. His dream is a brief one, brief as his misconception of literature as a complacent auxiliary to posturing and costume, and of his own ability to render persuasively any but the types which precedent and his predilections have long made familiar. Mr. Henry James was, with the late R. L. Stevenson and Mr. W. E. Henley, amongst the writers of distinction who were solicited to contribute to one of these spasmodic coquetries with literature, but he was no more successful than they in establishing permanent relations. His success or failure only concerns us here so far as his preoccupation with the stage is reflected in his books. The reflection is in truth very apparent, would be apparent even to one who did not know from what it was cast; apparent once or twice in the subjects of his stories; apparent, unfortunately, in their brevity and rareness for six

brilliant years; and apparent, most of all, in an inclination to 'hard meagreness' in dialogue, 'an anxious cultivation 'of limits.'

This is nowhere so apparent as in the volume to which, leaving for the moment its shorter stories, the gap of six years brings us. 'The Other House' seems almost to have been conceived as a play. The action passes in but three places, the lawn and drawing-room of one house, and the hall of the 'Other,' and practically the whole story is told by the characters. Yet so deftly is it wrought that one scarcely notices the economy, and it is of all Mr. James's work the piece whose handling moves one most to admiration. The suggestion of the theatre is carried so far that many points are made with the insistence necessary to reach the torpid intelligence of the stalls. Notice especially the threefold repetition of the conditions which safeguard Tony Bream's second marriage, and the clearness with which Doctor Ramage narrates the progress of the story between, if one may so call them, Acts I. and II. Exits and entrances are managed with a curious formality, and the method by which Dennis Vidal is pushed across and kept off the scene in the second act is almost too suggestive of an artificial lighting. The descriptive dialogue, also, is too loaded with explanation to produce an illusion of reality, but the dramatic dialogue is marvellous in a significance to which no character is sacrificed. The development of the heart story of five people behind the fence of speech on Mrs. Beever's lawn is the finest thing of its kind that Mr. James has done. There is nothing explicit, nothing direct, yet we watch, behind that clear sharp clash of tongues, secrets passed from mind to mind, and the scarcely known desires and fears of each spring and bloom and wither like a magic flower. So pregnant is it that when perusing the book a second time, one searches for the pages which are not in it, which one remembers to have read. Its tragic ending will probably remain for most a source of discomfort. Not that the note of tragedy was not struck; it is always struck by a love as fierce, a jealousy as desperate as Rose Armiger's. One might have looked for a design more subtle from her intelligence; but jealousy is as blind as it is cruel, and the possibilities of little Effie's murder can easily be defended. Yet, despite any defence, the violence of contrast in 'The Other House' savours rather of contamination by the brutality of the theatre, than of a profounder deference to the brutality of life.

If, however, it seems to have been somewhat influenced by the theatre, nothing could be further removed from every suggestion of things theatrical than 'The Spoils of Poynton,' which appeared in the next year. Few, indeed, would have considered favourably, as the theme of a story, the fondness of a middle-aged lady for the furniture she and her late husband have collected. But it is one of Mr. James's peculiarities that he is extraordinarily independent of his themes, and one never can quite foresee to what uses he will put them. The old furniture at Poynton becomes the test of a girl's honour; of a girl who, when the story opens, knew the place not even by name, and of a point of honour which to many may seem an over-sensitive perversity. But it is a point of honour between a woman and a woman, a fine and rare thing, or perhaps, one should say, between a woman and her self-respect, a thing finer and rarer still. For the real issue of the work is the triumph over her desires of Fleda's jealous probity, and its final discomfiture by her passion. It is a study of wonderful subtlety, this slow capture of a heart. Breach follows breach in its walls, barrier after barrier falls in its highways, and all the while its owner is unconscious of defending it, and its assailant in ignorance of his success. Long after Fleda Vetch has surrendered, she is still fighting, and fighting not for terms but for ultimate victory. And the tragedy is that she obtains it. Obtains it, as it were, when her city is sacked and its defences broken, when she has lost all for which she fought. The distance between her counsel of honour to the man who was besieging her, and her despairing capitulation, is increased for us by contrast between the overwhelming suddenness of her passion in victory, and the intriguing devices by which she had kept it so long at bay.

The book is illustrative, though not more so than many another, of the author's exquisite sense of beauty in the ministration of life, a sense which concerns itself chiefly with the ordering of human habitation, with houses and gardens and charming rooms, expressed by a style as mellow and as exquisite as the things which it describes.

'What he saw so intensely to-day, what he felt as a nail driven in, was that only now, at the very last, had he come into possession. His developement had been abnormally slow, almost grotesquely gradual. He had been hindered and retarded by experience, and for long periods had only groped his way. It had taken too much of his life to produce too little of his art. The art had come, but it had come after everything else.'

The words are from the reflections of Dencombe in 'The 'Middle Years,' but they might be taken, in view of his wonderful development, for the author's own. He has in these stories of his later years at last come into possession. He had for long been driving in the wide rut of fiction where so many wheels go. He had done work of a quality which, however superior to that of his competitors, was still of their kind. It portrayed, to use a term which but imperfectly defines it, the outer drama of life, the expression in circumstance of character, the working out of temperament. But what he now depicted was the inner drama, the impression of circumstance on character, the working in of fate. He had at last 'come into possession,' and of a field completely his own. The intimacy of his new presentment, the delicate tracing of motive and impulse, and susceptibility to the involutions of the mind, make his old work seem almost superficial.

1898 saw the publication of 'What Maisie Knew,' 'In the 'Cage' and, under the title of 'The Two Magics,' 'The 'Turn of the Screw' and 'Covering End.'

'What Maisie Knew' is an attempt to print the figure of life as it falls upon the very acute vision of a little girl. Life as presented to her eyes is sufficiently unpleasant, as hers is spent alternately in the company of divorced parents who have each contracted fresh alliances. That, however, should rather have increased the interest of the story, and have produced a sharpness of outline and contrast which is the very quality it lacks. It is a bewildering blur of motive and action which has the same effect of irritation on the mind as an ill-focussed photograph upon the sight. If the promise of the title had been more closely adhered to, this might have been avoided, for throughout the book Maisie's knowledge is all too liberally supplemented by that of Mrs. Wix, her nurse, and Mrs. Wix is a bore of almost heroic proportions. She is the incarnation of the moral idea in an inferior mind, well enough in its way seen from a sufficient distance, but terrible when it sprawls microscopically distinct over the foreground of a picture. Mr. James had before shown a disposition to succumb to the attractions of unattractive women, and here he has permitted them completely to master him. Wise and foolish, moral and unmoral, all the women in the story are almost entirely unentertaining. 'In the Cage' is a further lesson in the handling of material. The material is mostly suggestive; an impression of 'high society' produced on a female telegraph

clerk by the messages she handles. The susceptibility to impression of the young woman at 'Cockers'—she so dominates the story that she never needs a name—is sufficiently singular to raise more expectations of it than are fulfilled. The position is big with possibilities, but Mr. James puts them remorselessly aside. The world of the people who 'wire' yields only a hint of melodrama, and a conventional piece of matrimony; and our wonderful young woman, whose affections are as curious as her susceptibilities, unites herself to Mr. Mudge with a precipitance which her previous somewhat accentuated propriety appears hardly to require. She seems, indeed, created to kindle our regrets that she was created for so little, but her creator is resolute to retain his correspondence with life at whatever cost of stimulating adventure.

How far such correspondence has been considered in 'The Turn of the Screw' is a somewhat trenchant question, since the answer must pronounce on Mr. James's attitude to the world of apparition. He has shown from the beginning —witness 'The Romance of Certain Old Clothes'—a fondness for influences which should be rather defined as superordinary than supernatural. In 'A Passionate Pilgrim,' 'The Last of the Valerii,' 'Sir Dominick Ferrand,' 'The 'Private Life,' 'Owen Wingrave,' 'The Great Good Place' —and may one not almost add 'The Sacred Fount'?—he has crossed the accepted border of determinations entirely human, and in 'Sir Edmund Orme,' 'The Way it Came,' 'The Turn of the Screw,' 'The Real Right Thing,' and 'The Third Person,' he deals with appearances derived incontestably from the other side of the grave. In three of the latter stories the vision is seen by at least two persons, and if that of Sir Edmund or of Ashton Doyne might have been created for its witnesses by telepathic suggestion, the shades of Peter Quint and Miss Jessel are conclusively screened from such an origin, and their author's serious attitude to his art forbids the suspicion that they are merely elements in make-believe. One seems left no choice but to take them seriously, and to consider them as the author's contribution to a speculation which has imposed its interest upon many writers. In 1899 appeared what is probably his most distinctive effort, 'The Awkward Age.' As a novel it lacks the delicate freshness of 'The Spoils of Poynton' and the dramatic distinctness of 'The Other House,' but as a study of life, which it almost professedly is, it surpasses, by its completeness, its sympathetic intrusion, its fine impar-

tiality, anything that Mr. James has done. The life it deals with, the life of Mrs. Brookenham's circle, is as limited as, despite its limits, it is minutely complex. It lacks virility; it is, saving appearances, indifferent to virtue; it affects rather an easy accommodation than good manners; but its quick intelligence, its very detachment from the strenuous effort of life make it worth study. Mr. James has provided a touchstone for its vulgarities, its indifferences, its freedoms, in the shape of Mr. Longdon, the remnant of an older generation; but he views the contrast thus afforded with impartial eyes, for if he treat the younger without extenuation, he makes of Nanda, its representative, the most charming portrait in the book. And the book is confessedly a portrait gallery. Its ten parts are each labelled, like picture frames, with the name of a person, and Mr. James brings to the filling of each the ultimate development of the art of vision.

How completely such vision is an art, an art acquired from the observations of laborious years, one realises by studying its evolution. In his earlier work he draws directly from the life. He is particular as to clothes, gait, the carriage of a head; he gives the profile, the relief; the exterior as exterior. Gradually as he progresses the outside ceases in itself to interest him; it would be almost impossible to 'dress' his figures, there is scarcely a hint of period; he renders the outside only so far as it is significant; the exterior as interior. Finally he almost abandons direct portraiture; rendering by a few lines enough, but only just enough, to keep the figure in its place, and providing everything needful for its realisation from reflection only, that is from its effect upon the other characters in his canvas. Even of Mrs. Brookenham, essential as she is to the scheme of 'The Awkward Age,' we obtain no definite outline, only an appreciation of her prettiness, her flexibility, her flickering colour, her quavering tone, her lovely silly eyes, her effect of dimly tragic innocence. She gathers meaning and shape for us not from such vague touches, but with every word she speaks, and from every word that is spoken to her. We know enough of her beauty from the way her shadow falls upon her followers, we have a tribute sufficient to that 'rather tortuous' mind in their replies. She takes on a personality, as it were, with every movement; she does nothing, she approaches no one, without acquiring substantiality. Nor is hers the only presence so to acquire it. The relief of every figure in her 'little sort of set' is wrought in the same wonderful manner; by which every-

thing is constructed, one might say, from some one's point of view. How far more subtle is it that the author should give us no conception of his characters but what is indirectly communicated, as it were, by themselves, a communication which also, as it is made, reveals the individuality of each. And his dialogue likewise is often of a supreme excellence. It renders the author's intention by the very difficulty with which his characters deliver it. You can feel in its perplexities, its indirectness, the vibration of their minds, those fluctuations of sense and of intelligence by which speech is shaped and coloured, and personality impressed, so that everything by the way of its saying tells at once the speaker's and the author's story. It is a tribute to its perfection that no extract could exhibit it; the point of each word spoken being so delicately dependent on its position in the narrative. But one cannot leave the book without quoting Mr. Longdon's reflections on Nanda and little Aggie, those two so different exponents of the awkward age.

'Both the girls struck him as lambs with the great shambles of life in their future; but while one, with its neck in a pink ribbon, had no consciousness but that of being fed from the hand with the small sweet biscuit of unobjectionable knowledge, the other struggled with instincts and forebodings, with the suspicion of its doom and the far-borne scent, in the flowery fields, of blood.'

'The Sacred Fount,' which appeared in 1901, offers an impediment to criticism by its very interest. Its theme, the transference of vitality by affection, is treated with scientific exactitude, and has so much to commend it for such treatment, that it is difficult to say how seriously the author considers it, or whether it or its consequence is to be considered subordinate, but if Mr. James intends his thesis seriously, he renders its elaboration much less convincing by compressing it into a week end. The entire action of the book only occupies the hours between the afternoon of Saturday and Sunday evening, a period long enough if utilised for observation only, but too short for the mental alterations which a change of circumstance works. Granting the condition to which May Server has been reduced by officiating as the Sacred Fount, one cannot imagine any benefit arising from so brief an intermission of her office as the time affords. Her malady is quite conceivable, but it is very much discounted by her recovery. But towards the finish of the book one is led occasionally to suspect that the author evades his own conclusions, and the final scene with Mrs. Brissenden closes in what reads

like a hedging concession to the probable. It may be that the ironic subtlety of Mr. James's amusement becomes so evasively fine in its conclusion as to pass for something else, but in that case the subtlety seems somewhat overdone.

'The Wings of the Dove' completes at the moment the list of Mr. James's novels. If it cannot be said to mark any fresh developement, it epitomises in a manner both his excellences and defects. The portraiture is almost more wonderful than ever. Splendid Kate Croy is not drawn for us descriptively, but built up before us, like a figure from the clay, by a gradual accumulation of qualities—her fineness, her ingenuities, her responsiveness, and the exquisite invasion of them all by love. Milly Theale, on the other hand, is rendered in a manner exactly the reverse. Faint and frail, with her light hold on life, her soft appeal to love, she is never more than an entrancing shadow which melts again into the air at the first chill breath upon its soul. The story's action is of the slightest, but the moral spaces which it covers are immense, and might, with a more ardent elucidation, have been made absorbing. Between the charming Kate Croy and the woman of pitiless ambition who is ready to hand over the man she passionately loves as a temporary husband to the girl on whose millions and whose death she counts, is a distance which Mr. James does not adequately measure. The gradual corruption by those millions of what seemed an incorruptible mind, the decline of the woman's dignity to the level of that hateful bargain, the price body and spirit had to pay for her desperate surrender, the tremors or exultation with which she first conceived it; or, if these were not, some disclosure of how that callousness, that shameless audacity took hold upon her heart, some further assistance to a problem of such provoking mystery, is required.

But the scene at Milly Theale's reception when Kate reveals to her lover the ruthless superb determination of her odious plot could not possibly be improved; nor the dexterous fashion in which we are made to feel the creeping shadow of shame which falls at last on Merton Densher's spirit from the wings of 'the Dove.' The first scene in the book, between Kate Croy and her unspeakable father, is also magnificently done, though really inessential. But the book suffers most from its inordinate fulness. Everything is described with what one might call a passion for the particular. There is so indiscriminate a profusion of detail, that the progress of the story is sometimes hurtfully delayed,

its proportions are obliterated, its outlines blurred. Doubtless when one knows the book better, much of the embellishment which seems at a first reading to smother the action will sink into its place, but there will always remain enough to compromise the clarity of what might have been, with a wiser parsimony of material, a very notable achievement.

'The Wings of the Dove' is the latest of Mr. James's essays in the art of fiction, but in postponing the consideration of his shorter stories, one has still to discuss some of his most interesting experiments.

The complexity of his method, the profusion of his detail, his reticence, his hesitations, his very interest in his own ignorance, seem to declare any form of compression unfavourable to his genius. Yet one would be forced to include several of his tales in any list of his supreme successes, and he must be counted among the very few writers of English who have been able to fill with the scent of character that brief flower of incident which is the short story. He has for the most part accepted always its limitations, and has given it rather less than more of continuity than it can bear. For the short story is essentially no carefully focussed picture, but a thing of instantaneous exposure, a snapshot at life. There hangs about it the sense of arrested motion of a passing show. It leaps suddenly into full light, and just as suddenly the shutter closes over it. You must make what you can of the view it gives you, of the lifted hand, the averted eye, for it can offer you no completer portraiture, no manipulated arrangement of life. Its very inadequateness is its charm, its triumph lies in the very frailty of its material, for with so little to use, the artist must see to it that he uses everything, that every movement is descriptive, and that a secret is somehow suggested by every stillness. There must be work in each word, each sentence must be shaped with intention, and yet its dim completeness, its air of distance, must arise not from what is written, but from what has been left out. Doubtless because it must be wrought so much for the imagination, the short story finds few able either to write or to read it, and precisely also for that reason, for its very elusiveness, its irresponsibility, it is fitted for subjects which would be torn to pieces by the solemn machinery of a novel. To that special fitness Mr. James has always been susceptible, and he has often realised so exactly in the short story what one may call the extensibility of his material that it would be as difficult to add a phrase to it with advantage as a feather to a bird's wing.

But though Mr. James has seldom misused the short story, only in his latest period does he completely utilise its peculiar virtues. In his earlier years the desire to be master of his form, to achieve, at any rate, a fine proportion, may have limited the length of his work, or rather have inclined him to such subjects as could be treated with brevity. But the years which followed, the sixteen years which we have called his middle period, contain many tales which are rather shortened than short stories. 'Daisy Miller' is frankly a study, but 'Eugene Pickering,' 'An International 'Episode,' 'The Siege of London,' 'Lady Barbarina,' 'A 'New England Winter,' 'Impressions of a Cousin,' Georgina's Reasons,' and 'A London Life' might, any of them, have been expanded to the dignity of separate covers without any alteration of character, or even without suggestion of an undue inflation. The short stories of an inalterable completeness in those years are 'Madame de 'Mauves,' a rare and delicate piece of work, 'The Madonna 'of the Future,' 'The Author of Beltraffio,' 'The Aspern 'Papers,' and 'The Patagonia.' Not so completely self-contained are 'Louisa Pallant,' 'The Liar,' and 'Mrs. 'Temperley.' What remain are studies such as 'The Pension 'Beaurepas' in the manner of 'Daisy Miller,' and other shortened stories, as 'Four Meetings,' 'Longstaffe's Mar-'riage,' which would be no better and no worse for a change of length.

But only when one has passed that landmark 'The Tragic 'Muse,' and entered the third period, can one estimate Mr. James's accomplishment in the short story. We have seen already that from 1891 to 1896 Mr. James did not produce a single novel, and we have referred the absence of one to his preoccupation with the stage. But one needs another reason for the five-and-twenty short stories, containing some of his finest work, which saw the light in those six years: and it seems not unlikely that, with the sense of possibilities still before him, which, expressed so pathetically in 'The 'Middle Years,' we have ventured to interpret personally, he was too stirred by his widened vision to undertake anything that was not in measure an experiment.

It would not be easy to pick out from the five volumes which contain those experiments any that is not perfectly fitted by the form in which it has been cast, and few which do not speak to something fresh in their maker's view. Each shows so extraordinary an accordance between the thing done and the way of its doing, that one can with difficulty

imagine its being done otherwise. Literature obtains, perhaps, as a subject, too large a share of attention, but literature is something to Mr. James of the closest intimacy with life, and he can be as dramatic with a literary theme as with any other. The shamed revelation by Henry St. George of the failure of his success, the abandonment by Peter Baron of his chance of distinction, and, in a later book, the forbidding presence of Ashton Doyne, the fine fidelity of John Delavoy's sister, what are these, warm with the passion and aglow with the splendour of being, but proof, less of a liking for literary subjects, than of an incapacity for missing under however unpromising an exterior the throb of feeling and the grip of thought?

The recurrence of one other subject in these years has been already noted. Of the stories which deal with the supernatural, nine fall within this period, and all but one of these among his short stories. So large a proportion shows incontestably an increasing tendency of thought towards spiritual affairs, which cannot be attributed to a craving for effects of contrast, since it is contrasts which he endeavours most carefully to avoid. He records indeed the reappearance of the dead as though it were but an appearance in a new dress; and often with an easy acceptance which, if it minimise the disorder to reality which in a tale is the very mischief of the supernatural, tends rather to over-emphasise the immobility of those who can so accept it.

Of the remainder, 'The Private Life,' though mentioned already in its connection with the abnormal, is rather notable by its simple mastery of means, the wonderful economy in its construction; it is built, as it were, without scaffolding: a contrast to such a piece of humour as 'The Coxon Fund,' where the scaffolding is really of the chief interest. One must mention also 'The Lesson of the Master,' which expounds with such relentless lucidity the sacrifice of his satisfaction, even of his humanity, which must be made by the artist for his art's sake. But of them all, 'The Altar of 'the Dead' is at once the most particular and the most perfect. There is nothing in it apparently but a man's melancholic oddity, who has outlived everything but his memories. Yet, into the 'mountain of fire' which he has made for his dead, creep the living colours of love and hate, of implacable anger, and of forgiveness. It is most wonderfully wrought, most magically coloured, rich and vague and dim as though there were rather a mist than a pigment in the painter's brush.

Here, then, closes our list for the present, the mere descriptive bibliography which has been here attempted, of work to which each addition seems to have made more difficult an assessment of its value. It is so various, yet it is so uniform; it covers so wide a space of life, and yet so narrow a space of manners; it is so communicative, and yet it is so reticent; it deals with such tremendous issues, and yet seems always to make them small. Often only the intensity of one's admiration makes deprecation impossible; one's wonder at his method prevents a challenge of his mind. He has done so much, so amazingly much, and yet he makes one feel so acutely his omissions. He knows so intimately the human heart, he has unravelled such a complexity of human motive, yet he has only once painted in woman an overmastering passion, and his analyses of motive have taught us chiefly how much we do not know. He has shirked no segment of the social circle, he has painted the magnificence and the pathetic meagreness of existence, yet he has scarcely drawn across one of his pages the sense of its struggle, that endless groan of labour which is the ground bass of life.

The range in his portraits of women is so wonderfully wide that it seems almost querulous to be conscious of what it does not include. And yet their very number and inclusiveness make more remarkable what has been left out. Besides Rose Armiger, there is among all his women not one who, save incidentally and retrospectively, found her heart too strong for her; and no study, even, of any profound strife between the passions and the will. His good women seem to win their triumphs too easily, the bad to accept too complacently their defeat. In the great matters of conduct our interest is scarcely ever enlisted by either, we know too well what each will do. And our knowledge comes, not from an appreciation of their moral qualities, but from a sense of their subjection or of their indifference to the social code. For the shadow of convention lies somewhat heavily on Mr. James's women; it usurps oppressively the offices of virtue and of duty. His Puritans retain the beauty, the freedom even, of an accusing conscience, but it is rather respectability than responsibility which seems to regulate the actions of the rest. It is true that in giving so large a place to so low a motive, Mr. James can plead to have but followed the proportion of things as they are; yet to have followed them so constantly, to have found so little attraction in the exceptional, to have celebrated so seldom the great conflicts of

the soul, must indubitably influence one's estimate of his achievement.

How great that achievement is, one is profoundly conscious after traversing, for such an article as this, the entire spread of it without any sense of satiety or of iteration. There is no more genuine proof of power, of originality, of imagination, than this unfading freshness, delicacy, and variety in remembered work, and against all that has been written of those qualities in these pages, one can but set a disinclination, perhaps a disability to handle the naked issues of emotion, and too frequent a tendency to immerse his drama in a saturated atmosphere of convention. That, however, is a defect of his qualities, a determination to contrive 'an im-' mense correspondence with life,' and he has so completely succeeded as to have added a new conception of reality to the art of fiction. If he has dropped a line but rarely into the deep waters of life, his soundings have so added to our knowledge of its shallows that no student of existence can afford to ignore his charts. He has lived, as it were, in the chains with the 'lead' in his hands, intent on definite knowledge of the channels and shoals of the human heart, where so many another pilot has been content to steer by the mere appearance of the surface water. And to the pleasure he has given us by his sketches of the beauty and variety of that enchanting coast must be added gratitude for such a diversity of enlightenment on its perilous approaches as he alone, of those who have studied it, seems able to supply.

ART. IV.—*Sir William White, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., for six years Ambassador at Constantinople: His Life and Correspondence.* By H. SUTHERLAND EDWARDS. London: John Murray, 1902.

FEW men of our times could establish a better claim to biographical immortality than the diplomatist whose 'Life and Correspondence' is now before us. Sir William White was not only an eminent ambassador, but also, what is a much rarer thing, a great personality. He began his career, at the mature age of thirty-four, as a humble Consular clerk at Warsaw, and by sheer force of merit succeeded in climbing to the topmost rung of a ladder for the ascent of which mere merit is seldom deemed sufficient. As a diplomatist he formed a *genus per se*. He had none of the suavity and suppleness which are commonly regarded as the diplomat's essential characteristics. But, on the other hand, he possessed in an ample measure qualifications of infinitely greater value in the part of the world in which he was destined to play a prominent *rôle*. The dominant feature of his personality was vigour—robustness of mind as well as of body—and his vigour enabled him to win many a battle in a field where gentler qualities might have failed to produce an impression. Sir William White's embassy at Constantinople from 1885 to 1891 will be remembered for years to come, both by the European residents in the East and by Turkish statesmen, as an epoch marking a revival of British influence and its temporary elevation to a height rarely attained since the days of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador *par excellence*.

The life of such a man forms a splendid theme for literary treatment. And yet those of our readers who have made the acquaintance of Mr. H. Sutherland Edwards's work must have been somewhat disappointed. The book hardly fulfils the promise conveyed by its title. All that there is of Sir William White's life in it might easily be compressed into a dozen pages, and half that number would probably suffice for all the correspondence, unless, indeed, the term be applied to the letters received rather than to those written by the subject. This is not, however, entirely the author's fault. Mr. H. Sutherland Edwards possesses a biographer's chief qualification: sympathy with his hero. But he, unfortunately, seems to lack the materials necessary for the work which he has undertaken, and to make bricks without

straw is a proverbially difficult task. The documents on which an adequate life of Sir William White should be based will for obvious reasons long remain inaccessible to the public. Meanwhile we must be content with the author's well-meant effort, which, though not a biography, is an interesting and thoroughly readable, if somewhat meagre, *résumé* of Eastern European political history during one of its most eventful periods.

The year 1885, the date of Sir William White's appointment as Ambassador *ad interim* to the Porte, was fated to be a landmark in contemporary Eastern affairs. The only other era at all comparable with it in importance was the year of the Berlin Treaty. Russia's traditional policy from 1856 until 1886 had been to promote the emancipation of the Christian nationalities in the Balkan Peninsula, in the hope of using them as stepping-stones to Stamboul. England, on the other hand, had habitually striven to uphold the rule of the Turk, thinking that a reformed and reanimated Ottoman Empire offered the strongest bulwark against Russia's advance to the Mediterranean. The Bulgarian massacres of 1876 had induced England to modify her attitude. The Turk had proved unreformable, and the emancipation of his Christian subjects inevitable. Henceforth the only question was whether Russia should be allowed to bring about that emancipation and to reap the fruits thereof alone, and we accordingly find England, in the Congress of Berlin, not opposing the independence of Bulgaria, but bringing all her influence to bear on one point: the curtailment of the Greater Bulgaria contemplated by the ambitious treaty of San Stefano. In spite of this check, however, few doubted that Russia had achieved a substantial victory, and that in the new State, which she had created at the cost of enormous personal sacrifice, she had found an able and willing advance guard for her ultimate march on Constantinople.

Subsequent events proved these calculations erroneous. No sooner had Bulgaria obtained her independence than she began to cherish dreams of expansion and self-emancipation. This tendency culminated in the *coup d'état* of 1885, when she shook herself free from her protector's leading strings and proceeded to the annexation of Eastern Roumelia. This move took Russia by surprise and roused her indignation. The Russians felt that if Bulgaria were permitted to aggrandise herself independently of their aid, and in defiance of their behests, their sacrifices would be wasted, their

influence gone, and instead of gaining an obsequious ally they would have really raised a powerful opponent to their own schemes. M. Nelidoff, the Russian Ambassador to the Porte, voiced these feelings in his extraordinary recommendation that the Sultan should be commissioned to restore the *status quo ante* by main force. His attitude is well set forth in a communication from Sir William White to Sir Robert Morier, Ambassador at St. Petersburg:

'Nelidoff tries to persuade every one, and he has evidently succeeded in persuading his Imperial Master and de Giers, that the threat of a Turkish military execution will be sufficient by itself to restore the Sultan's authority in Eastern Roumelia. . . . But, the premisses being false, Russian policy in this question must arrive at fatal results. . . . A Turkish execution, to which Nelidoff is pushing and urging the Sultan by every means in his power, may subdue the Bulgarians for a time, but will bring on with it some disaster or other, which will be resented by Russia in such a way, you may be sure, that M. de Giers will find it extremely difficult to remain in office. . . .

'If Nelidoff had taken the least trouble to seek for a formula at the Conference which might have ensured unanimity, he might have got one. But he wanted to carry things with a high hand, thought the *status quo ante* could be reimposed by threats, and landed Russia where she now is, recommending the Turk to put down with the sword in his own fashion *Christian orthodox Slavs*.' *

M. Nelidoff's action could only have one result. It widened the breach between Bulgaria and Russia, and led the latter to forfeit all her claims to the gratitude of the Bulgarians. This result was foreseen by Sir William White, who now thought that the time had come for England to reap where Russia had sown. The failure of M. Nelidoff's policy was due partly to the Sultan's timidity, but mainly to the British Ambassador's strenuous opposition. Despite the insistence of the Russian, backed by his Austrian and German colleagues, Sir William White succeeded in frustrating the proposal to allow Turkey a free hand in the matter. For the moment it appeared as if Great Britain and Russia had exchanged parts. The Turk's traditional enemy was urging him to crush the Christians, whom she had only seven years before rescued from his clutches; while England, who in 1854 had undertaken a costly war in his defence, and in 1878 had done her best to mitigate the consequences of his defeat, was now putting forth all her strength in an effort to prevent him from preserving what technically was

* Letter December 7, 1885, pp. 232-3.

his own. Sir William White vindicates England's policy in the following passage from a letter already quoted:

'As to the line we have adopted, I am sure you must approve of it. The future European Turkey—to Adrianople, at any rate—must, sooner or later, belong to Christian races. There is no example in history, since the siege of Vienna, two centuries ago, of the Turk's having regained any inch of soil that he has once yielded to native races. Is Eastern Roumelia to constitute an exception to this rule? We have always been accused by Russia and her agents in the East of being the chief obstacles to the emancipation of Christian races in European Turkey. The reasons for a particular line of policy on our part have fortunately ceased to exist, and we are free to act impartially, and to take up gradually, with proper restraints, the line which made Palmerston famous in regard to Belgium, Italy, &c. The Russians have made sacrifices to liberate Greece, Servia, and the Principalities. But they have lost all their influence in Greece, Servia, and Roumania. Montenegro alone has remained faithful and grateful.

'They are now about to lose the Bulgarians. . . . These newly emancipated races want to breathe free air and not through Russian nostrils. . . .

'I feel, of course, that all these things may have a *contrecoup* in Asia, but we cannot shape our course in Europe by purely Asiatic considerations. Of course, our great interests are there; but we still have European duties and a European position, and even European interests.'

The last paragraph is significant. It is an answer to a counter policy advocated by Sir Robert Morier at great length in two letters addressed to Sir William White from St. Petersburg. In the second of these letters he says:

'I saw arising a great crisis of rivalry between the mammoth Empires in connection with the Oriental Question, and this at the very moment when I had arrived at St. Petersburg penetrated with the conviction that the one object I ought to try and compass was at the very least to secure a *modus vivendi* between the two Governments. . . .

'Was it unnatural that I should think Bulgarians hardly worth the jeopardising so important an object? For a game of rivalry it has been—it was instinctively felt to be such here. . . .

'As regards the immediate present, I quite agree with you that it's all to the good that the idiotic Russian bureaucrats, after shedding the blood of hundreds of thousands of wretched peasants on the Balkan ranges, should have so managed as to earn the bitter hatred of the people they have by this blood made free. If we can help to build up these people into a bulwark of independent States, and thus screen the sick man at Constantinople from the fury of the northern blast, for God's sake do it. . . . Only don't make this the one goal and object of your policy. . . . Don't forget that for us, after all, India is the *dernier mot*, and that we must never so *embourber* ourselves in Europe as to lose our liberty of action in Asia.' *

* Letter December 27, 1885, pp. 235–7.

The sole point of difference between the two correspondents is one of means. They both agree that England's policy should be to foster the developement of the Christian races in the Balkans and furnish them with a *point d'appui*. But, while Sir Robert Morier would endeavour to compass this end in co-operation with Russia, Sir William White felt convinced that such co-operation was impossible. His conviction, founded as it was on the alienation of the Balkan States from Russia—a point on which both he and his colleague laid great stress—was justified by the immediate course of events. Russia could not forgive Bulgaria her triumph. Prince Alexander, the instigator of Bulgarian self-assertion, was her first victim. Notwithstanding his popularity—enhanced by his successful war against Servia—he soon found himself forced to abdicate. Yet Russia's wrath was far from being appeased by the sacrifice of one scapegoat. All the privileges which the Bulgarians succeeded in wresting from the Porte during the ten years following their breach with Russia were wrested in the teeth of Russian opposition and chiefly through the assistance of England, who, supported by the members of the Triple Alliance, thus continued the Bulgarophil policy initiated by Sir William White.

The feud, however, could not last for ever. The inequality between the two combatants, the memory of past services, and the hope of future advantages all pointing in the same direction. Stambuloff's fall was the death-knell of Bulgarian Russophobia. After his removal, reconciliation with Russia became a mere question of time, and finally an accomplished fact. The story of the prodigal son was once more enacted on a larger scale, and Prince Ferdinand solemnised his repentance by the baptism of his infant heir Boris according to the rites of the Orthodox Church.

But, though peace was restored, the lesson of 1885 had not been lost upon Russia. Even some of Bulgaria's warmest friends in the Empire were compelled by the logic of facts to confess that Russia could not count on Bulgarian gratitude. The refrain of the Bulgarian national song—'Forward! forward! the Imperial City is ours!' (*Marsh! marsh! Czargrad nash!*)—assumed a new meaning in the ears of Russian Panslavs. During the ten years' breach between the Principality and the Empire a new policy had been inaugurated by the Russian Government, a policy based upon the discovery that there is more than one road to the 'Imperial City.' On the morrow of Bulgaria's

apostasy Russia had set to work to repair the loss, so unexpectedly sustained in that quarter, by enlisting another Slav nationality in her cause. A counterpoise to Bulgarian ambition had been sought and found in Servia.

The Servians have always clung to the hope of reviving the great empire of Stephen Dushan, or 'the Strangler,' under whose brilliant though brief reign (1336–1356) the Servian race had attained to a higher degree of glory and power than at any other period before or since, and dominated for a while the better part of the Balkan Peninsula. The realisation of this dream, remote at the best of times, became well-nigh impossible after the Berlin Treaty. The cession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria proved to the Servians the futility of all attempts at expansion to the west. The way to the Adriatic was barred to them. Their attempt at expansion towards the Danube on the east was likewise frustrated by the disastrous result of their 'Three 'Days' War' with Bulgaria. Expansion to the north being out of the question, they naturally turned their eyes to the south and the Ægean, and in this new departure the Russians opportunely offered to second them.

The weight of Russian influence, which had hitherto aided the progress of the Bulgarian propaganda in Macedonia, was now transferred to the Servian. Russian historians suddenly discovered that the Macedonian Slavs are of pure Servian blood; Russian philologists undertook to show that the Slavonic dialect spoken in that province is not Bulgarian but Servian; ethnology and folk-lore were pressed into the same service, and the claims of the Bulgarians to Macedonia were pronounced shameless forgeries. Nor was this enthusiasm for Servian aspirations confined to University professors and irresponsible publicists. Servants of the Russian Government took an active part in this politico-literary warfare, and we have heard of at least one Russian Consul-General in Macedonia agreeably occupied in the collection of Slavo-Macedonian folk-songs proving the Servian origin of the people. In addition to these theoretical efforts to undermine the Bulgarian and to exalt the Servian propaganda, the latter has, since 1886, enjoyed the systematic and unswerving protection of Russian diplomacy at Constantinople. Partly through M. Zinovieff's influence and partly through the Porte's own political maxim of *divide et impera*, the Servians have already made considerable progress in Macedonia.

Their propaganda, like its Bulgarian rival, is ecclesiastical

and scholastic in appearance, though political in aim. But, unlike its Bulgarian rival, it acts under the ægis of the Greek Church. It poses as the champion of the Œcumenical Patriarchate against the attacks of the Bulgarian Exarchate, and under the cover of zeal for orthodoxy it endeavours to proselytise those among the Macedonian Slavs whose adherence to the Greek Church has been shaken, but who still shrink from joining the fold of the Schismatic Exarch. A large portion of the funds once furnished by the Panslavic associations to the Bulgarian propaganda have been diverted to the Servian, and there are reasons for believing that its resources are supplemented by secret grants from the Russian Treasury.

This Servophil policy has been maintained ever since 1886 with the single-minded tenacity of purpose which distinguishes Russian diplomacy. Neither the long preponderance of Austrian influence in Servia under King Milan nor the return of Bulgaria to her allegiance was allowed to interfere with it. But, naturally enough, it has grown more pronounced since the restoration of cordial relations between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Belgrade consequent on King Alexander's marriage. Meanwhile Bulgaria is not neglected. There are clear indications that Russia knows how to hold the scales even between conflicting interests, and to turn them all to her own profit. Among the best instances of her foresight and dexterity may be mentioned the part which she has played in the recent financial crisis in Bulgaria. The advance of 4,000,000f. to the Bulgarian Government from the State Bank of St. Petersburg, and the timely assistance rendered to Bulgaria in her negotiations for a loan with the Banque de Paris, to say nothing of the flattering reception accorded to Prince Ferdinand and the alluring prospect of a royal crown held out to him during his visit to the Tsar, constitute a perfect object-lesson in statecraft of a certain kind. At the same time Bulgaria was somewhat rudely reminded that she no longer monopolises Russian sympathies, and that Russia can stroke with one hand and yet strike with the other.

While all the marks of favour mentioned above were showered upon Prince Ferdinand and his Prime Minister at St. Petersburg, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople was dealing a severe blow to Bulgarian interests by obtaining from the Porte and the Œcumenical Patriarchate the consecration of a Servian metropolitan in one of the principal cities of Macedonia. The support lent to Servian

claims in this celebrated affair is of great interest, both in itself and as an illustration of the present trend of Panslavism. But its significance should not be over-rated. The excitement created by Mgr. Firmilian's consecration had scarcely subsided when there happened an event calculated to soothe Bulgarian susceptibilities, and to fill the hearts of the Panslavists with ineffable joy. The Shipka Pass *Fêtes* gave rise to a fraternisation of Russians and Bulgarians all the more hearty because it took place under the auspices of official Russia. The Tsar was represented therein by a Grand Duke, and his army by the Minister of War and a great number of distinguished officers. Not the least interesting feature of the proceedings was the presence of General Ignatieff, who may be, and is, regarded as the architect of Bulgarian independence. The conspicuous and, from a diplomatic point of view, somewhat equivocal part which the ex-ambassador has been allowed to play on this occasion shows clearly that the political doctrine of which he is the chief exponent is by no means abandoned. Any doubts on the point that might still be entertained are dispelled by the partieipation of the Servian military attaché in the manœuvres that followed, a circumstance which, when coupled with the exclusion of the Roumanian, brings into vivid relief Russia's new attitude as the common protector of both Bulgaria and Servia, and emphasises the Panslavic character of the festivities.

It has been affirmed by some that since 1886 Panslavism has been superseded by Pan-orthodoxy. This statement appears to us a good example of a distinction without a difference. Panslavism, it is true, has lost much of the extravagance which rendered it so dangerous and ridiculous a quarter of a century ago. Panslavists—at any rate, the least insane among them—now realise the difficulties which beset the brotherly union of the Slavonic races. The illusions of sentiment have given way to the cool calculations of self-interest. In one word, Panslavism has undergone the sobering influence of age. But this is not a sign of decay; it is rather a proof of healthy growth. As a matter of fact, the later policy of Russia can easily be shown to be a normal developement of the earliest Panslavistic dream.

So long as Russia aimed at political supremacy over the whole of the Ottoman Empire, patiently waiting for the moment when protection could be converted into possession, it was to Russia's interest to preserve the unity of the

Orthodox Church under the traditional authority of the Greeks, whom she regarded in the light of trustees holding her inheritance until the fulness of time should arrive. The integrity of the Orthodox Church was a political doctrine serving the same purpose as the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. This policy she pursued steadily until the Crimean War, when a new chapter was opened. It is really in 1856, and not in 1886, that the line between the two great periods of Russian policy should be drawn. Even before that date —in 1841—the Panslavist Bishop Porphyrios, in a memorandum submitted to the Russian Government, had counselled expansion by the Slavonisation of the churches of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. But his plan was premature, and fifteen more years had to elapse ere Russia could be brought to depart from her ancient programme. The diminution of Russian influence over the East, due to the result of the Crimean War, pushed the policy of Panslavism to the front. Russian predominance in the East and the preservation of the Hellenic character of the Orthodox Churches seemed no longer compatible, and the work of Slavonisation was commenced.

The times were propitious. An awakening of the national sentiment was discernible throughout the Near East, Asiatic no less than European, without, however, enfeebling the religious to any appreciable extent, and Russia determined to exploit both these forces. A second Russian bishop, Cyrillus, was commissioned in 1857 to explore the Greek East with this end in view, and on his return home, two years later, he embodied the outcome of his investigations in two reports, in which he also recommended the Slavonisation of the Eastern churches. One of the episcopal scout's suggestions was the creation of an independent Bulgarian Church as a rival to the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople; another was the instigation of the Arabic-speaking Christians in Syria and Palestine to revolt against the Greek Church. In the following pages we shall briefly relate the manner in which both these suggestions have been acted upon, and show that the campaign advocated by Bishop Cyrillus is still conducted on the lines laid down by him, with such modifications as the progress of events has rendered necessary.

The Bulgarian Schism was the creation of General Ignatieff, the prince of Panslavists, and its history is indissolubly bound up with that of Panslavism. When in 1869 the Patriarch Gregory VI. proposed to hold a council at Con-

stantinople for the solution of the Bulgarian Question, the Russian Holy Synod wrote to him condemning in most emphatic terms the rebellious attitude of the Bulgarians. But during the next two or three years the Synod altered its tone and its sentiments on the subject completely. The alteration was, beyond doubt, due to the fact that meanwhile it had come under the control of the Panslavists. So that when the Constantinople Council was actually summoned, in 1872, the Holy Synod declined to take part in it. The official communication, in which the Greek Patriarch announced to the Holy Synod the decision taken by the Council regarding the Bulgarians, remained unacknowledged, and the Synod continued its connexion with the Schismatic Church by allowing its priests to officiate in Russian cathedrals and seminaries and by supplying it with the holy ointment. It was not until after the events of 1885–6 that the Russians began to entertain scruples about the propriety of such a connexion. The Schism, which had originally been hailed by the Panslavists as the best guarantee of Bulgaria's deliverance from the domination of the Greek Patriarchate and of the ultimate Slavonisation of the latter, was now looked upon with suspicion; Russia reconsidered her position towards the independent Bulgarian Church. The result of this reconsideration was the change of tactics mentioned before. Russian diplomacy, without repudiating the Schism, commenced a determined warfare against the Bulgarian propaganda, thwarting its activity and opposing the creation of new bishoprics in Macedonia. Nay, in 1896, despite the recent submission of the Principality, the Russian ambassador at Constantinople attempted to ruin all its prospects of expansion in that province by proposing a reconciliation between the Exarchate and the Patriarchate on condition that the former should surrender the Macedonian dioceses to the Patriarch and limit its jurisdiction within the bounds of the Principality. The reward held out was the recognition of the Bulgarian Church by the Œcumenical Patriarch, an advantage of doubtful value, or rather a positive disaster. The proposal, as might have been expected, was rejected by the Bulgarians, and it only deserves to be recorded as a proof of Russia's altered attitude.

Her present policy seems to be animated by the desire to preserve the unity and uphold the authority of the Orthodox Church, but—and herein lies the all-important difference between the later and the earlier periods—to destroy its

Hellenic character. In other words, Russia's object is to turn the Greek into a Russian Church, an object likely to tax all the ingenuity of the Panslavist politicians, but thoroughly worth the utmost outlay of labour on their part. The most sanguine among them already look forward to the convocation, under their auspices, of an Œcumenical Council, in which they will arrange the affairs of the Near East in accordance with their own views. But, it should be repeated, this alteration is only a change of means. The sole point in which the new campaign differs from the old is that, whereas before 1886 the Slavonisation of the Eastern Church was sought by the erection of a rival Bulgarian Exarchate, now that end is pursued by the encouragement of the Servians. Instead of attacking the Greek Church openly and from without, Russian diplomacy now endeavours to Slavonise it from within. A chemical process has succeeded to the mechanical.

At the same time it would be a serious mistake to imagine that the suppression of the independent Bulgarian Church is an essential clause in this new political creed. That Russian statesmen, at all events, do not consider it in that light is amply proved by the fact that during the Shipka Pass celebrations the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Stara Zagora was permitted to take the leading part in the consecration of the memorial church, and the Bulgarian clergy were placed on a footing of perfect equality with the Russian priests who officiated in the ceremony, a fact equivalent to an open recognition of the Exarchate. That Russia could do this and yet maintain her position as the pillar of Orthodoxy is one of the inscrutable mysteries of diplomacy, an art as little subject to the rules of logic as it is to those of ethics. Russia, as has been seen, made an attempt to render her position less illogical by her endeavour to bring about the restoration of the ecclesiastical *status quo ante*. But her failure is a mere matter of detail, and nowise affects the general scheme.

The soul of this movement is M. Pobiedonostcheff, the Imperial Procurator at the Holy Synod, who, though a layman, exercises paramount authority over the Russian Church, appointing and dismissing bishops at will, and, in brief, wielding all the powers of a supreme Pontiff. His authority and the manner in which he displays it justify the sobriquet of 'lay Pope' applied to him in derision by his opponents, who see in the ambitious Procurator a personification of Russia's evil genius. Moderate men

reprobate the overweening ambition of M. Pobiedonostcheff and his associates. But moderate men are seldom in the majority, and the Panslavists at this moment are in a position to ignore their adversaries. The Holy Synod is completely under their sway; a large section of the Press, headed by the renowned *Novoe Vremya*, disseminates their views, while opposition is paralysed by the censorship, which likewise is under their control. Above all, the Panslavists are supreme in the Imperial Court, and exercise a powerful influence over Russian diplomacy. In short, both at home and abroad the field is open to the 'lay Pope' and his cardinals. Under the circumstances, it is not a matter for surprise that the aggressive movement, whether called Panslavism or Panorthodoxy, is making rapid strides towards the accomplishment of its object in the Near East. Its activity extends over Europe and Asia. In Europe it manifests itself partly indirectly in the manner already described, and partly directly in the efforts of the Russian monks on Mount Athos, a district deserving more attention than has hitherto been paid to it by students of Eastern politics in this country.

The easternmost prong of the Chalcidic Trident, commonly known as the Holy Mount (*Hagion Oros*), has for centuries been in the possession of a score of monasteries and a large number of monastic communities (*sketes*), hermitages, and retreats belonging to them, founded and endowed during the Byzantine period. Except for the presence of a Turkish kaimakam, who plays the part of a harmless figurehead, and the payment of tribute to the Porte, these religious foundations constitute a semi-autonomous federation, each monastery forming an independent unit, but all represented in an assembly which meets three times a week in the hamlet of Karyes. The assembly in question manages the general affairs of the community at large and settles all disputes arising between the various monasteries, though an appeal from its decisions is possible either to the Patriarchate of Constantinople or to the Turkish tribunals. These disputes were once the only source of excitement to the holy anchorites. But since the revival of national consciousness among the different members of the Orthodox Church in the Balkans, racial antagonism has found its way to this mediæval retreat of monastic repose. Seventeen of the monasteries are purely Greek, one is Servian, one Bulgarian, and one Russian. This last has been the cause of great trouble during the

present generation. Originally Greek, it was seized by the Russians, who, being at first admitted on equal terms as fellow-Orthodox Christians, gradually outnumbered their Greek brethren, and finally ousted them. Since its occupation by the Russians this monastery has become a centre of Panslavic expansion and agitation on Mount Athos. Supported by the Imperial Palestine Society, which numbers among its members some of the most influential nobles in Russia, and is under the patronage of the Tsar's own uncle and of M. Pobiedonostcheff, it commands almost fabulous means, which it employs in enlarging itself and in sowing dissension among its neighbours.

The Greek monks afford it many opportunities for investment of its superfluous capital. Their intestine feuds and native love of litigation frequently reduce them to such a pass that they are compelled to part with property to the Russians, who, in the pursuit of their object of conquest, spare no money. Where money fails, the Russians have recourse to threats. For many of the Greek monasteries own estates in Russia, especially in Bessarabia, and the Russian monks are able to bring pressure to bear on them through the Russian Government by inducing it to withhold the revenues from them. The struggle is of the most bitter character conceivable. The Greeks are aware that it is a struggle for national existence, and, in spite of all temptations, they usually offer a firm resistance. But the fight is unequal. The powerful protection of the Russian Embassy and the wealth of their rivals are bound to prevail in the long run. Meanwhile the numbers of the Russian monks are increasing at an enormous rate, and the mountain is dominated by the gigantic buildings of the Russian monastery and the communities of the Serai and Prophet Elias, by their lofty belfries and gorgeous green cupolas—monuments of Muscovite might and want of taste.

The Patriarchate is unable to lend any assistance to the Greeks. In fact, the present Œcumenical Patriarch is accused of being heart and soul devoted to the Russian interest. This is the opinion current among the Greeks on Mount Athos and elsewhere, and appearances certainly go to support it. During his long retirement on the mountain Joachim III. was frequently the guest of the Russian monks, and his portrait figures in their reception room between those of the Emperor and Empress of Russia. But there is reason to believe that appearances in this, as in many other instances, are deceptive. Impartial observers who have had

the privilege of a personal acquaintance with his Holiness are inclined to the opinion that he is not less patriotic but more cautious than his critics, and that he is making a virtue of necessity by kissing the hand which he cannot cut off. Indeed, what can a poor Patriarch do against the combined forces of Russian fanaticism and resourcefulness? The eagerness of the Russians to gain possession of the Holy Mount can easily be understood when we consider that the monasteries, besides their Russian property, own large portions of the Chalcidic Peninsula, and have estates even in Greece. The race, therefore, that rules on Mount Athos has the means of exercising a certain influence in many other parts of Turkey, and even beyond the limits of the Ottoman Empire.

The Imperial Palestine Society, which works so effectively towards the Russification of Mount Athos, is the main instrument of Panslavism throughout the Near East. This Society was founded in 1884, with the avowed object of supporting the Church of Jerusalem, protecting the native Orthodox population against foreign propagandas, carrying on scientific and archæological exploration in Palestine, and affording assistance to the Russian pilgrims who throng to the Holy Land every year at the time of the Easter festival. This was its original programme. Whether it ever meant to restrict itself to the work described therein or not it is impossible to say; but at all events, under the inspiring influence of M. Pobiedonostcheff and his followers, the Society soon enlarged its sphere of usefulness, with the result that its purely scientific and philanthropical aspects have been totally eclipsed by the political. Its real aim now is the promotion of Russian influence throughout Palestine and Syria, two countries which, since the opening of the Suez Canal, have, in common with Egypt, regained much of their ancient importance as lying on the route of communication between East and West.

The chief opponent of Russian expansion in Asiatic, as in European Turkey, is Hellenism, embodied in the Greek Church. Its strength is mainly derived from the memories of the past. Historic prestige and local connection of over two thousand years render Hellenism a powerful rival, in spite of its inferior resources, lukewarm activity, and total lack of political or ecclesiastical concentration. The free kingdom of Greece, which might lend a much-needed centre to the scattered forces of Hellenism, is lost in petty party squabbles, and has no energy to spare for the larger

interests of the race. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, it is against the Greeks that the Imperial Palestine Society directs its greatest efforts. Indeed, the inspired press of St. Petersburg and Moscow have more than once openly declared that the Society's chief aim is the expulsion of the Greek clergy from Palestine and Syria, while some of the most Chauvinist among these organs have even gone so far as to express the scarcely Christian wish that the Greeks may be forced to embrace Islam, and so leave the field free to the Russians. Pending this desirable but highly improbable consummation, the predominance of Panslavism in Asia, as in Europe, is sought by the gradual Slavonisation of the Orthodox Church.

In Asia this cannot be done directly, owing to the absence of a Slavonic population. Russia therefore adopts indirect means. The first step to the occupation of the Patriarchal Thrones is the weakening of their present tenants. This preliminary object is pursued by the encouragement of a separatist movement on the part of the non-Greek elements of the Eastern Churches. Both Syria and Palestine have already experienced the effects of this policy. We shall begin with Syria; but in order to render Russia's action intelligible, and enable the reader to appreciate the results of Russia's policy, we must first say a few words concerning the ethnography of the country.

Syria, owing to its geographical conformation chiefly, has from of old been a *pot-pourri* of races mutually antagonistic, and kept asunder by the barriers of blood, religion, and tradition. The Arab conquest (635–638) did nothing towards the fusion of these hostile elements, its only permanent effect being the substitution of the Arabic for the Aramaic as the common language of the country, and the conversion of a great portion of the population to Islam. At the present day we find in Syria, an area little larger than that of Greece, representatives of about a dozen different nationalities: Maronites occupying the greater part of Mount Lebanon; Druses on the southern slopes of the mountain and on Mount Hauran; Turcomans, that is nomad Turkish tribes, wandering over North Syria; Kurds in the highlands of the interior; Nosairis, Metawiles of Iranian blood, Circassians, and Armenians in the lowlands. In this list are not included the Turks (most of whom are either soldiers or Government officials), the European residents in the larger towns, the two old Jewish colonies at Beirut and Damascus, and the bands of Nawar, or gypsies of no fixed abode.

Politically the country consists of two vilayets, that of Beirut and that of Damascus; the sandjak of Aleppo; part of the autonomous sandjak of Deir-ez-Zor; and the sandjak of the Lebanon, which since 1861, following on the massacre of the Maronites by the Druses and the Turks, enjoys a form of autonomy under international control and a Christian governor, whose nomination is made by the Sultan, subject to the unanimous approval of all the European Ambassadors at Constantinople. In point of religion, out of a total of some 3,000,000 inhabitants, the Mohammedans constitute the majority, numbering, as they do, over 1,600,000. Christianity comes next with about 1,000,000 of adherents of all denominations, and these are not few.

Part of the Christian population belongs to the Catholic Church, and is subdivided into Syrian Catholics, Armenian Catholics, and Maronites who predominate in the Lebanon. The Orthodox Christians make up the remainder, and are under the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch of Antioch. It is among these that the Imperial Palestine Society has cast its hook, the bait being national and ecclesiastical independence. Russia in Syria repeats the play which thirty years ago she rehearsed with such signal success in Bulgaria, and which did much to prepare the Syrian stage for the appearance of the Imperial Palestine Society. For we meet with the first sign of revolt on the part of the Arab-speaking Syrians against the Greek Patriarchate in 1872, when half-a-dozen bishops of that nationality expressed their sympathy with the nascent Bulgarian Church. Previous to that date the Syrians, in common with the rest of Orthodox Christians in the East, were proud of the name of Greek, and considered the knowledge of the Greek language a badge of distinction. But this is no longer the case. Under the fostering care of the Imperial Palestine Society, the national sentiment bids fair to throttle the religious, and the new dream of freedom is luring many of the younger sort from an obsolete allegiance. By a strange fatality the Imperial Palestine Society made its *début* in Syria under the auspices of the late Patriarch of Antioch himself—that is, of the Greeks, who acclaimed its advent, fondly hoping that they would find in the Russians sincere allies against the common enemies, Catholicism and Protestantism. But they were not allowed to remain long in their error. No sooner were the Slavs established in the schools and churches made over to them by the infatuated Patriarch than they began to undermine his position by fanning the discontent among the

Arab-speaking portion of his flock, which forms three-quarters of the whole Orthodox population.

These Syrians, historically speaking, have nothing in common with the Arabs except the language, which they adopted from their conquerors in the same way as the Greeks in many parts of Asia Minor adopted Turkish. Anyone familiar with the history of the country and its present condition knows perfectly well that apart from the few Arab families settled in the towns there is no genuine Arab in Syria, always excepting the Bedawins, whose real home is the desert. Nevertheless, the Russians experience no difficulty in persuading the Syrian youth, trained in their schools, that they are Christianised descendants of Omar's Arabs, a notion which flatters the *amour propre* of a people accustomed to subjection, and appeals to its Asiatic imagination; so much so that among the rising generation of Syrian Orthodox Christians one is amazed to find the Koran held in almost as high esteem as the Bible, and Arab ideals superseding the traditional Hellenic. The Syrians are inspired with the hope of national independence, a hope pathetically ludicrous in view of their numerical inferiority compared with the other elements, especially the Mohammedan. However, their emancipation from Greek will necessarily result in subjection to Russian influence, and from a Russian standpoint that is a great gain.

Besides adding fuel to this national ardour, the agents of the Imperial Palestine Society further their work of disintegration by the most exaggerated calumnies against the Greek hierarchy, depicting in the darkest colours its exclusiveness, as illustrated by the suppression of the national language. True or not, this charge is certainly not devoid of humour, coming as it does from the representatives of a Church which forbids to the Roumanians of Bessarabia and to the inhabitants of Georgia the use of their native tongue in their services, and for the last eighty years has been inflicting upon the latter prelates who do not know a word of the language of the people. A Church, moreover, which refuses to recognise the validity of the clergy of the Old Believers, genuine Russians counting some ten millions, not to speak of the systematic persecution of national institutions in Poland and Finland. The charge, however, is not altogether baseless, for the Patriarchs of Antioch have not always consulted their own best interests by making a knowledge of Arabic an indispensable qualification for admission to holy orders. But, on the other hand, so far from

deliberately suppressing the speech of the people, they have habitually permitted the celebration of divine service in it. It is true that in their schools they teach Greek; but the Russians also teach Russian in theirs, without having the same excuse, either from historical or from purely utilitarian considerations. Another grievance accentuated by the Russian propaganda is the custom according to which the highest clerical post has from time immemorial been filled by Greeks, a grievance rather sentimental than practical, seeing that the Patriarch is not an autocrat, for his actions are controlled by a Synod in which the Arabs are fairly represented. It is upon this basis that a vigorous agitation was started a few years ago.

The movement came to a head in 1899. The Arabic-speaking bishops of Syria, in a meeting held without the previous sanction by the Porte of the list of candidates, proceeded to elect to the Patriarchal Throne of Antioch one of themselves, encouraged thereto by the Russian Vice-Consul at Damascus and by the Russophil Vali, Nazim Pasha. The other Patriarchs—namely, those of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople—protested, and the Porte ordered a new election to be held, based on a list containing candidates from these Churches also, in accordance with the traditional custom. Meanwhile, Meletius, bishop of Laodicea, the illegally elected Patriarch, remained as *locum tenens*, in spite of the fact that another bishop had been unanimously approved by the Synod of Antioch and confirmed by the Porte, and finally the election to the throne received the sanction of the Porte under pressure from the Russian Embassy. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, in common with the heads of the other Greek Churches, entered a vigorous protest, whereby he not only gained nothing, but was forced, on M. Zinovieff's demand, to recall his representative from Constantinople. Thus the decrees of the Imperial Palestine Society have been accomplished, and a dangerous precedent has been created.

The Russian campaign in Syria is carried on through the Russian schools, which are subsidised by the Holy Synod of Russia. There are about twenty of these establishments in the diocese of Damascus, and others are scattered over Tripoli, Homs, Hamah, and Antioch. But in estimating the strength of the Russian propaganda in Syria we must bear in mind that it is only one of a great number of similar missions. The most formidable of its rivals is the Catholic Church, which is represented by a large native element. The local

Catholic communities were formerly under Italian influence, and the Italian language was taught in their schools, that being especially the case among the Maronites in the Lebanon. But since the time of Gambetta Italian influence and language have given way to French, which is promoted by the Alliance Française, the Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient, and by a number of French religious orders, all supported by the Government of the Republic. How successful the French campaign has been is proved by the multitude and efficiency of their educational institutions. Higher education is represented by a Medical and Pharmaceutical College, founded in 1883, and by a Theological School, to which is attached an excellent printing-press. Both these establishments are directed by Jesuits, who select the teachers, subject to the approval of the French Foreign Office, by which they are paid. The medical examinations are held before a committee, consisting of three professors sent by the French Ministry of Public Instruction and three Ottoman doctors appointed by the Turkish Government, so that the graduates may have the right to practise both in France and in the Ottoman Empire.

Secondary education flourishes in the Jesuit colleges of Beirut, the Lazarist college of Antoura, which dates from the seventeenth century, another Lazarist college at Damascus, and the Capuchin school of Beit-Kashbo, which entitles to exemption from military service all Frenchmen who join it before their nineteenth year with the intention of settling in the Levant. Primary education is in the hands of the *frères*, who administer several schools at Beirut, Tripoli, Kaifa, and Latakia. In addition to these centres of French culture the Jesuits exercise supervision over 190 schools, conducted by native priests and lay teachers, in which some fifteen thousand pupils of both sexes receive instruction. But the education of women is chiefly entrusted to various orders of French nuns, such as the Sœurs de Charité, who conduct seven establishments in and about Beirut, one at Damascus, and another at Tripoli; the Dames de Nazareth, who have two schools at Beirut, one at Kaifa, and one at Acre; the Sœurs de Saint-Joseph at Beirut, Saida, Aleppo, and elsewhere; while numerous girls' schools, managed by native sisters, known as Sœurs du Sacré-Cœur, or 'Mariamettes,' and by the Sœurs de la Sainte-Famille, are under the control of the Jesuits. The French Government, moreover, not content with the efforts of these French missions alone, subsidises the schools of the Italian Capu-

chins and Franciscans at Aleppo and Abeih, while the French language is likewise spread by the Jewish schools, under the protection of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which maintains several establishments, the most important among them being two at Beirut, one at Damascus, and one at Saida.

The Italians, under the first Crispi Cabinet, made an heroic effort to regain the ground of which the French had deprived them, and a great number of schools was founded in Syria, under the protection of the Dante Alighieri Society, but only five of these survived the struggle for existence.

A more formidable competitor than the Italian propaganda the French have found in the British and American missions, whose progress has lately been accelerated by the movement of emigration of the Maronites to America, brought about by the economical crisis in their country. The oldest of these missions is the American, which, founded in 1821, boasts a high school for medicine, a printing-press, an observatory, a preparatory school, and a girls' school at Beirut, a theological seminary at Abeih, an important school at Latakia, numbering more than fifty years of existence, and other schools at Homs, Tripoli, Saida, Damascus, and Aleppo; altogether some hundred and forty establishments, educating over seven thousand pupils. Next comes the British Syrian Mission, founded in 1860, with over fifty schools, twelve of which are in Beirut; the British Episcopalian Mission, whose headquarters are at Damascus; and the Scotch Mission, founded in 1864 with a view to converting the Jews, among whom its work chiefly lies.

To these missions must be added the German Alldeutscher Verband, under whose auspices the German deaconesses conduct a girls' school at Beirut, and several other schools at Kaifa. It will therefore be seen that the Imperial Palestine Society, even after the absorption of the Orthodox Greek Church, will encounter no slight opposition from other quarters. Both the strength and the weakness of the Russian cause will become more apparent in our survey of the work done by the Imperial Palestine Society in the country which supplies it with a base of operations as well as with its name.

Christianity in the Holy Land centres round the localities consecrated by the life and death of the founder of the Christian religion. The possession of these localities has always been a bone of contention, and not unfrequently the cause of bloodshed between the various sects among His

followers. Greeks and Latins, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, and Syrians have from olden times claimed a greater or smaller share in the common heritage, and, conscious of the righteousness of the end, have not always been very scrupulous about the means. In 1808, for example, the Armenians set fire to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the hope that they would succeed in inducing the Porte to sell to them the right of building it up on their own account. The Latins also strove to obtain the much-coveted concession through a diplomatic channel. But the Greeks after a long struggle prevailed, and the church was rebuilt by subscriptions collected throughout the East. A *modus vivendi* was arrived at in the reign of Sultan Mahmoud, who issued a firman defining the rights of the various Christian communities in Jerusalem.

At the present day representatives of the Greek, Latin, and Armenian churches officiate daily, in order of precedence, within the recess of the tomb. Yet such is their mutual suspiciousness that, while one of the priests is in possession of the interior of the shrine, the other two mount guard at the entrance, lest perchance their colleague should perpetuate his occupation. Neither in this sanctuary nor in the other joint possessions is any of the partners allowed to initiate repairs, or even to replace a broken lamp, without the formal consent of the rest. Russia a few weeks ago made an attempt to disturb this unstable equilibrium. Availing herself of the embassy to St. Petersburg of the Abyssinian Bishop Abuna Matteos, she induced him to raise a claim to the chapel of St. Helena, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This chapel is in the possession of the Armenians, but the Abyssinian prelate asserts that it originally belonged to his Church, and on his way home stopped at Constantinople in order to obtain its cession from the Sultan. Abdul Hamid, however, aware of the storm which such an innovation would not fail to raise, has wisely deferred his decision.

The feud has most commonly raged between the first two sects—the Greek and the Latin—which, both by reason of numbers and historic tradition, are the strongest. The Greeks here, as elsewhere, maintain a purely defensive attitude. Being the first in the field, they limit their anxiety and their exertions to the preservation of the property and prestige bequeathed to them by their forefathers, while the Latin Church carries on a vigorous ecclesiastical propaganda for the acquisition of proselytes among the Arabic-speaking

Orthodox population of Palestine. The enmity between Eastern and Western Christians in Jerusalem is prevented from leading to international complications, such as once in the past resulted in a great European war, by the presence of the Turkish troops. All the principal scenes of worship and strife, from the place of the Nativity to that of the Resurrection, are strongly guarded by the Ottoman authorities. The great temple of the Holy Sepulchre itself is entrusted to the hereditary guardianship of two Arab families, which jointly keep the keys and share the fees paid to them by the Christian communities for opening and closing the gates. During service hours the representatives of these privileged families may be seen seated on their mats in the immediate vicinity of the sacred tomb, sipping coffee and smoking yard-long 'tchibooks'—mute emblems of Mohammedan indolence battening on Christian jealousy.

However, despite the vigilance and, it should be added, habitual impartiality of the Turkish authorities, affrays between the priests of the rival creeds are by no means rare. One of these outbreaks of holy hatred occurred last November in the very precincts of the Holy Sepulchre. It arose out of a paltry question concerning the sweeping of the church quadrangle, and ended in the sentence of twelve Greek priests and twenty-two laymen to various terms of imprisonment. Yet the traditional hostility between East and West, bitter as it is, is now surpassed by the internal antagonism between the Greek and the Russian portions of the Eastern Church.

The Church of Jerusalem, like the rest of Eastern Christianity, has from the first been invested with an Hellenic character, and has necessarily participated in the vicissitudes of the whole Hellenic race. During the Byzantine period it flourished beneath the shadow of the Greek emperors of Constantinople. It declined with their decline, but it outlasted the Empire. The Mohammedan conquerors tolerated its existence, and allowed it that measure of autonomy which they granted to the rest of Eastern Christendom. But meanwhile a great Orthodox Power had arisen in the North, daily expanding and claiming a larger and yet larger share of influence over the Orthodox Church. As early as 1774 Russia had obtained from the Porte an official permission for Russian pilgrims to repair to Jerusalem without let or hindrance. The numbers of these pilgrims have kept pace with the improvement in the means of communication, and, at the same time, the growth of Russia's power

has enabled her to pose more and more authoritatively as the protector of the Holy Sepulchre. This protection, at first extended from purely religious motives, gradually became an object of political importance, and it should not be forgotten that the immediate cause of the Crimean War was Russia's championship of the rights of Orthodoxy in Jerusalem, threatened by the Catholic clergy.

While the Bulgarian question was at its height, Palestine remained in the background; but as soon as that question began to promise a solution consonant with the views of Panslavism, Russia directed her attention to this Asiatic portion of Orthodoxy, and, as a result of her intrigues, the then Patriarch of Jerusalem was prevailed upon to follow the example of the Russian Holy Synod and abstain from taking part in the Constantinople Council of 1872, which ostracised the Bulgarians from the community of the Greek Church. The Patriarch's conduct was expiated by his deposition; but Russia revenged herself by stirring up the Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians of Palestine against the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, until the latter was forced to yield to them a voice in the government of the Church. This was the thin end of the wedge which was to split the Palestine Church into fractions, and the forerunner of the movement since initiated in Syria, as we have already seen.

In the following year (1873) the Russian Government, under the pretext that the property of the Holy Sepulchre in Bessarabia was badly managed by the monks, deprived them of the management, and took the administration in its own hands, allowing only two-fifths of the revenue to the owners and keeping the remainder for expenses. This taste of Russian spitefulness soon brought the Jerusalem Church to submission, and a few years after two more fifths of the detained revenues were restored to it. But the Russian Government continued in possession of the estates, thus securing an instrument of pressure similar to that wielded against the monks of Mount Athos. Whenever Russia is bent on wresting a privilege from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, such as the building of Russian churches, or on controlling the policy of his representative at Constantinople, she has only to threaten to confiscate this property, which yields an annual income of about 25,000*l.*, a sum considerable to the impoverished churches of the East. In other words, Russia holds over the head of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem a sword of Damocles of the same type as the one

which since the last Russo-Turkish war has been suspended over the head of the Porte; with the only difference that in the one case she plays the part of an importunate creditor, and in the other that of a bankrupt debtor. It need hardly be said that Russia has not the shadow of a legal right to these estates. These, as well as some other lands in Georgia, were partly presented to the Holy Sepulchre at various times in the past by Roumanian boyars and Georgian princes, and partly bequeathed to it by pious Greeks, as has been shown on documentary evidence. But the illegality of the action detracts nothing from its effectiveness.

Things were in this posture when the establishment of the Imperial Palestine Society came to systematise the persecution of the Church of Jerusalem, assisted in this work of disintegration by the official representatives of the Tsar's Government at Jaffa, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Beirut. It already boasts a great number of schools, in which several thousand boys and girls are taught to read Russia's literature and revere Russia's power. The highest place among these institutions is held by the Training College of Nazareth, which is under the direct supervision of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction. Its teachers enjoy the same privileges as those granted to the teachers in the public schools of the Empire, and from its portals annually issue legions of native youths fully equipped for the work of the propaganda. From among these graduates are recruited the staffs of the inferior schools, of which there are no fewer than twenty in Galilee alone, while a high school for girls stands near Jerusalem. All these establishments are periodically visited by Russian Government inspectors, and are kept up to a high standard of efficiency.

The religious side of the propaganda is equally promising. In all the principal cities and centres of interest in the Holy Land—Jaffa the seaport, Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem—may be seen the domes of Russian churches towering above long barrack-like buildings, intended for the accommodation of monks and pilgrims, and surrounded by grim walls not unlike those of fortresses in a conquered country. The expenses of this magnificent campaign are chiefly defrayed by the pious folk in Russia, who readily respond to the call. In return for their generous donations they have the satisfaction of beholding their compatriots occupying the post of honour at the festivals in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a post which from ancient times was reserved to the Greeks. The prestige of Russia in Palestine

is also enhanced by the frequent visits of Russian grand dukes, ambassadors, and admirals, whose glittering uniforms add a special feature to the Easter celebrations.

But in Palestine, as in Syria, Russia is by no means the only claimant. The Catholic Church, under its Patriarch at Jerusalem, is represented by numerous religious orders —Jesuits, Franciscans, Lazarists, and others—working zealously among the native Catholics. Their schools, though in some respects inferior to the Russian, still attract the dusky sons and daughters of Palestine by the charm and superior utility of French civilisation in the Levant. All these Catholic missions in Palestine, as well as throughout the Ottoman Empire, with the exception of Albania, were until quite recently, by virtue of ancient tradition, under the protection of the French Republic, which, while waging a truceless war against monks and nuns at home, sees good reason for supporting them both morally and materially abroad. In pursuance of this policy France has lately compelled the Sultan to recognise all these clerical and educational institutions, and to grant to them the privileges and immunities claimed by religious missions in the East. The Russian Government was not slow to avail itself of the opportunity offered for obtaining a like recognition for its own schools and churches, and the event was last Easter celebrated with great demonstrations of joy by the members of the Imperial Palestine Society and the five thousand Russian pilgrims at Jerusalem. The number of foreign propagandas was in 1898 increased by the purchase of the Dormition de la Sainte-Vierge by the German Emperor, who has thus established a claim to the protection of his own Catholic subjects, hitherto confused with the French, to the detriment of German influence. A similar recognition of their right to protect their own missionaries has been granted to the Italians, and these two concessions can justly be regarded as a severe blow at French influence; for France has lost the exclusive protectorate over all Catholic clergy in the East, irrespective of nationality, which she had enjoyed for ages.

The Italian Government has followed up this advantage by the organisation of a Lombard pilgrimage to the Holy Land, calculated to impress both the inhabitants and the local authorities with a due sense of Italy's importance. The pilgrims were personally conducted by Cardinal Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan, for whom the Italian Consul prepared a triumphal entry into Jerusalem. In this display of proud

humility took part Turkish officials and soldiers, as well as all the representatives of the European Powers, including that of the French Republic. The most striking characteristic of the imposing ceremony was the unwonted cordiality exhibited by the Italian State towards the Catholic Church, a cordiality which the Church reciprocated by causing the band of the Salesian Fathers to play the Italian Royal March. Nor was this mutual goodwill restricted to the exchange of compliments. Cardinal Ferarri, an ecclesiastic who has always been regarded as one of the most uncompromising members of the Sacred College, on this occasion evinced quite remarkable zeal on behalf of the policy of the Italian Government, and permitted its representative at Jerusalem to hold the place of honour in the religious service which took place in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is thus seen that France is not unique in the ability of using religion as an instrument for the extension of political influence.

This demonstration, as was only natural, has caused great annoyance to France. The French Consul at Jerusalem, though compelled by courtesy to participate in the Italian procession, made an ineffectual effort to assert the vanishing claims of his country to the protection of Oriental Catholics, while a French cardinal, a few days after, obtained an audience of the Pope in the presence of the Catholic Patriarch of Syria and other Eastern Catholics, who have not ceased to look upon the Republic as their protectress. Nevertheless Cardinal Ferrari's pilgrimage is regarded by Italians, not without reason, as a victory of Italian diplomacy. The Porte, which dreads France more than Italy, has seen this victory of the latter with satisfaction, and, through its local officials, has contributed to the *éclat* of the Italian pilgrimage, while Orthodox Russia can hardly be supposed to resent an occurrence tending to widen the division in the ranks of its Catholic rivals.

The political expansion of Russia in Syria and Palestine of late years has been greatly facilitated by her alliance with France. Recent events, however, induced the French to return to their old policy and try to restore their diminished influence in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is in their desire to recover lost ground that we must seek for an explanation of the energetic attitude of the Government of the Republic in the Franco-Turkish dispute of last year. This incident, however, served to accentuate more strongly than ever the impossibility of a cordial agreement with

Russia in matters pertaining to the Near East, and to illustrate the impotence of France where her interests clash with those of her 'friend and ally.' Perhaps we shall not be very far wrong if we attribute the moderation of France towards Turkey and the slight want of proportion between the preparations made and the result attained to Russia's jealousy. Nor was this the only occasion on which the French must have realised how much Russia's friendship costs them. Some years ago a French scheme of a railway destined to join the Smyrna hinterland with the Propontis was wrecked on the same rock of Russian opposition.

Indeed, the French themselves, in spite of their sincere endeavours to avoid all causes of friction with their allies, cannot but show symptoms of restiveness at times. Thus the 'Figaro,' the semi-official organ of the Quai d'Orsay, not long since, in an article entitled 'L'Essor de la Russie,' ventured to express the opinion that the German scheme of the Baghdad railway would nowise prejudice Russian interests in the Near East, a statement which evoked some scathing criticism from St. Petersburg. The 'Novoe Vremya' even went the length of hinting in no ambiguous terms that the object of the French journal was to thwart Russia's development by encouraging French capitalists to support the enterprise under the pretext that their ally would not object. These and similar occurrences point the moral that the French and the Russians, try as they may to conceal the fact, are hopelessly opposed in their Near Eastern policies. A rumour which recently arose in connexion with the appointment of a new governor to the Lebanon, though lacking authentic confirmation, is worth recording, as it throws light on the view of Franco-Russian relations taken by people in the East. The delay in the appointment of this official, who, as has already been stated, must be a Christian nominated by the Porte and approved by the Powers, was at Constantinople affirmed to be due to the antagonism between the representatives of the two *nations amies et alliées*, Russia, notwithstanding the predominance of the Catholics in the district, intriguing for the election of an Orthodox governor, while France vigorously supported a Catholic candidate. The difference seems to have ended in a compromise, the new governor being a Pole by birth and possibly a Catholic by religion, though he is generally known by a Turkish name.

Another rival, far less easy to outwit, are the Germans, whose influence is making rapid advances in this part of the

world. German activity in Palestine and Syria can be traced to the year 1860, when four German colonies were founded at Kaifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Sarona, counting altogether 1,200 souls, in consequence of a religious movement begun in Würtemberg. In 1900 a committee was formed at Stuttgart for the encouragement of German emigration to Palestine. The immediate object was the collection of money for the purchase of the necessary territory near Gaza, and both the Emperor William and the royal family of Würtemberg subscribed largely to the fund. Unlike the other propagandas, the German is not satisfied with the foundation of schools and churches alone, but endeavours to establish its power on the solid basis of a German population, and through its flourishing colonies the empire has already secured the best markets for the export of its manufactures. The interests of these colonies, watched over by a splendidly organised consular service, are further promoted by the charitable societies recently formed, such as the Berlin Society of Jerusalem and the German Palestine Society, each of which will in time develop into a powerful competitor of the Russian Imperial Palestine Society.

German activity is not confined to Syria and Palestine. The Kaiser has proved a good friend to the Sultan in many an hour of need of late years, and it is only proper that the latter should show his gratitude by affording to Emperor William's subjects all possible opportunities for expansion and enrichment; the more so as the promotion of German interests means an additional obstacle to the advance of the Power which he has most reason to fear. Profiting by this disposition, the Germans are establishing colonies in the fertile plains of Mesopotamia, and before long their influence will extend as far as the Persian Gulf. This developement will gain a fresh stimulus by the projected Baghdad railway, the first of a number of like enterprises which, as time goes by, are bound to follow. The effect of German progress in Asia Minor on Russia's future developement in that direction can easily be foreseen. From a commercial point of view, the Baghdad railway, by opening the markets of the interior to European merchants, will seriously prejudice Russian trade, while its strategic importance is even greater. The facilities for transport, which will be created by its construction, will enable the Porte to mobilise its Asiatic forces and concentrate troops on the Russian frontier with a speed at present impossible. Erzerum, the headquarters of the Fourth Turkish Army Corps, will be placed in direct

communication with Baghdad and Basra, the headquarters of the Sixth Army Corps, and will prevent the isolation of either post by an invading force—a circumstance worth serious attention even from a Power which keeps a normal army 350,000 strong in a state of perpetual mobilisation within easy reach of the shores of the Black Sea, and a first-rate fleet, provided with the means of transporting a quarter of a million of men at a moment's notice, afloat upon its waters. That the Russians are not blind to the new conditions, economic, strategic, and political, which will come into existence with the realisation of the Baghdad railway scheme is evident from the ill-humour to which the Russian journal already mentioned has on more than one occasion given vent. The burden of all these effusions is that by the construction of the line in question Germany's influence throughout Asiatic Turkey will be strengthened and Russia's weakened in a corresponding proportion.

Nor is the return of the Jews to the land of their fathers to be dismissed lightly. In 1879 there were in Palestine barely twenty thousand Jews, while in 1899 we find more than eighty thousand of them, distributed in the various towns, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Safed, and others, as well as in numerous agricultural settlements in Central Judæa. This rapid increase, facilitated by the construction of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, has received its chief impetus from the persecutions to which the Hebrew race has of late been subjected in Eastern Europe. Most of the immigrants come from Russia, Hungary, Galicia, and other parts of Austria and Germany. These are known as Aschkenazim, while the older inhabitants belonged mostly to the Sephardim variety, which, since it was expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, has dispersed all over the Levant. Immigration continues apace under the auspices of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which alone spends 1,000,000f. a year on the Hebrew colonies and schools in Turkey, and other philanthropic societies. The latest phase of this migration, known as the Zionist movement, has for its object to revive the Jewish State by purchasing Palestine from Turkey. The movement, though condemned by some as Utopian, and ridiculed by others as sentimental in origin, possesses considerable interest for the unprejudiced observer of Eastern affairs. No one who has watched its growth can doubt its practical importance.

Dr. Theodor Herzl, the leader of the Zionists, has quite lately paid a visit to the Sultan, at the latter's urgent

invitation, and his reception was such as the owner of a long purse might reasonably expect from an impecunious monarch. According to the 'Jewish World,' an exceptionally well-informed organ, Dr. Herzl's time was not wholly wasted on mere ceremonies. Regular conferences with the Sultan's Ministers are said to have taken place under the presidency of the Grand Vizier, assisted by the Sultan's first secretary and other high officials of the Porte and Palace. As a result of these meetings, Dr. Herzl was requested to formulate his views in a report submitted to the Sultan. The main proposal is the settlement of a large Jewish colony in part of Palestine and elsewhere in Asia Minor, on the basis of a charter, and, although the Sultan is not yet prepared to grant all that his guest demanded, there is sufficient ground to believe, with Dr. Herzl, that the negotiations will most probably, at no distant time, lead to a conclusion satisfactory to the Sultan and the Zionists alike.

This hope is strengthened by the Sultan's attitude towards the Jews, which in its benevolence contrasts curiously with the treatment meted out to his Christian subjects. Two years ago he appointed members of the Hebrew community to important posts in the Turkish army, while he attached two more to his personal entourage. On another occasion his Majesty evinced a lively anxiety on behalf of the same race, whose good repute was sullied by one of the blood-accusations periodically brought against the Jews by the Christians of the East, and caused the local authorities to take steps to prove its groundlessness, thereby earning the thanks of the Anglo-Jewish Association. Perhaps it is to this increasing favour of the Jews in the eyes of the Sultan, and the consequent fear of opposition to Russia's designs in Palestine, that we must attribute a step lately taken by the Russian Government. The Minister of Finance is reported to have forbidden the sale of the Jewish Colonial Trust shares in the Tsar's dominions, a step which has created great perturbation in the camp of Polish Zionists, the most deeply interested in the concern. This arbitrary measure can have no permanent effect on the plans of Zionism, and it is chiefly remarkable as a possible indication of the alarm which the progress of the movement is already exciting in Russian official and Panslav circles.

These are the rivals whom M. Pobiedonostcheff will have to overcome before he can accomplish his project of a Slavonic East: Turks, Greeks, Jews, French, Italians, Germans, English, and Americans are all interested in

checking the progress of Panslavism in Palestine and Syria. The odds against Russia are undoubtedly great. On the other hand, the Government of St. Petersburg has, during the last half-century, given ample evidence of a determination daunted by no obstacle, and of a resourcefulness equal to any emergency; and we must not forget that in politics fixedness of purpose, when combined with flexibility of plan, frequently spells success.

ART. V.—1. *A General Catalogue of* 1290 *Double Stars discovered from* 1871 *to* 1899. By S. W. BURNHAM. Publications of the Yerkes Observatory. Vol. I. Chicago: 1900.

2. *Reference Catalogue of Southern Double Stars.* Compiled by R. T. A. INNES. Annals of the Royal Observatory, Cape of Good Hope. Vol. II. Part II. Edinburgh: 1899.

3. *Micrometrical Observations of the Double Stars discovered at Pulkowa.* By W. J. HUSSEY. Publications of the Lick Observatory. Vol. V. Sacramento: 1901.

4. *Researches on the Evolution of the Stellar Systems.* By T. J. J. SEE, Ph.D. Lynn, U.S.A.: 1896.

5. *Traité d'Astronomie Stellaire.* Par Ch. André. Deuxième Partie. Étoiles Doubles et Multiples. Paris: 1900.

6. *Discoveries and Measures of Double and Multiple Stars in the Southern Hemisphere.* By T. J. J. SEE. Astronomical Journal, Nos. 431–432. Boston: 1898.

'THE making of an hypothesis is not the discovery of a 'truth,' Lord Brougham wrote one hundred years ago in the pages of this Journal. And the maxim is worth remembering, notwithstanding the unwisdom of its application. For it was invented to discredit 'the wild optical 'theory of vibrations,' experimental proofs of which had then recently been alleged by Dr. Thomas Young. It is not our purpose to re-open that antiquated discussion. As the case showed to contemporary opinion, 'much might be said 'on both sides,' in the words of Sir Roger de Coverley's pacificatory judgement on the dispute between Will Wimble and Tom Touchy. Young was substantially in the right, although his demonstrations were faulty; Brougham blundered presumptuously, in the midst of an ostensible dialectical triumph.

Young's Bakerian lecture on the 'Theory of Light and 'Colours,' containing the first rudimentary attempt to explain diffraction-fringes by 'interference,' and to establish on this basis the undulatory hypothesis of light, appeared side by side with Sir William Herschel's announcement of the mutual revolutions of double stars in the 'Philosophical 'Transactions' for 1802. The two investigations seemed disconnected; only superhuman sagacity might have discerned any trace of an auxiliary relation between the branches of knowledge they respectively dealt with; and

Brougham would have been the keenest of scoffers at so far-fetched and preposterous a notion as that of its future establishment. Yet it has come to pass that, by a subtle affection of the ethereal waves constituting light, stellar systems have been numerously revealed, possibly in an embryonic condition, and certainly inaccessible to present or future telescopic observation. These extraordinary discoveries have served essentially to modify our views of the universe. But we must not anticipate.

The advance of double-star astronomy, during the century which has elapsed since its effective foundation, has taken a course equally unexpected and characteristic. By its means a link has been forged between the old and the new astronomy—between the astronomy of the telescope and micrometer and the astronomy of the spectroscope and the camera. Astrophysical methods come in with singular felicity, just where astrometrical methods cease to be available. And the alliance reacts advantageously upon both kinds of research, imparting to the new the accuracy of the old, and to the old some of the flexibility of the new.

Pairs of stars were at first thought to result merely through the hazard of distribution. Indistinctly, and with hesitation, the idea of their forming genuine couples was enunciated in 1777 by Father Christian Mayer, the Jesuit court-astronomer of Mannheim, and Lalande gave expression to current views in rejecting it as incredible. Mayer, too, set the example of collecting and expressly observing such objects. But his attempts were almost obliterated by the achievements of his immediate successor. Herschel undertook the research with the ulterior design of a parallax-campaign. He thought—as Galileo had thought—that since stars apparently adjacent in the sky were presumably separated by an indefinitely vast real interval of space, one might supply a convenient fixed point for measuring the annual perspective shift of its companion, due to the wheeling of the earth in its orbit round the sun. His expectation, however, was in this respect disappointed. Double stars, to begin with, proved far too numerous to be the outcome of chance. Herschel's powerful telescopes, employed with his matchless skill, divided hundreds of stars, previously held to be single, into pairs of globes, just islanded by a fine strait of darkness. A strait of darkness, barely to be seen, yet signifying so much! Already, in 1784, the Reverend John Michell, still more formally than in 1767,* denied the

* Phil. Trans., vol. lvii. p. 249.

possibility of casual juxtaposition. Stars strewn broadcast, however profusely, could not have become contiguously disposed in the multitude of cases to be accounted for. The doctrine of probabilities alone placed it beyond doubt, he considered, that most, if not all, of the multiple objects detected by Herschel 'are systems of stars' mutually revolving under the influence of gravitation.* Herschel's long-sustained observations finally verified the forecast. On July 1, 1802, he declared 'the multiplied phenomena of 'double stars' to depend upon a general law of nature, and promised evidence, which was shortly afterwards amply forthcoming, showing in many of them a progressive change of relative situation indicative of periodical circulation one round the other.†

The communication made a profound impression, which the efflux of time and the growth of knowledge have helped to deepen and strengthen. By the discovery of binary stars, unification of the cosmos in one respect, differentiation in others, were brought about. The law of force governing the planetary scheme received an indefinite extension, while constructive variety was at the same time perceived to have a boundlessly wide scope. The sidereal world was at last included within the range of physical enquiries, yet of physical enquiries perhaps transcending the limitations of terrestrial experience. That suns may form part of systems in which they are not supreme is a fact of immeasurable significance. Through its disclosure our ideas of the purposes they are designed to fulfil have been in a measure confounded. We learn from it that our sun and his family are no universal model—that other suns have other relationships; and the trammels of analogy being thus loosened, the imagination is set free to expatiate in wide fields of speculative thought.

Like all disclosures of real moment, Herschel's of revolving star-pairs was only a beginning. One man made it; generations of men may spend their lives in working out its consequences. One of the most direct and practical has been that of stimulating telescopic improvement. Double stars are test objects of graduated difficulty. Specimens of all varieties are to be found, down to and far beyond the limit of optical resolving power. The series does not terminate; pairs more and more delicate come into view as larger and finer telescopes are brought to bear

* Phil. Trans., vol. lxxiv. p. 76. † Ibid., vol. xcii. p. 486.

upon them. Their efficaciousness depends primarily upon aperture; with equally good definition the greatest objectives will divide the closest stars; each gain in size brings with it the potential disclosure of stellar pairs inaccessible to minor instruments. Now just these are usually the most interesting, because they are the most apt to be in rapid revolution. Their detection is hence an object of ambition to the best observers, who, in their turn, strain the utmost resources of optical art to supply them with the needful weapons. Thus supreme telescopic excellence is a *sine quâ non* of progress in this branch. How far it has yet been attained may be gathered from one simple statement. Stars can be clearly divided with the Lick thirty-six inch refractor when the interval between the components does not exceed one-tenth of a second, or the breadth of a silken fibre placed at a distance of thirty-five feet from the eye. But Herschel's most compressed couples were about ten times further apart, so that we may safely assert telescopic effectiveness in this respect to have decupled within a century. Is there a limit to it? We believe there is, and that the limit has nearly been reached; yet the imminent sterility of such researches need not therefore be apprehended. A subtler mode of prosecuting them than that of direct star-gazing comes, with singular appropriateness, into play where the latter breaks down.

The reactive effects upon the technique of astronomy of making acquaintance with physical double stars were, however, incomparably less important than its theoretical results. The range of celestial mechanics was thereby indefinitely widened. The principles of that sublime science were shown to be valid to the remotest boundary of star-filled space, while endless possibilities of their exemplification in novel cases, demanding for their adequate treatment fresh expedients of abstruse invention, seemed to open up. Not that any demonstration was provided off-hand for the identity of the compulsive forces holding the stars and the planets in their orbits; but the presumption that gravity dominated all equally was irresistible, and has since been so fully justified that only a pedant or a purist can any longer pretend to a doubt on the subject. And so a science of the cosmos came to be established, for exact knowledge begins with the recognition of law.

Herschel estimated the periods, but did not attempt formally to calculate the orbits of any of his stars. This was successfully essayed by Savary in 1827. The subject of

his experiment was ξ Ursæ Majoris, a bright and fairly obvious pair, registered by Herschel in 1781, since when it has performed two complete revolutions in approximate conformity to the rule of the road laid down for it by the French geometer. The line of enquiry he struck out has many ramifications; it leads to sundry problems, not even yet ripe for attack; but the initial one of deducing, from the projected representation of an ellipse, the ellipse itself, has been effectively solved. Stellar orbits are presented to us in every variety of position and in all degrees of foreshortening. Luckily, however, an ellipse viewed in perspective is still an ellipse—apart from the extreme cases when it shows as a circle or straight line; while Kepler's law of the description of equal areas in equal times holds good for the apparent as for the real path. The main difficulty besetting the computation of orbits is, in fact, not of a mathematical, but of an observational kind. The most exquisitely refined measurements are affected by some uncertainties; and the scale of the fairy rounds traced out by the stars in the sky is so minute that infinitesimal errors introduce very material inaccuracies into the diagrams graphically portraying them. The task is then always onerous, and often futile, of completing a stellar ellipse from the section obtained by plotting observations. Even though the section be of considerable extent, the stars may nevertheless, as months or years go on, deviate widely from their predicted places, closing in upon or running out from each other after a wholly unlooked-for fashion. But if they disavow what is called the 'apparent' orbit ascribed to them on the strength of their actually determined, successive places, still less can any dependence be put on the real, though unseen, orbit derived, so to speak, at second hand. In this matter there can be no hurrying to conclusions. The surest way of learning how a given pair of stars revolve is patiently to watch the process. When they have regained their starting-point, their periodic time is given *ipso facto*, and the other elements of their motion can usually be fixed with tolerable certainty. They must almost literally be seen to be known. Thus, few stars with periods longer than a hundred years traverse reliably computed orbits, and about forty visual pairs reach this standard of rapidity. By a liberal estimate it might be said that fifty binaries are well under the control of calculation.

Let us see what kind of systems they form. As might have been expected, the plan of their combinations is

can be readily ascertained, since the large proper motion of *a* Centauri, which must be shared by objects belonging to its cortège, will decisively and at once test the reality of an imputed connexion. Now, is it shared by the little stars located four years ago? Their careful re-measurement next summer would answer the question. If so, the two brilliant and the two faint stars constitute a system, the structural nature of which will offer a problem of profound interest. The outlying stars may be individually attached, each to one of the brilliant orbs; or both may be satellites of the large pair regarded as a joint centre of attraction. In either case they should be insignificant in size, or nearly devoid of lustre. Not impossibly they shine wholly by reflecting the light of their primaries. Until we are assured of their dependent status, however, speculation on this subject would be futile. We can only hope that southern observers will make haste to gratify the curiosity they have excited.

The binary in Centaur has hitherto appeared to be one of the least complex of stellar systems; many others are of far more intricate construction. Triplets and quartettes were not rare in Herschel's lists, and they have been disclosed of late in astonishing abundance. A remarkable proportion of Mr. Burnham's difficult pairs represent, not the beginning, but a continuation of the resolving process. They are members of previously known, wide couples, which, under stringent optical compulsion, avowed the unsuspected secret of their compound nature.

The mention of Mr. Burnham's name almost compels a brief digression. Although an amateur, he has done more to quicken progress in a highly technical branch of astronomy than anyone born during the last century. He began life as a stenographer in Chicago; then, in 1861, visited London, and bought a cheap telescope. It was indeed little better than a plaything; but the use of it evoked latent proclivities, intensified by an interview with Alvan G. Clark, who fortunately halted at Chicago on his return from observing the Iowa eclipse of August 7, 1869. The upshot was the construction of an exquisite six-inch refractor, armed with which Mr. Burnham entered upon a unique career of discovery. He was unable to explain how the course it actually took was impressed upon it. The specialisation of his work 'came about naturally,' he tells us, 'without any effort or 'direction upon my part.'* His preference for double stars,

* Introduction to General Catalogue, p. viii.

almost exclusive from the first, grew keener with success. Unusual acuteness of sight, an alert brain, a sagacious judgement, conspired to crowd his observing-books with choice trophies of exploration. As he laboured each day in the Government court-house, his anticipatory thoughts must often have flown to the back-yard where the six-inch stood awaiting the night. The long, lonely hours spent there were vivified by strange joys. The division of a star after insistent looking is a performance comparable, at any rate, to hitting the bull's-eye at a thousand yards—always a critical, often a triumphant achievement. Mr. Burnham's first catalogue of double stars, published in 1873, contained eighty-one new pairs; his last, the title of which is included among our headings, comprises 1,290. Not all of these, however, were found in the Chicago back-yard. During the twenty-seven years over which the record extends, he has been able to employ some of the largest and finest instruments in the world—the Dearborn 18½-inch achromatic, the 16-inch of the Washburn Observatory, the incomparable and incomparably situated 36-inch on Mount Hamilton, and latterly the Yerkes 40-inch, surpassed in size, if scarcely rivalled in perfection, by the colossal 'siderostat' of the Palais d'Optique in Paris. He has probably never measured a star with a reflecting telescope, while Herschel similarly eschewed refractors; and the contrast is instructive as regards the history and vicissitudes of the two chief telescopic species. Mr. Burnham is now permanently attached to the Yerkes Observatory, although he continues to discharge legal functions at Chicago; and between Williams Bay and the city by Lake Michigan there is a stretch of prairie seventy-five miles wide. Quasi-ubiquity is implied, and the cost of attaining it is heavy to human nerves and brain.

Mr. Burnham's example revived the waning zeal of double-star investigators by the demonstration it supplied that the ground, far from having degenerated into barrenness, as some began to fear, was still of unexhausted, and probably of inexhaustible, fertility. Not so much the quantity as the quality of his detections roused expert admiration. Nearly all were difficult; many, if described beforehand, might have been deemed impossible. The circumstance that five of these barely divisible pairs have completed each a revolution since their discovery emphatically illustrates their importance to physical theory; for, once the period of a star becomes known, much further information about it is sure to follow.

The catalogue we are now considering includes no fewer than 133 examples of the further analysis of pairs recorded in earlier lists. More than one-tenth of its total entries, that is to say, 'is made up of previously known doubles, 'where one of the components has been again divided, or 'a much nearer star added to the system.' Triple and quadruple combinations have in this way been numerously disclosed. They are of great variety, but a coupled arrangement predominates. Two pairs revolve round each other, or rather show an incipient tendency to do so, for the movements of such complex systems develop with extreme slowness. In other cases, a close pair, itself in revolution, plays the part of satellite to an apparently single star, or a single star circuits a duplex primary. Thus, there are commonly wheels within wheels. Each part of the mechanism is self-sustaining, although subordinate. Stellar systems composed, like an orrery, of one central body and many co-ordinate dependents, are rare or non-existent.

Already, in 1779, Herschel took note of ε Lyræ as a 'double double star.' The pairs are indeed so bright and so far apart as to be distinguishable by exceptionally sharp eyes, and a small telescope will further show each to be again compound. A similar plan of construction is carried out on a reduced scale in ν Scorpii. Reduction of scale, however, only enhances the interest of multiple stars, since it improves the prospect of gaining speedy insight into their dynamical relations. The original division of ν Scorpii was effected by Herschel in 1782. He found it to consist of a fourth and a seventh magnitude star separated by a considerable gap of space (41″ by Barnard's measures in 1897). Then, in 1846, at Cincinnati, the companion split up under Mitchell's scrutiny, and in 1874 the primary under Burnham's, into beautiful close pairs. And all, though they show as yet no unequivocal signs of interstitial movement, undoubtedly, as Mr. Burnham says, since they drift onward together, 'form one vast quadruple system.' The fact is of high significance that their proper motion is common likewise to several fairly conspicuous neighbouring stars.* A complex nebulous area, disclosed in Professor Barnard's photographs, surrounds the group, which may, nevertheless, be merely projected visually upon it.

A stellar triplet of particular interest is met with in κ Pegasi, a fourth-magnitude star with a faint attendant

* Innes, Reference Catalogue, p. 157A.

noted by Struve in 1828. In 1880, moreover, Burnham divided the primary into an excessively close couple, revolving so rapidly as to have now almost completed its second observed circuit. The period of 11·4 years was, in fact, until quite recently, the shortest attributed to any binary within telescopic range. Struve's companion must be, in some manner, attached to the system, since it travels with it. Such instances are not uncommon. Small stars frequently seem to be *towed along* by great ones, like row-boats by steamers. Their status, both physical and dynamical, constitutes one of the many curious and far-reaching problems encountered in the study of double stars.

A case of drift still more remarkable than that of κ Pegasi has been adverted to by Mr. Innes.* Here four stars, grouped two and two together, are borne over the sphere by a wide and swift current of motion. One of them is κ Toucani, of easy naked-eye visibility, supplied by Sir John Herschel in 1834 with a purplish satellite. The other is a neat pair discovered by Mr. Innes himself. Although certainly connected, the two binaries (as they may safely be called) are comparatively remote. The interval between them is actually 118 times wider than that separating κ Toucani from its client-star. It represents probably a real gulf of some billions of miles; but data are wanting for more than a conjectural estimate of its linear value.

Dr. See, who discovered 500 southern double stars with the Lowell 24-inch refractor at Mexico in 1896–7, was much struck with the 'dull lustre' shown by many of their satellites, some of which appeared puce, others plum-coloured. Indeed, the frequent inclusion by stellar systems of dusky or even wholly obscure members is one of their unexpected characteristics. Close upon seventy years ago, Bessel perceived a lack of uniformity in the proper motion of Sirius, and his suspicions extended soon afterwards to Procyon, the lesser Dog-star. Both these radiant objects pursue, in fact, undulating tracks across the sky. They sway alternately to one side and the other, as if pulled by an accompanying attractive mass. Bessel's prediction of their binary nature, however, had to wait long for verification, which the scant luminosity of their companions rendered most difficult to procure. That of Sirius was found by Alvan G. Clark in 1862, as a tenth-magnitude star which avers its identity with the theoretical body by circulating

* Monthly Notices, vol. lvii. p. 456; Reference Cat., p. 10A.

duly in a period of half-a-century. Yet though constructed on the scale of a sun, it would seem to be imperfectly organised for shining. Of just the solar massiveness, it possesses no more than $\frac{1}{1700}$ the solar luminosity. And the disparity is the more astonishing from the contrast of its state with that of its primary, which gravitates as two, and emits the light of twenty-one suns. The satellite of Procyon is presumably still nearer to extinction than the Sirian attendant. It gives twenty thousand times less light than our sun, while containing three-fifths of its mass. Recognised by Professor Schaeberle as a thirteenth-magnitude star at Lick in 1896, it shows itself to be unmistakably the 'wanted' object by its evident disposition towards conformity with the calculated period of forty years.

A noteworthy example of disturbance by an unseen body is furnished in the system of ζ Cancri. The analysis of this star, begun by Tobias Mayer in 1756, was continued in 1781 by Herschel's resolution of the chief member of the Göttingen pair into two very close components. Their orbit lies nearly square to the line of sight, and is described in about sixty years, the third star meanwhile circulating at a rate so much slower that, if continued with approximate uniformity, it would give a period of some seven centuries. It does not, however, pursue a steady course. A fly on a revolving wheel imitates its divagations; and the inference is irresistible, and has been ratified by M. Seeliger's exhaustive research, that oscillations included in an eighteen-year cycle are impressed upon motion otherwise elliptical by obscure companionship. In ζ Cancri we are then confronted with two brilliant stars revolving in sixty years, and attended, at about six times their mean distance, by another pair, made up of a bright and a dark member, mutually circulating in eighteen years, while pursuing round the primary pair a leisurely course comprised in an *annus magnus* of, perhaps, seven centuries. In such a system complex perturbations must arise; and their investigation may, in the distant future, disclose unforeseen possibilities in celestial mechanics. But their effects are at present unapparent. The condition of the dark star suggests more facile speculations. An attractive force, certainly powerful, and probably comparable to that of our sun, resides in it; but large masses keep their heat long, hence we cannot be sure that it has cooled down to a temperature suitable for the maintenance of life, else we might imagine it a huge planet, nourishing crowds of happy beings in its capacious bosom, under skies diversified by the simultaneous, or consecutive, presence of three vivid orbs.

On the night of August 11, 1900, Mr. Aitken, of the Lick Observatory, perceived the components of δ Equulei, one of Otto Struve's double stars, to be no further apart than 'the 'thickness of the micrometer-wire'*—that is, the breadth of a spider-line—whereas their computed distance was of thrice that amount. Professor Hussey, accordingly, revised their elements, and halved their period, which he provisionally fixed at 5·7 years. This, the shortest yet assigned to any similar object, has already been fairly verified, and spectroscopic measures are likely, before long, decisively to attest its correctness.

Here we enter upon ground till lately untrodden, and barely suspected, by audacious prevision, to be capable of exploration. Binary stars, which, by their closeness, defy telescopic powers of separation, and lurk, consequently, for ever out of sight, are precisely those most readily accessible to spectroscopic detection, one instrument happily supplying the deficiencies of the other. And traditional astronomy has given splendid proof of its vitality and versatility by the zeal with which it has appropriated, refined, and modified the novel methods unexpectedly placed at its disposal. Investigations of double stars are fundamentally concerned with dynamical problems. Analytical formulæ are employed in them; they move along the consecrated lines of mathematical procedure; they bear the antique stamp. Yet it was just here that the spectroscope most effectively intervened. Among all the improbable developements of recent astronomy there is none stranger or fraught with a deeper significance than that by which acquaintance has been made with 'spectroscopic binaries.'

It rests upon an easily intelligible principle. Light is a sensation caused by ethereal vibrations striking the retina in swift succession, and colour depends upon the rate of their arrival. The rate of their arrival, however, naturally follows the inverse proportion of their length. Red waves being longer than green, fewer of them—since all are propagated with the same velocity—can impinge upon a given surface in a given time; and, similarly, green waves are less frequent than blue and violet. But if the source from which they emanate be in motion towards the eye, they crowd in with augmented rapidity; in other words, the wave-length is shortened and the colour changed, red rays tending to become yellow, yellow rays green, and so on.

* Publications Astr. Society of the Pacific, No. 76.

The converse effect is, of course, produced by motion away from the eye, which lengthens the light-waves and correspondingly depresses the colour-scale. These alterations are in general minute in amount; but they can be determined with a high degree of exactness by measuring on photographic plates the positions of known dark or bright lines in the displaced spectra. The practical applicability of this beautiful principle to ascertain the radial movements of the stars was exemplified by Sir William Huggins in 1868, since when its importance and subtle power have become continually more manifest.

Spectroscopic binaries are, then, revealed by the periodical motion-shifts of their spectral lines. Only radial or end-on speed can thus be rendered apparent, while velocity directed across the line of sight is alone perceptible to the eye. But either component serves the purposes of the astronomer equally well. The number and variety of the systems brought to his cognisance by the recondite means just described are most surprising. According to Professor Campbell's moderate estimate, one star in five or six is intimately associated with a body of comparable mass, though often non-luminous. Some threescore pairs of the kind have, in fact, been registered in thirteen years, without deliberate search being made for them. They have come to hand as bonuses on dividends accruing from other celestial investments. The first star spectroscopically divided was Mizar, the middle 'Horse' of the Plough, designated by Bayer ζ Ursæ Majoris. Its spectrum, photographed at Harvard College in 1889, came out intermittently double, the dark lines alternately opening out into pairs, and closing up into singleness. The light was accordingly judged to emanate from two oppositely moving sources; and the period of this unseen double star has been fixed by Dr. Vogel at twenty days thirty-six minutes.* Their orbit is markedly eccentric; but since its plane cannot be determined, its real size, and, consequently, the mass of the bodies pursuing it, remains unknown. It is only certain that it cannot be less than four times the mass of the sun. The parallax attributed to Mizar by Klinkerfues represents a light-journey of seventy-two years, at which distance our sun would shine thirty-eight times less brilliantly than the star actually does. Its Sirian spectrum alone suffices to intimate a lustre vivid beyond the proportion of its mass. Mizar is, besides, a telescopic binary. Detected

* Sitzungsberichte Akad. der Wiss. Berlin, 2 Mai, 1901.

by Riccioli in 1650, the fourth-magnitude companion is readily visible with a 3-inch glass. Their relative movement is excessively slow; eighteen thousand years will have nearly elapsed, in M. Flammarion's opinion, before it has carried them once round their centre of gravity. These stars are sufficiently far apart to be quite easily photographed, and make a charming effect on the Paris negatives. There is, however, a still more distant member of the system. Alcor, the 'Rider' of the 'Horse,' drifts with it, and renders it a quaternary combination of enormous span and incalculable period. The twinkle of Alcor may be caught with the naked eye. In mediæval times it was counted a feat to see it; and the proverb 'Vidit Alcor, at non lunam plenam' survives as an illustration of the subtlety in minutiæ of those blind to the obvious. But within the last thousand years the little star seems to have appreciably brightened.

The next spectroscopic binary recognised was β Aurigæ, Miss Maury noting the signs of its duplicity during her examination of the Harvard plates. In this case two brilliant globes, giving together the light of twenty-eight standard suns, circulate in four days, with a velocity indicating a minimum attractive power equal to that of 4·7 suns. A few months later, Spica, the *lucida* of the Zodiacal Virgin, was announced from Potsdam to revolve, also in four days, round a semi-obscure companion. The movement has, accordingly, the effect, not of doubling the spectral lines but of causing them to swing rhythmically to and fro. To this type belong also the majority of the numerous couples discovered by Professor Campbell, Director of the Lick Observatory. Among them is included the Pole-star, which owns the influence of a non-luminous satellite by describing an orbit with a three-day period. Some outstanding variability of motion suggests, moreover, that the system is triple; but the fact has not yet been definitively ascertained.

To the telescopically triple star κ Pegasi the spectroscope has added a fourth component. One member of Burnham's pair, already mentioned as revolving in 11·4 years, was found by Campbell in 1900 to be intimately united to a dark attendant, round which it wheels in about six days. Another well-watched visual binary—ξ Ursæ Majoris—was similarly resolved into a ternary combination by Mr. Wright, at Lick, in 1900. But these results, though eminently noteworthy, had been thrown by advance into the shade through M. Bélopolsky's addition, in 1896, of a third member to the stately system of Castor. A fourth member it might,

indeed, be fairly called, since a small, comparatively remote star keeps pace—as so often happens—with the lustrous pair. These, roughly measured by Bradley in 1719, continue, nevertheless, to defy computation. The data at hand are, for the present, insufficient to warrant even an approximate estimate of their period. All that can safely be said is that it is likely to be comprised between five hundred and a thousand years. This dilatoriness of movement in the wide, visible orbit contrasts singularly with the prompt circulation, on its own account, of the minor component. Once in three days it travels round an obscure satellite, the iron-lines in its spectrum testifying to a considerable alternating velocity of approach and recession. Moreover, some slight progressive inequalities in the mode of its alternation were interpreted by M. Bélopolsky as effects of perturbation. The major axis, in fact, of the ellipse in which the bright and dark pair circulates pivots round in such a manner that the place of periastron 'boxes 'the compass' in a period of four and a third years. The disturbance is believed to be occasioned by the flattened shapes of the connected bodies; and this again argues their quick axial rotation. Thus, the system of Castor offers in itself a field for profound and stimulating enquiries.

But perhaps the most critical discovery yet made in this department is that of the duplicity of Capella. The premier star of the northern hemisphere was, by Professor Campbell and Mr. Newall, independently identified in 1899 as a spectroscopic binary, composed of two brilliant orbs, circuiting each other with a relative velocity of thirty-six miles a second, in a period of 104 days. They are spectrally dissimilar. The primary gives light of precisely the solar quality; its companion is a star of the intermediate variety exemplified by Procyon. Either of them would vastly outshine our sun. Capella is the only spectroscopic binary with a well-determined parallax. It corresponds to a light-journey of forty years. We see the star where and as it was four years before the battle of Sadowa. Its luminous output is then measurable, and proves to be no less than 102 times that of the sun. The solar component, moreover, contributes at least twice as heavily to this total as its less advanced attendant. It is a globe of about seventy times the sun's light-power, and might reasonably be supposed to possess a radiating surface of seventy times the solar photospheric area. This being so, its volume should be 586 times that of our sun; and, provided there were no difference in

mean density, 586 times the sun's attractive force should reside in this prodigious body. Now, there is some reason to believe that Capella has actually been *seen* as a pair at Greenwich. Not distinctly separated, it is true, but, at the proper intervals given by the spectroscopic data, as an 'elongated' disc. This is not impossible, and would afford striking testimony to the qualities of the twenty-eight inch refractor lately built for the Royal Observatory by Sir Howard Grubb; but at Lick the star has always, up to this, seemed perfectly round. An orbit has, however, been calculated from the Greenwich measures, imperfect though they necessarily are; and it implies that the joint mass of the couple is seventeen times that of the sun. The discrepancy with the known strength of their light-emission is startling; nor is it likely to be ever completely reconciled. Researches into the evolutionary history of the stars tend continually to enforce the conviction that the giant suns of space are, in general, comparatively tenuous in composition—that their gravitating power bears a small proportion to their shining faculty. Investigations of the system of Capella will have an important bearing on this fundamental question.

We now come to binaries which are variables as well. They are variable, moreover, in a special manner. Usually constant in light, they are subject to brief, regular accesses of obscurity. They are, in fact, mutually eclipsing pairs. Their existence is, so to speak, inevitable. Among a number of close double stars there must be a certain proportion revolving in planes passing nearly through the earth, and hence occulting one another when they come into conjunction. The model 'eclipse-star' is Algol, in the Head of Medusa. The true explanation of its changes was suggested in 1783 by John Goodricke, a lad of eighteen, one of those 'whom the gods love.' Upwards of a century later, the theory, having been worked out in detail by Pickering, was spectroscopically verified by Vogel. He found that, previously to each minimum, the star had a large velocity of recession, and, subsequently to each minimum, an equal velocity of approach.* The eclipses then occur at the furthest part of the orbit, when the radiant primary passes behind a dark, bulky satellite. They last about twelve hours, and recur once in two days twenty-one hours. Their

* Deducting, that is to say, the uniform rate of 2·3 miles a second, at which the entire system advances in our direction.

duration serves to measure the size both of the occulted and of the occulting body, giving for Algol itself a diameter of 1,000,000 miles, for the companion one of 830,000. Yet both together probably contain no more than two-thirds the solar quantity of matter. There is little doubt, however, that the bright star far surpasses the sun in areal lustre. And this heightens the anomaly of its association with an extinct globe. Extinct, or still-born; for the companion of Algol may never have possessed any true cosmic vitality. The frequency of such examples is most remarkable.

Another besides Algol is met with in δ Libræ, the similar light-changes of which were similarly accounted for by Mr. W. S. Adams's spectroscopic demonstration, in 1902, of the star's binary character * A third eclipsing star—λ Tauri—certified to be such by M. Bélopolsky in 1897, belongs to a different category. The companion is, in this case, to some extent luminous; and the corresponding slight secondary eclipse was noted by M. Plassmann, of Münster, twelve years ago. A peculiar variety of the Algol class was first signalised in U Cephei, a circumpolar star which drops rapidly to one-seventh its normal brightness once in two and a half days, the totality, as it may be termed, lasting two hours. Professor Pickering supposes that, during those two hours of 'stationary minimum,' the body seen at maximum is entirely concealed by a satellite of greatly superior dimensions, though far inferior luminosity. The orbital movement of this extraordinary pair appears to be subject to marked perturbations, the unravelling of which should materially increase knowledge. Analogous conditions evidently prevail in the system of W Delphini. The variability of this object was detected by Miss Wells, of Harvard College, through the absence from one photographic plate examined by her of a tiny star-dot imprinted upon seventy-one others of the same region. This was in 1895, and the eclipse so strangely attested had taken place September 16, 1891, when the star, being below the twelfth magnitude, was chemically inefficient.

About twenty-six Algol-stars have already been registered, and their disclosure proceeds apace. They present phenomena of the utmost variety. Every phase and gradation of eclipse operates in producing the endlessly modified obscurations we witness. Some obviously arise from the alternate transits of two equally bright globes. Of this sort are the

* Astrophysical Journal, vol. xv. p. 214.

minima of Y Cygni. They are duplicated in every period of revolution, and recur once in thirty-six hours, when the normal light of the star is halved. The components thus appear to be twin globes, totally eclipsing one another as they gyrate level with the line of sight. Their orbit itself has been ascertained by M. Dunér, from photometrical evidence, to revolve in forty-one years. For the changing relations of its elliptic form to the line of conjunction alter sensibly and regularly the intervals between successive eclipses. This same kind of disturbance has become manifest, as our readers will not need to be reminded, through spectroscopic measures in the system of Castor, and is doubtless, in both cases, due to an identical cause.

The chances of eclipse diminish progressively as the periodic time of the revolving bodies increases; and the chances of detection likewise. Firstly, because a smaller angle of inclination suffices for the escape of mutual projection in a wide, than in a narrow orbit; secondly, because eclipses, even should they occur, must be relatively infrequent. The stars could then be caught at minimum only by a happy accident of observation. And we find, accordingly, that Algol-variables are usually very rapid couples, some of them finishing a circuit in less than a day. The slowest of our acquaintance, until quite recently, was S Cancri, with its period of nine and a half days. But in April 1902, Mrs. Fleming, who ably superintends the women's department of photographic measurement at Harvard College, discovered a star in Cygnus, the phases of which are recurrent in thirty-one days, and need two for their completion. A stationary minimum lasting twelve hours seems to imply a total eclipse by a dim, distended body, giving no more than one-sixteenth the light of the comparatively small star with which it forms an ill-assorted couple.

Three variable stars, namely, δ Cephei, η Aquilæ, and ζ Geminorum, have been found to revolve round obscure companions in the precise period of their light-change, yet without undergoing eclipse. This negative inference is based upon spectroscopic evidence showing that they are far from conjunction at the epochs of minimum. Their variability, accordingly, offers a still unsolved problem. The fluctuations, nevertheless, of another species of 'short-period 'variables,' are plausibly referred to a purely geometrical cause. They continue, indeed, without interruption, and must hence be significant of the continuous though alter-

nating superpositions of two bright spheres or spheroids. Yet the required conditions, which have been developed by several investigators, are not wholly inadmissible; and if they do not square with preconceived notions, the notions, we suppose, must give way to the facts. A star in the Poop of Argo belongs to this peculiar class. Mr. A. W. Roberts, of Lovedale, Cape Colony, who has cultivated, with signal success, the field of stellar variability, long neglected in the southern hemisphere, defined precisely, in 1900, after several preliminary attempts, the law of light-change for V Puppis.* That a binary combination was really in question had been already proved by spectrographic determinations at Harvard College; and Mr. Roberts showed that the components match in size, although not in brightness, and hence produce, by their mutual transits, eclipses of unequal depth, each pair being comprised in the orbital period of thirty-five hours. And since they proceed continuously, one merging into the next, it is clear that the stars revolve in contact. They must also be considerably distorted in shape by their unsymmetrically acting pull upon one another, and this again cannot but sensibly modify the course of the phases. Theoretically, in fact, it ought to be possible to fix the extent of deviation from sphericity in the occulting globes from measures of their increasing and decreasing light. But in practice this possibility could not be realised, 'the conditions of the problem,' as Mr. Roberts says,† 'being too complex, the nature of the forces to be considered too indefinite, and the data at our disposal too meagre' to admit of a satisfactory conclusion being arrived at.

The stars of V Puppis are extremely tenuous bodies. If truly contiguous, they cannot, Mr. Roberts finds, be of more than one-fiftieth the sun's density, or one thirty-eighth that of water. This may seem difficult of admission, yet the well-ascertained high degree of rarity in other sidereal masses bids us hesitate to pronounce it incredible, especially since data procured with the spectroscope will, when fully discussed, serve decisively to test the matter.

V Puppis is not an unique specimen of a 'dumb-bell' system. The ingenious calculations of Professor G. W. Myers‡ warrant the belief that another is met with in the famous variable β Lyræ; and the light-changes of U Pegasi and R^2 Centauri are of a strictly analogous character. Such

* Astron. Journal, No. 477.

† Astrophysical Journal, vol. xiii. p. 188. ‡ Ibid., vol. vii. p. 1.

combinations inspire extraordinary interest. They place before us double stars in process of being made, and instruct us, in the most authentic manner, as to the nature of the process. Their existence might indeed be described as a corollary to certain propositions laid down by Dr. T. J. J. See in a thesis first printed in 1892 as a diploma performance for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin, and quoted, in the more extended form afterwards given to it, among the headings to this article. It quickly made its mark, and has strongly and permanently influenced the thoughts of cosmogonists.

Dr. See was forcibly impressed with two points of contrast between the planetary scheme and the binary systems studied by him. These, he noticed, in the first place, move in orbits of markedly elongated shapes. He estimated 'the 'average eccentricity among double stars at about twelve 'times that found in our own system.' Further, the approximate equality in mass of conjoined stars compared so strangely with the enormous disparity, in this respect, between the sun and his planets that he proceeded to enquire whether these characteristics might not be connected as cause and effect. An affirmative answer was recommended by a full development of the theoretical consequences of tidal friction.

These were first adequately discussed in Professor Darwin's memoir on the origin of the moon, presented to the Royal Society, December 18, 1879. The condition of our satellite, however, exemplifies them but feebly in comparison with the pronounced form which they must take in a multitude of stellar systems. For they gain importance with the approach to equality of the bodies acted upon. Solar tidal friction, accordingly, has not, it would appear, sensibly modified the orbital movement of any of the solar dependents. It has, indeed, checked the rotation of some of them through the operation of sun-raised tides; but the counter-effects of tides raised by planets on the sun are too small to be of any account. But the earth and moon are not so vastly disproportioned in mass as the sun and the largest of his planets; and here both orbital and axial motion betray the influence of tidal friction, although by no means to the same extent as where co-ordinate globes are concerned.

'Tides,' Dr. See writes, 'are cosmic phenomena as universal as gravitation itself; and since tidal friction will operate in every system of fluid bodies which is endowed with a relative motion of its parts, we see that the general agency of bodily tides gives rise to most important

secular changes in the figures and motions of the heavenly bodies. The tidal alterations of figure, which modify the attraction on neighbouring bodies, will become especially marked in the case of double stars and double nebulæ, where two large fluid masses in comparative proximity are subjected to their mutual gravitation; and hence, if the bodies of such a system be rotating as well as revolving, the secular working of tidal friction becomes an agency of great, and, indeed, of paramount importance. . . . It seems exceedingly probable that the great eccentricities now observed among double stars have arisen from the action of tidal friction during immense ages; that the elongation of the real orbits, so unmistakably indicated by the apparent ellipses described by the stars, is the visible trace of a physical cause which has been working for millions of years. It appears that the orbits were originally nearly circular, and that under the working of the tides in the bodies of the stars they have been gradually expanded and rendered more and more eccentric.'

The lag of tide-waves on viscous spheroids is the circumstance essential to the process in question. Their displacement forward, consequent upon rapid rotation, enables them to pull the tide-raising body along a slowly widening path; and since this pull varies inversely as the seventh power of the distance, the slightest initial deviation from circularity in the orbit of the affected body sets up a progressive inequality in the strength of its action. Moreover, the condition for starting it is sure to be present, orbits never being geometrically perfect circles. Unsymmetrical expansion hence ensues, and increased eccentricity.

Now if, during unnumbered ages, tidal friction has effectively tended to push double stars apart, there must have been a time when they were quite close together—when they circulated quickly along very slightly oval tracks, in periods of a few days or hours. They would then have been spectroscopic binaries. Further, the mathematical investigations of Jacobi, Poincaré, and Darwin countenance the view that such pairs originated through the fission of a primitive spheroid, or 'apioid,' under the stress of its accelerated rotation, and this gradually and tranquilly, duplicity developing almost insensibly out of singleness. Stars like V Puppis are thus, we are led to believe, in the stage antecedent to complete separation. It is hard to say whether, at the present moment, they are double or single. They still cling together, but merely by their common possession of a shallow photospheric layer, destined probably in a future that may be called immediate, by cosmical time-reckoning, to break up, and leave the stars distinct, though intimately connected bodies. And the double system at

last formed will begin at once to undergo the all but endless processes of tidal evolution.

Here then, so far as human insight has yet penetrated, we have the history of the majestic systems with which the heavens are profusely strewn. They are, in their main outlines, the products of tidal friction. Through its agency, spectroscopic developed into telescopic binaries. Even within the precincts of the solar domain, Professor Darwin's insistence upon its effects has profoundly altered the aspect of cosmogony; and Dr. See's further research leaves little doubt that they have been incomparably more influential upon the relations of coupled stars than upon those of the sun and planets. The early stages of creation are contemplated by us from a point of view unattainable by Laplace or Herschel. We not only recognise potencies totally unknown to them, but we learn from their ignorance to estimate our own. The glimpse we have gained of complex powers and influences strange to our predecessors warns us to be prepared for the subversion of our theories by the subtle intervention of others still undisclosed and unimaginable.

The wide prevalence of a conjugate arrangement among the suns of space is one of the most remarkable facts in nature. That it has an express purpose we cannot hesitate to admit, although its drift defy our faculties of conjecture. We instinctively look to organic life as the one end of all the contrivances displayed in celestial architecture; but double stars can scarcely, according to our ideas, provide ideal abodes for animated beings. Their trains of planets, if any are attached to them, would be exposed to extreme vicissitudes of climate, and vehement perturbations of movement. The adventures of comets falling under the temporary sway of Jupiter exemplify the possible lot of dependent bodies in a duplex system. Their elliptic orbits might, at a given moment, be transformed into hyperbolas, when the inhabited worlds traversing them would, irresistibly and irrevocably, be driven forth into outer darkness, to wander homeless through the unending solitudes of space.

The truth is, as Dr. See has well pointed out, that we do not know, and have no means of knowing, whether or not the solar family is solitary in the universe.

'If such inconsiderable companions as our sun possesses,' he writes,* 'attend the fixed stars, they would neither be visible, nor could they be discovered by any perturbations which they might pro-

* Evolution of the Stellar Systems, p. 257.

duce. It is, therefore, impossible to determine whether the stellar systems include such bodies as the planets, and we are thus unaware of the existence of any other system like our own. On the other hand, the heavens present to our consideration an indefinite number of *double systems*, each of which is divided into comparable masses. These double systems stand in direct contrast to the planetary system, where the central body has 746 times the mass of all the other bodies combined. In binary stars, the mass-distribution is evidently *double*, while in the solar system it is essentially *single*. Whether observation,' he continues, 'will ever disclose any other of such complexity, regularity, and harmony, as our own is an interesting question for the future of astronomy. It is certain that the number of double stars will be augmented in proportion to the diligence of observers and the improvement of our telescopes; and we may reasonably expect a sensible increase in the number of triple and quadruple stars, and of stars attended by dark bodies.'

In some of these we might, if speculatively inclined, be tempted to locate astral populations. Nothing, at least, prohibits our so doing. The obscure companions of Algol-stars are, indeed, scarcely condensed enough for that purpose; they have not attained planetary consistence; but members of telescopic systems which gravitate without radiating, such as the invisible component of ζ Cancri, might reasonably, apart from the doubt already expressed regarding their superficial temperature, be deemed habitable in the familiar sense of that vague term. We cannot know, we are helpless to conceive, what resources of infinite wisdom might, in combinations of the sort, be brought into play. But we are entitled to infer the moral from the proved physical oneness of the universe. We may rest assured that our intuitions of truth and beauty, far from being peculiar to humanity, are shared, perhaps in a transcendent degree, by sidereal beings who know as we know, if more surely and clearly, and worship what we worship, though, we may hope, with a fuller apprehension of the Eternal Majesty.

ART. VI.—1. *Lourdes*, 1894. 2. *Rome*, 1896. 3. *Paris*, 1898. Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier.

THAT failure and success are inadequate tests of merit is a truth which, though liable to be wrested by the indolent and incompetent to their destruction, is sufficiently well established. Chance plays a greater part in human affairs than moralists commonly care to admit; and the qualities that make for success are not always the highest. Especially is this the case in literature and, generally, in the things of mind.

'Dieu, qui abandonne le monde aux violents et aux forts, leur refuse presque toujours les dons de finesse qui seuls dans les choses spéculatives mènent à la vérité. . . . Le discernement des nuances sera toujours le fait d'un petit nombre; mais ce petit nombre, quand il s'agit des œuvres de l'esprit, est le seul dont le suffrage doive être recherché.' (Renan, 'Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse,' p. 339.)

The philosophical statesman is seldom a force in politics, or the theologian a popular preacher: the writers, at least of our own day, whose works command the largest scale are scarcely representative of literature; a Meredith waits for recognition till his hair is grey. To catch the popular ear an author must, indeed, possess certain qualities, and possess them in an exceptional degree—sentiment of a sort, imagination, fluency, persistence, the didactic vein. But these gifts may be found where balance, good taste, humour, the spiritual insight that makes the artist, are conspicuous by their absence. The result is—well, more than one name will occur to everybody. It would be unjust to M. Zola to class him with such persons as these. He was a man of genuine, if perverse, talent; but the success of his writings, which was phenomenal, is out of proportion to their worth, and is no index to his rank in letters. He had a rare power of portraiture, but his portraits magnified; he saw and depicted on an enlarged scale. He did not excel in the delineation of character: the finer shades were an unknown world to him; neither subtlety nor delicacy of perception was his. His art was that of a scene painter, strong and vivid; his reproductions of place were lifelike: when it was objected to his 'Rome' that much of it was guide-book, it should have been added that it was the very best guide-book that had ever been written, even for Rome. The reader is literally transported. He inhales the scent of the violets on

the steps of the Trinità de' Monti, and breathes the heavy air of the Corso; the sun strikes hot upon him as he passes from it into the great Piazza beyond. The naturalistic romance aims at reproduction pure and simple. It is seen at its best when, as here, it reproduces literally what is worthy of being reproduced. But not everything in nature is worthy of being reproduced. When every allowance has been made for convention and standpoint, there is a residuum that is trivial and sordid, and so out of place in art. Nor, in truth, does the artist, endeavour as he will, ever reproduce simply.

> 'It is the mind that sees: the outward eyes
> Present the object, but the mind descries.'

'"La Terre" n'est pas tant l'œuvre d'un réaliste exact que d'un idéaliste perverti,' is the acute criticism of M. Anatole France. The eye sees what it chooses to see, and overlooks the rest as indifferent: a process of selection, conscious or unconscious, accompanies intelligent action, be this what it may. Zola selected his subjects as unmistakeably and as arbitrarily as Chateaubriand or Victor Hugo, though the principles which guided his selection were other than theirs. His instinct for the nauseous bordered on genius, and it was equalled by his skill in presenting it. 'L'affole-'ment d'ordure,' to use his own phrase, possessed him. He resolved the atmosphere of life into stenches; he dwelt with a diseased insistence on natural processes, on physical and moral perversions from which normally constituted people instinctively turn aside. 'Zola est un sanglier,' said one of his admirers to Leconte de Lisle, referring to the force of the author of 'Nana' and 'Pot-bouille.' 'Il n'a rien de 'sauvage,' was the answer, suggesting that the pigsty supplied a closer parallel than the forest.*

> 'I beheld the world . . .
> Till down upon the filthy ground I dropped,
> And tore the violets up to get the worms.'

It is said, and in a sense with truth, that his books are neither corrupt nor corrupting. It is when it is idealised that evil fascinates; naked and unashamed it disgusts and repels. But this repulsion is too dearly bought at the price of the poisoning of the springs of life. To see the world permanently out of focus is a greater outrage on Nature than the passing delinquency which arises less from deliberate choice or purpose than from weakness of will.

* Leconte de Lisle et ses Amis, p. 260.

Others besides Zola have suffered from this defect of vision; but he was the first to erect it into a principle, to make it the foundation and common property of a school. 'Les 'doctrines sont le reflet du tempérament des hommes,' says M. Lemaître; 'le naturalisme est Zola, Zola tout seul.' Hence his fame; but it is a fame which few will envy. 'Certes je ne lui nierai point sa détestable gloire,' is the judgement of the first of living critics on 'La Terre.'

'Personne avant lui n'avait élevé un si haut tas d'immondices. C'est là son monument, dont on ne peut contester la grandeur. Jamais homme n'avait fait un pareil effort pour avilir l'humanité, insulter à toutes les images de la beauté et de l'amour, nier tout ce qui est bon et tout ce qui est bien. Jamais homme n'avait à ce point méconnu l'idéal des hommes. Il y a en nous tous, dans les petits comme dans les grands, chez les humbles comme chez les superbes, un instinct de la beauté, un désir de ce qui orne et de ce qui décore, qui, répandus dans le monde, font la charme de la vie. M. Zola ne le sait pas. Il y a dans l'homme un besoin infini d'aimer qui le divinise. M. Zola ne le sait pas. Le désir et la pudeur se mêlent parfois en nuances délicieuses dans les âmes. M. Zola ne le sait pas. Il est sur la terre des formes magnifiques et de nobles pensées; il est des âmes pures et des cœurs héroïques. M. Zola ne le sait pas. Bien des faiblesses même, bien des erreurs et des fautes ont leur beauté touchante. La douleur est sacrée. La sainteté des larmes suffit à rendre l'homme auguste à l'homme. M. Zola ne le sait pas. Il ne sait pas que les grâces sont décentes, que l'ironie philosophique est indulgente et douce, et que les choses humaines n'inspirent que deux sentiments aux esprits bien faits: l'admiration et la pitié. M. Zola est digne d'une profonde pitié.' (Anatole France, 'La Vie Littéraire,' tome i. p. 236.)

The indictment is as severe as it is merited; but it is an indictment of the artist, not the man. Men are not to be judged, happily, by their opinions, literary, artistic, or otherwise; by the school or sect to which they belong. The blundering logic which concludes from these things to character and conduct is belied at every turn by experience, because opinion and belief are on the surface, and, for the most part, determined for us; character, on the other hand, is essential and our own. The last years of Zola's life fell on one of those decisive moments in a people's history when the good and the bad range themselves instinctively on opposite sides. Such moments are rare. Ordinarily—and this is what makes life so difficult for most of us—truth and falsehood are interwoven in what seems an inextricable confusion; but it is not so always. In the case referred to the individual in whom the conflict centred was as transparent

a symbol as was the wounded traveller in the parable; the issue was between good and evil, right and wrong. The nation was beside itself with rage and terror; no fiction was too palpable for acceptance, no crime too atrocious for justification; the panic swept over all, irrespective of class or calling; the official guardians of religion and morality were the first to betray their charge. Put not your trust in princes! The priest and the Levite, not content with the negative attitude of passing by on the other side, hounded on the bolder but not more guilty criminals to their bloody work. It required no ordinary courage to stand against the overwhelming tide of feeling; the names of religion and patriotism were invoked to cover the vilest treasons, to make foul things fair and fair foul. A few there were who dared, greatly daring; representatives of unpopular creeds, Jews, Protestants, Freethinkers, Catholics of the less orthodox type; journalists, and men of letters, who had hitherto made little show of seriousness of purpose and given little evidence of power of self-sacrifice to a cause. It is to the immortal honour of Zola that he was foremost among these men; that in the eternal battle between light and darkness he struck unhesitatingly and without flinching for light.

That he should have acted as he did on this memorable occasion was not so surprising as it may appear at first sight; it might have been foreseen by those who read him between the lines, and took the trouble to disentagle the idea underlying his work from its very unideal setting. An immense pity for mankind filled him; life, as he saw it, was as the scroll of the prophet—in it was written lamentation, and mourning, and woe. He surveyed the world as one colour-blind: its beauty and joy escaped him; he saw only its reverse side—its cruelty, its wretchedness, its pain. But if he raked, like Swift, among the *fæces* of humanity, it was not with Swift's savage scorn and hopelessness: he had compassion on the multitude, black as he painted it; he looked for a better day far off. In the Trilogy of the Three Cities—Lourdes, Rome, and Paris—this side of him comes uppermost: where the description is most minute and microscopic it is subordinate to a purpose which cannot escape the most superficial reader. These volumes embody his philosophy and set forth his criticism of life. That the philosophy is not that of a philosopher, that the criticism is ›t that of a critic, may be granted. One whole side of ›—and that the most real and the most illuminating—

lay, as has been said, outside the field of his vision; and, on the other, his limitations are patent. He sees everything under an artificial light and in masses of unrelieved colour: he is direct to the verge of brutality, and beyond it; he is blind to half-tints and effects of shadow. His work, therefore, leaves an impression of glare: he never suggests, he never interprets; his pictures have no background; the figures are larger, the landscape is more clearly defined, than in Nature. His talent is that of a supremely clever journalist: its strength consists in the power of catching and presenting certain salient features of a situation; its defect in a certain lack of intelligence and insight, an inability to penetrate below the surface, to get away from the standpoint of the average man. This, indeed, raised to a high point, is M. Zola's own standpoint—and limit. Clearly as he sees what he sees, he sees less than many lesser men see: he is weak in analysis, and weaker in construction; he has more feeling than knowledge, more heart than head. A philosophy of the man in the street; yet such a philosophy has its uses: its grasp of fact keeps it in touch with experience; while, as documents, as a record of the average mind of the time that produced them, the works in which it is contained are of lasting worth. If they are monotonous, so, for most men, is existence; if they are crowded with a mass of petty detail, so is the world as it presents itself to us; if one note—that of religion—is pressed with what may seem undue persistence, it is because religion, taken largely, constitutes half and underlies the whole of life.

The canvas in each of the three works is crowded: *un grand mouvement de foule*, this is what Zola delights in painting; a hundred minor dramas wind in and round without obscuring the essential plot. This is simple. Pierre Froment has inherited the religious temperament from his mother and the scientific from his father, a distinguished chemist. On the strength of the first he enters the priesthood, his mind as yet unformed. The seminary training leaves his intelligence dormant; later the inevitable awakening comes. He becomes conscious of himself, his surroundings, his faculties: the scientific position dawns upon him; the dogmatic fades, gradually but surely, like night before day. It is not a break, but a development: the horizon has expanded; the grown man puts away childish things. Such transitions, however, are painful: the ties that bind us to the past, our own and that of our fellow-

men, to that which, if it does not actually constitute, is so intimately associated with all that is best in history and life that the two appear inseparable, are not easily broken; he struggles to retain or recover his dying faith. With this end in view he betakes himself to Lourdes, the centre of popular, and Rome, the centre of official Catholicism. In neither can he find rest; the one is Illusion, the other Survival. The last volume of the series, 'Paris,' leaves him in what, according to M. Zola, is the conclusion of the whole matter—a scientific and philanthropic moralism, progressive within the limits of time and space, but knowing no horizon beyond the present:—

'Tecum habita, et nôris quam sit tibi curta supellex.'

'Lourdes' is a description, remarkable both from a psychological and pathological standpoint, of the phenomena to be witnessed at the famous Grotto; a description so full and so detailed that it resolves itself into a study of certain forms of hysteria; of the abnormal physical and mental conditions which accompany manifestations of religious enthusiasm on a large scale. Its subject is popular religion—religion, that is, experienced not as the easy church-going world experiences it, but as an elemental passion possessing men like love, fear, or hated—swaying, uprooting, devastating: popular as opposed to philosophical—unreflecting, appealing to emotion, careless of symmetry in conception and form. To see in the book no more than a criticism of certain beliefs and devotions of modern Catholicism is to miss its real meaning. It is natural that a French writer should take these things as his text, but they are the text only; the discourse based upon them is of wider application. 'These things are an allegory;' the story of Bernadette is repeated wherever suffering and aspiration meet in the heart of man.

'Si le rêve d'une enfant souffrante avait suffi pour amener les peuples, pour faire pleuvoir les millions, et pousser du sol une cité nouvelle, n'était-ce pas que ce rêve venait apaiser un peu la faim des pauvres hommes? l'insatiable besoin qu'ils ont d'être trompés et consolés? Elle avait rouvert l'inconnu, sans doute, à un moment social et historique favorable; et les foules s'étaient précipitées. Oh! se réfugier dans le mystère, quand la réalité est si dure, s'en remettre au miracle, puisque la nature cruelle semble une longue injustice! Mais on a beau organiser l'inconnu, le réduire en dogmes, en faire des religions révélées; il n'y a toujours au fond que cet appel de la souffrance, ce cri de la vie, exigeant la santé, la joie, le bonheur

fraternelle, jusqu'à l'accepter dans un autre monde, s'il ne peut être sur cette terre.' ('Lourdes,' p. 448.)

Or, as M. Zola put it more crudely to an interviewer—

'Lourdes, the Grotto, the cures, the miracles are the creation of that need of the Lie, that necessity for credulity which is a characteristic of human nature. . . . Lourdes grew up in spite of all opposition, just as the Christian religion did, because suffering humanity in its despair must cling to something, must have some hope; and, on the other hand, because humanity thirsts after illusions. In a word, it is the story of the foundation of all religions.'

The book, then, viewed more closely, resolves itself into a study of the nature and origin of religion as such. Thus viewed it contains a truth and suggests a falsehood. That illusion enters into religion is true: that religion has its origin in, or is in itself, illusion is untrue. M. Zola has fallen into the common logical fallacy of taking the part for the whole cause.

'La religion c'est la part de l'idéal dans la vie humaine,' says Renan.* It is the outlet by which the generality of men escape from the prose of the world into poetry, from the weariness, the pain, the commonplace of existence into a serener air. Hence its kinship with art and with philosophy: for here, too, the higher life reveals itself; we pass from the seen to the unseen. And popular religion precedes philosophical, as being the material on which this works. The two advance with a certain interval between them; the latter never overtakes or completely identifies itself with the former: or, to vary the metaphor, like two parallel straight lines, produce them as you will, they never meet. Each is relative, the one to the feeling, the other to the thought of its time; but, as thought varies much and feeling little, while the variations of philosophical religion—that is, of theology—are wide and many, popular religion remains much the same in every age. The theological formulas of St. Paul were unintelligible to the generation which followed that of their author; the key to his impassioned dialectic had been lost: the Platonic metaphysics of the creeds, the Aristotelian terminology of the schoolmen, the forensic catchwords of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, the facile teleology of the 'Evidences'—these ways of thinking and speaking are obsolete, and have to be construed to us as if out of a dead language. Convention goes for so much in these matters that this change

* Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse, p. 1.

of standpoint is interpreted by careless or superficial observers as evidence of unbelief. It is nothing of the sort. What it is evidence of is the necessity of the periodical revision and reformulation of our theological conceptions. New bottles must be provided for new wine. With religious feeling it is otherwise. The phenomena of the first age of Christianity, the enthusiasm, the conviction, the visible gifts of the Spirit are reproduced without substantial change in every time. They are found indifferently among Protestants and Catholics. Nor are they peculiar to Christianity. They are associated with religion as such, and exist wherever this is a power—in India, or in Mohammedan Africa—under the most diverse forms. That illusion enters largely into these phenomena, and the experiences which underlie them, will not be questioned. Among the first Christians, for example, the nearest approach to a dogma was the belief in the Parousia, the immediate second coming of Christ. The attitude of the infant communities was one of intense expectation: before to-morrow's sun rose, or to-day's set, He might be there. The element of enthusiasm, discouraged in later days, was the distinctive mark of believers. They heard heavenly voices; their Lord spoke with them; they saw visions and dreamed dreams. The atmosphere in which they moved was one of the marvellous. The broken and inarticulate cries which escaped from those on whom the Spirit fell were taken for unknown tongues, which others of the brethren professed to interpret. They exercised and experienced gifts of healing; they spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Anything less resembling the decorous functions of the modern Churches, Protestant or Catholic, than their assemblies can scarcely be imagined. There was neither priest nor liturgy; every one prayed or prophesied aloud as he, or she, would: all spoke or shouted at the same time, no one being willing to wait for his turn or to give way to another: the sacramental meal degenerated too often into a clamorous and greedy orgy at which one was hungry and another drunk. 'These men are full of new 'wine,' was the interpretation put on the miracle of Pentecost by eye-witnesses. St. Paul, urging the Corinthians to self-control, remarks, with what may have seemed to them an excess of candour, that a stranger, admitted to their religious gatherings, would in all probability come to the conclusion that they were mad.* A party of order rose inevitably, St.

* Acts ii. 10; 1 Thessalonians iv.; 1 Corinthians xi. xiv.

Paul being its leader. He ceased to insist on the thought of the Parousia, which he found by experience distracted the converts from the practical duties of life. Though he did not venture to condemn it, it is evident that he thoroughly disliked the Glossolalia. He distrusted the external and so called miraculous gifts of the Spirit, the signs and wonders, laying stress rather on its fruits—charity, meekness, temperance; 'against such there is no law.'* He governed the Churches of which he was the founder autocratically enough, and as one who magnified his office—when present by word of mouth, when absent by letters or by itinerant delegates. Had his career not been cut short, the episcopate, or some form of Church government closely resembling it, might have established itself among the Christian communities a century or more before it actually did. But though for practical purposes it was necessary to subordinate the enthusiastic element in religion to the official it was regulated, not eliminated: it has never been absent from Christianity where this has been more than nominal; and from time to time it has shown, and shows, itself impatient of control. Without it religion becomes a philosophy or a convention: 'the Gospel is an apocalyptic message,'† and an apocalypse transports and inspires. Unchecked, on the other hand, it sets reason and sobriety at defiance; anarchy, moral and intellectual, follows in its train. Like the great forces of nature, fire and flood, it is a good servant but a bad master: it can fertilise, but it can devastate; it can bring to the birth, but it can destroy. Better than any other religious communion the Church of Rome has known how to deal with this inevitable but ambiguous ally; nowhere has her consummate genius for government shown itself so unmistakably as here. The rigid uniformity of the Churches of the East attempted to suppress it. 'Naturam expellas 'furcâ:' it reappeared in the shape of a thousand fanatical sects, from the Montanists and Manichees of the past to the Stundists and Doukhobors of modern Russia: stifled in the conventional piety of Protestantism, it took shelter in dissent of every variety and complexion, from Quakerism to Methodism, from Salvationism to Faith Healing and Spiritualism. Wiser in her generation, Rome has known how to retain fanatics and utilise fanaticism; the devotional life of Catholicism provides scope for their ardour, its

* 2 Thessalonians ii. 2, iii. 12; 1 Corinthians xiv. 22.

† Harnack, 'Dogmengeschichte,' vol. i. p. 41.

missionary work at home and abroad for their activity; the religious orders offer the discipline of a home to that charismatic Christianity which else, overflowing its channels, would be lost to the Church. So with that appetite for the marvellous so deeply rooted in our nature. The Church does not—she neither could nor would—extirpate it; but she restrains it, ordinarily, within the limits of ecclesiastical dogma. At times, as in the case of Lourdes, the enthusiasm of the multitudes is irrepressible and breaks through all barriers; but this is the exception, not the rule. In the beginning Bernadette's story was disbelieved by every one—curé, bishop, prefect. The Minister of Public Worship intervened with the authority of the Government; the Grotto was closed, the offerings removed.

'Pendant plusieurs mois la lutte continua. Et ce fut un spectacle extraordinaire que ces hommes de bon sens; le ministre, le préfet, le commissaire de police, animés certainement des meilleures intentions, se battant contre la foule toujours croissante des désespérés, qui ne voulaient pas qu'on leur fermât la porte du rêve. Les autorités exigeaient l'ordre, le respect d'une religion sage, le triomphe de la raison, tandis que le besoin d'être heureux emportait le peuple au désir exalté du salut, dans ce monde et dans l'autre. Oh! ne plus souffrir, conquérir l'égalité du bonheur, ne plus marcher que sous la protection d'une Mère juste et bonne, ne mourir que pour se réveiller au ciel! Et c'était forcément ce désir brûlant des multitudes, cette folie sainte de l'universelle joie, qui devait balayer la rigide et morose conception d'une société bien réglée, où les crises épidémiques des hallucinations religieuses sont condamnés, comme attentatoires au repos des esprits sains.' ('Lourdes,' p. 223.)

Lourdes, then, is nothing new either in history or in human nature; it is a particular instance of a universal fact. When it has been classified in this way it is no longer *sui generis*; there are similar phenomena with which we can compare it elsewhere. What must be our judgement as to the objectivity of the element of the marvellous common to such? First, that—like the supernatural, so called, in general—it has to be largely, very largely, discounted. Few ghost stories will stand examination. When first heard the impression left is vivid; but, if we test them, the facts evaporate, resolving themselves to a great extent, if not altogether, into hearsay, imagination, fiction conscious or unconscious: a story grows. The late Dr. J. R. Gasquet, in a remarkable paper contributed to a Catholic periodical under the title of 'The Cures at Lourdes,' * seems

* The 'Dublin Review,' October 1894.

not unwilling to extend this principle to them. 'The great 'majority of the cases I witnessed at Lourdes were evidently, 'in one way or another, due to the influence of the mind on 'the body; but I saw a few instances which, *if they stand* '*the test of further inquiry*'—the italics are ours—'I cannot 'ascribe to any natural agency.' M. Zola examined a number of persons on the spot, and could find none who would declare that he had witnessed a miracle. He investigated the case of Clémentine Trouvé, the Sophie of the story, carefully. Having heard that there were three or four ladies living in Lourdes who could guarantee the facts, he interviewed them. The first said no, she could not vouch for anything; she had seen nothing; he had better ask some one else. The others all answered in the same way; nowhere was he able to find any corroboration of the cure, circumstantial as the account appeared in the first instance. And so throughout. It is not necessary to suppose conscious falsehood in the witnesses; 'it is the facts 'themselves that lie.' Again, the word 'miracle' is, to say the least, ambiguous. The definition, 'Aliquid dicitur esse 'miraculum, quod fit præter ordinem totius naturæ creatæ,'* presupposes that the whole course of nature is known to us. But this is not so; the most willing believer, then, can never be certain that he is in the presence of a miracle properly so called. The question, it will be urged, is one of words. Has a cure been brought about, at Lourdes or in the sick-room or hospital ward? it is God's work. The heavens declare His glory. 'Majus miraculum est gubernatio 'totius mundi quam saturatio quinque millium hominum de 'quinque panibus,' says St. Augustine;† the order of Nature is a miracle greater and more significant than the signs and wonders to which, by an abuse of language, we confine the name. All the more misleading is it, it may be replied, to draw a hard and fast line between the natural and the supernatural; and so, practically, if not in words, to confine the Deity to a portion of the universe which, vast as it is, diminishes as knowledge advances, and whose boundaries, in consequence, are fleeting and insecure. This is to make every increase of knowledge a victory over, instead of a fuller revelation of, the Divine. No; He is all, or He is nothing; we take all from Him when we give Him less than all. The point insisted on by the defenders of the

* St. Thomas, 'Summa Theologica,' I. i. cx. 4.

† Tractatus 24 in Joannem.

'miraculous' character of the phenomena that present themselves at Lourdes is that they are irreducible to law and defy classification and prediction. 'Les guérisons se pro-'duisent en dehors de toutes les règles . . . le médecin 'assiste au bouleversement de toute loi.'* In other words, the abnormal, the extravagant is a note of the immediate operation of the Deity: God works by caprice, not by reason; by *coup d'état*, not by law. We have not so learned Him. In the arbitrary, the inconsequent, the irrational we see the ignorance of man, not the finger of God. It is in the march of the planets, the recurrence of the seasons, the process of history, the growth of mind—in order, measure, and harmony—that He manifests Himself to us. Where these are wanting, taught by the past, we surmise the presence of forces unknown, or imperfectly known, to us; a star not yet within the field of our vision; a veiling rather than a revelation of the Divine. That a certain number of cures for which medical science cannot account have taken place at Lourdes is probable enough. There are few physicians in large practice whose personal experience does not cover much that they can neither account for nor explain. This shows that medicine is not an exact science, and has not reached an exhaustive knowledge of its subject matter. The most incredulous scientist will not demur to this; in particular the limits of heredity, the pathology of the brain, the nature and extent of nerve affections, the interrelation of what are loosely distinguished as physical and psychical conditions — these and kindred departments of physiology and therapeutics have been as yet so imperfectly explored as to constitute a *terra incognita* to science. Shall we place here, since the map of the known world does not contain it, the realm of miracle? Alas! every advance of knowledge removes it further from us; its shores, *semper cedentia retro*, are never reached by us, sail on as we will. They rise before us in the morning light, and as we gaze they vanish: a floating bank of cloud, a mist on the horizon, has mocked us; the expanse of ocean, infinite and unbroken, surrounds us as of old. The disposition which shows itself in so many quarters to base faith on ignorance is consistent neither with faith nor sincerity; half-belief of this kind springs from unconscious and leads to conscious unbelief. The instinct that bids us escape from the iron circle of necessity by

*Dr. Boissarie, 'Lourdes: Histoire Médicale,' p. 438.

which we are hemmed in does not, indeed, deceive us. Nothing in Nature is vain; desire implicitly contains its object, and history bears witness to the gradual emancipation of man. But this argument, valid in itself, must be applied with the utmost circumspection. From the fact that the existence of a natural desire implies the existence of its object it by no means follows that this object is what we conceive it to be. It may be other, far other, than we think. It may be realiseable only on another plane than that of our actual experience, or in ourselves rather than in the world without. We look, for example, for Wisdom, Justice, Benevolence. Do not let us deceive ourselves. We shall not find these virtues here and now in their fulness; but we and the world become wiser, more just, and more benevolent by desiring them: and we believe, though we do not know how or when it will be so, that in the end they will be realized, and God be all in all. Such considerations may throw light on what, to those who reflect, is so infinitely perplexing—the non-fulfilment of the great mass of prayer. Not one prayer in a thousand is granted, in the natural sense of the word; nor can we discern any trace of law in the selection of the favoured cases. We can but remind ourselves that in its supremest instance the prayer of petition is conditioned by the nature of things and the will of the Father—'if it be possible,' and 'nevertheless not my will but Thine be done.' There are antinomies in knowledge which are to be recognised, not reconciled; where to suppress either factor is to introduce an element of confusion into the problem whose solution is sought. The philosopher has reason who, conscious of the dependence of the part on the whole, submits himself with resignation to the universal order; the believer, perhaps, has greater and more who, moved by the pity of human things—the *lacrymæ rerum*—and knowing that the nations of the earth are made for health,* invokes the intervention of a higher power between him and the tyranny of Nature and the ill-will of man.

'More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of; wherefore let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
For what are men better than sheep or goats,
That nourish a blind life within the brain,
If, knowing God, they lift not hands in prayer
Both for themselves and those that call them friend?

* 'Sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum,' Wisdom i. 14.

For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.'*

This does not necessarily involve a theological, or even a theistic, interpretation of the universe.

'The prayer instinct is independent of doctrinal complications. . . . Prayer, or inner communion with the Spirit of the higher universe of which the visible world is part, is a process wherein work is really done, and spiritual energy flows in and produces effects, psychological or material, within the phenomenal world. But if we ask to *whom* we pray, the answer (strangely enough) must be that *that* does not much matter. . . . We do not know enough of what takes place in the spiritual world to know how the prayer operates, *who* is cognisant of it, or through what channel the grace is given. . . . To say that God hears us is merely to restate the first principle, that grace flows in from the infinite spiritual world.' (W. James, 'Varieties of Religious Experience,' pp. 467–485.)

What is so painful and so repulsive in Lourdes and similar centres of popular devotion is not so much the fanaticism of the pilgrims, the commercial element inseparable from the necessity of providing transport and lodging for the multitude of strangers, or even the incongruous emergence of those lower passions never wholly absent where men are met together, and separated by so small an interval from overwrought emotion, whatever its source, as the deliberate organisation of hysteria, the training of suggestion, the exploitation of disease. Everything in the pilgrimage is calculated to disturb the equilibrium of the faculties, to stimulate, to excite, to strain. The insanitary conditions under which the journey is made, the hurry, the crowding, the insufficient food and sleep, the incessant religious exercises, the acute tension of every sense and nerve, all work up to a calculated climax.

'Ce fut un vent de délire qui passa, abattant tous les fronts. . . . Il n'y eut plus de directions possibles, les voix se confondirent, un vertige emporta toutes les volontés. Les cris, les appels, les prières, se brisaient dans les gémissements. Des corps se soulevaient de leur grabat de misère, des bras tremblants se tendaient, des mains crispées semblaient vouloir arrêter le miracle au passage. . . . Alors, au plus fort de cette folie sacrée, dans les supplications et dans les sanglots, comme dans un orage, lorsque le ciel s'ouvre et que la foudre tombe, des miracles éclatèrent. Une paralytique se leva, jeta ses béquilles. Il y eut un cri perçant, une femme apparut, debout sur son matelas, enveloppée d'une couverture blanche, ainsi que d'un suaire; et l'on disait que c'était une phtisique, à demi-morte, resuscitée. Coup sur

* The Passing of Arthur.

coup la grâce retentait deux fois encore: une aveugle qui aperçut la Grotte soudainement, dans une flamme; une muette qui tomba sur les deux genoux en remerciant la Sainte Vierge, à voix haute et claire. Et toutes se prosternaient de même aux pieds de Notre-Dame de Lourdes, éperdues de joie et de reconnaissance.' ('Lourdes,' pp. 171, 404.)

It is very pitiful, it is very humiliating, it is very vain. For such things are, in truth, the ghost of a past which has gone from us, never to return. The soul of religion is not, and never was, in them; time was, indeed, when they were associated with it, but they are so no longer; in vain do we seek the living among the dead. No other conclusion than that of Pierre is possible.

'Cela s'imposait avec la brutalité d'un fait; la foi naïve de l'enfant qui s'agenouille et qui prie, la primitive foi des peuples jeunes, courbé sous la terreur sacrée de leur ignorance, était morte. Des milliers de pèlerins avaient beau se rendre chaque année à Lourdes, les peuples n'étaient plus avec eux, la tentative de cette résurrection de la foi totale, de la foi des siècles morts, sans révolte ni examen, devait échouer fatalement. L'histoire ne retourne pas en arrière, l'humanité ne peut revenir à l'enfance, les temps ont trop changés, trop de souffles nouveaux ont semé de nouvelles moissons, pour que les hommes d'aujourd'hui repoussent tels que les hommes d'autrefois. C'était décisif. Lourdes n'était qu'un accident explicable, dont la violence de réaction apportait même une preuve de l'agonie suprême où se débattait la croyance, sous l'antique forme de catholicisme. Jamais plus la nation entière ne se prosternerait, comme l'ancienne nation croyante, dans les cathédrales du douzième siècle, pareille à un troupeau docile sous les mains du Maître. S'entêter en aveugle à vouloir cela, ce serait se briser contre l'impossible et courir peut-être aux grandes catastrophes morales.' ('Lourdes,' p. 589.)

It may seem thankless not to acknowledge the cures—for no one doubts that there are such—that are brought about at the shrine; and the religious emotion—dependence, self-surrender, gratitude—that are called forth among the pilgrims. Dr. Gasquet lays the chief stress on the latter. 'Though much is made, of course, of the supernatural cures 'that are said to occur, they occupy at Lourdes a secondary 'place to an extent which it is difficult for any one who has 'not been there to realise. Moral and spiritual blessings 'are sought for more earnestly and more generally than the 'healing of bodily infirmities.' With regard to the former, he uses language guarded in the extreme. In general 'the 'improvement was not more than could conceivably be pro-'duced by the action of the mind on the body. These 'patients might be divided into two classes, in one of which 'the symptoms were purely neurotic, and where complete

'recovery was the rule,' the most numerous examples being hysterical paraplegia and paralysis: while in the other 'examination easily detected the presence of organic disease.' These cases—in which, the local disease remaining unaffected, the general state of the patient greatly improved—were comparatively few; 'most of those that I saw were 'instances of osteo-arthritis, a fact not without interest con-'sidering the neurotic affinities of the disease.' Yet, while this was the case with the great majority of the cures which he witnessed, he saw, as has been said,

'a few instances which, *if they stand the test of further inquiry*, I cannot ascribe to any natural agency. I am not writing a formal work on Lourdes, so that I need not enter into such abstract questions as the limits of the possible influence of the nervous system in healing instantaneously abscesses, wounds, and other organic maladies. I should have done so with great reluctance, because we have not the light of actual experience to guide us. Even Professor Charcot, when he looked for cures parallel to those of Lourdes, found none in his own vast cliniqne, but had to go back a hundred and fifty years to the tomb of the Jansenist deacon Paris.' (The 'Dublin Review,' October 1894.)

In view of the extraordinary case of Pierre Delannoy, and its still more extraordinary sequel,* Dr. Gasquet's qualification—'*if they stand the test of further inquiry*'—is significant. But it is possible—perhaps probable—that religious emotion has a place of its own in the field of abnormal brain and nerve conditions: that, as certain temperaments are predisposed to see ghosts, so certain cases are predisposed to experience the mind or faith cure. Dr. Beauclair, while flatly refusing to confirm the diagnosis of his colleagues, sends Marie to Lourdes, saying that she would certainly be cured there if she herself were convinced of it, and even predicting the exact manner in which the miracle would come about.† But the account must be balanced. It would be a greater miracle than any of those alleged if, for one cured, as was Marie de Guersaint, hundreds did not suffer serious and lasting injury from the insanitary conditions under which the pilgrimage is made and the nervous excitement of which it is the occasion; while the stimulation of the religious emotions is dearly, too dearly, bought by the degradation of religion to those lower levels from which it has slowly, painfully, but surely risen. These have their place in the evolution of religion; but to return to them is spiritual death. The penalty of looking

* Lourdes, English translation, note, p. 491. † Ibid., p. 40.

back is the loss even of the semblance of life. The patriarch's wife is a perpetual symbol—'she looked from 'behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.'

'Rome' is a study of the Papacy; of the temper and methods of the great Congregations or tribunals to which the administrative work of the Catholic church is entrusted; of the official Roman mind. The experiment of Lourdes had been a failure; Pierre Froment left it dead to faith. He did not, indeed, throw off the dress or abandon the life of an ecclesiastic; 'il avait vu des prêtres renégats, et il les 'avait méprisés; un prêtre marié qu'il connaissait l'emplis-'sait de dégoût.'* But, refusing all ecclesiastical preferment, he resigned himself to a life of inaction. He regarded the mysteries of religion as symbols, necessary for mankind in its infancy, but to be discarded when the human race, instructed and purified, should have acquired the power of apprehending unveiled truth. Pending this—probably—somewhat distant consummation he came across the practical problems presented by the condition of the Paris poor. These appealed strongly to him; he threw himself into good works, and associated himself with the representatives of Christian Socialism—the Abbé Rose, a French Don Bosco; Cardinal Bergerot, a bishop of liberal sympathies; and the Vicomte Philibert de la Choue, a figure obviously modelled on that of the Comte Albert de Mun. The result of this activity was a book—'La Nouvelle Rome'—written from an undogmatic standpoint, and touching, with more zeal than discretion, on such burning topics as the temporal power of the Pope and the alleged miracles at Lourdes; the whole culminating in an impassioned appeal for a new religion, a reformed Catholicism, spacious, unritual, humanitarian, which, springing, like the old, from the historic centre of unity, should meet the wants and satisfy the aspirations of a new race of men. The phrase—a new religion—is open, it must be admitted, to misconception. The work is denounced to the Congregation of the Index; and the author determines to go to Rome to hinder, if possible, its condemnation. His ardent temperament, kindled by the sight and memory of the great northern cities with their mass of unwieldy, unhuman pauperism, is chilled at the outset to find that at Rome Christian Socialism is not taken very seriously. 'Ce n'est en somme que de la 'littérature,' is the general verdict: its preachers are set

* Lourdes, p. 33.

down as literary vanities, to be tolerated with good-humoured contempt when they bring pilgrimages and Peter's pence to the Vatican; to be brushed aside like troublesome insects when their dreams conflict with the requirements of ecclesiastical policy or the needs of what are regarded from the official point of view as practical affairs. His gradual awakening to the real Rome, so different from the Rome of his anticipation, is vividly described. He is surrounded by a tangle of intrigue, so complicated that its threads are inextricable, yet so purposeless that it seems to have been woven often for the very intrigue's sake. The air is thick with mystery; reserve, *finesse* are everywhere; nothing is said or done without an ulterior motive; subplot after subplot winds itself in and out of the central scheme till he finds himself like a fly in a spider's web—immeshed, trammelled, helpless. 'Le Vatican 'apparaissait comme un pays gardé par des dragons, jaloux 'et traîtres, un pays où l'on ne devait point franchir une 'porte, risquer un pas, hasarder un membre, sans s'être 'soigneusement assuré d'avance qu'on n'y laisserait pas le 'corps entier.' * A Pope inaccessible in the recesses of his palace, not to be approached but with set phrase and almost sacramental ritual; living in the modern world, but not of it; a stranger to the mind, the drift, and the temper of his time: cardinals, intransigent and opportunist, men some of routine, some of policy, leaning now to reaction, now to compromise, as the health of the Pontiff varied and the chances of a conclave seemed nearer or more remote; ecclesiastics busy, suave, tenacious, following up the tortuous threads of their purpose in the salons of great ladies, in the anticamere of prelates, in the Vatican itself, as occasion served—such was the Rome of real life, an enigma of which the foreigner can only say, with the shepherd—

> 'Urbem quam dicunt Romam, Melibœe, putavi
> Stultus ego huic nostræ similem.'

For, indeed, it is like nothing else in the world. It is its own world; beyond it it believes, as did the Greeks of Hellas, all is barbarism. Its knowledge of the surface of things is inexhaustible and unfailing; its ignorance of all that lies below this is incredible and entire. Cardinal Boccanera's state of mind is typical.

'Son orgeuil de prince romain ne connaissait que Rome, il se faisait presque une gloire d'ignorer totalement le monde moderne. . . . "Je

* Rome, p. 122.

suis allé à Paris une fois, oh ! il y a longtemps, cinquante ans bientôt, et pour y passer une semaine à peine. . . . Depuis cette unique voyage je n'ai pas quitté Rome." Et, d'un geste de tranquille dédain, il acheva sa pensée. A quoi bon des courses au pays de doute et de la rébellion? Est-ce que Rome ne suffisait pas, Rome qui gouvernait le monde, la ville éternelle qui, aux temps prédits, devait redevenir la capitale du monde?' ('Rome,' pp. 89, 99.)

What was Pierre, what was any modern man, to do in such a world as this? His thoughts, his sympathies, his language—all were a foreign tongue to those about him. Policy was their be-all and end-all: anything in the nature of broad perspective, moral or intellectual, was a closed book to them; the last questions in the world likely to occur to their minds would be those which bear on the ethical quality of thought or action—is it right? is it just? is it true? Not that they were, necessarily at least, bad men, personally dishonest or unjust; this would be a northern misreading of Italian character. But they had no manner of interest in ideas as such; they took them for granted, and concerned themselves with more practical matters, with the material rather than the spiritual side of religion. 'Ils 'laissent Dieu dans le sanctuaire, ils règnent en son nom.' * The ideal side of Christianity, in short, meant little to them, the institutional much; the inversion of this order would have seemed to them no less irrational than irreligious, the first step to revolt. God has given them the government of the Church—this is their axiom: and they mean to keep it. They govern not in the interests of the governed, but in their own, which they identify in some strange fashion with His. It is the Divine Right not of a king but of a staff of permanent officials, a self-electing, theocratic caste. Between its representatives and the northern races is a hopeless lack of comprehension and sympathy: it seems brutal to say it, but it is so; they despise us, and we them.

Of Roman officials of this type Monsignor Nani, the Assessor of the Holy Office, is an example. The reader will be disappointed if he expects to find in him the priest of Protestant melodrama; he is kindly, intelligent, pious even, and under a surface of Italian astuteness not substantially insincere. An opportunist through and through, while he has little sympathy with Pierre's vision of a new Rome, he has still less with the tactlessness of his opponents: the book was a folly; its denunciation to the Index

* Rome, p. 117.

a second and a worse. He leaves no stone unturned to hinder the scandal that would result from the author's contumacy: for, the machinery once set to work, the end, he knows, is a foregone conclusion; the book cannot but be condemned. He contrives that Pierre shall be encouraged to come to Rome, and welcomed to the Palazzo Boccanera; that his stay shall be prolonged till the potent influences of the Eternal City have had time to work upon him; that he shall be hindered at every step of his way, foiled, kept waiting indefinitely, sent here and there from this to that official—secretaries, reporters, assessors, cardinals—till his illusions are dulled, his ardour chilled, his heart weary. Then, after a delay of months, when the ground has been fully broken up, the final *coup* is administered; he is admitted to the presence of the Pope. Everything works up to this climax—the silence and darkness of the hour, the hope deferred, the sense of individual impotence against the remorseless impersonal pressure of the ecclesiastical machine. What could he do against such odds? Dreams of resistance vanished in the presence of the frail old man whose voice sounded like the voice of the dead out of buried centuries. One answer only was possible: 'Je me soumets, et je 'réprouve mon livre.' Once more Rome won a Pyrrhic victory. Silenced, not convinced, Pierre turned his steps homeward, bruised and broken in spirit, big with ineffectual strivings, a Lamennais of to-morrow, ripe for revolt.

As a work of art 'Rome' stands high. The topographical detail, which has given rise to the hasty criticism that parts of the book are no more than condensed Murray, is introduced of set purpose to illustrate the law of heredity, which the author traces alike through Paganism and Christianity, in ancient, mediæval, and modern Rome. The sketches of Italian life and character are illuminative, and, even when most startling, true to fact. The English reader may be tempted, for example, to think the poison incident* overdrawn. How much truth underlies the numerous poison legends current now, as of old, in Rome it would be difficult to determine; the facts in any given case can be known to a few only, and their lips are sealed. What is significant, however, is that they are widely and even generally believed. Were their scene laid in London, Paris, or Berlin they would be scouted as grotesque; but in Rome it is not so. The city has remained in many ways

* Rome, p. 489 ff.

mediæval; suspicions are entertained and precautions taken which are unheard of and would be thought extravagant elsewhere.

'Eh! oui, le poison, encore,' says Prada. 'A Rome, la peur en est restée vivace et très grande. Dès qu'une mort y paraît inexplicable, trop prompte ou accompagnée de circonstances tragiques, la première pensée est unanime, tout le monde crie au poison; et remarquez qu'il n'est pas de ville, je crois, où les morts subites sont plus fréquentes, je ne sais au juste pour quelles causes, les fièvres, dit-on. . . . Oui, oui, le poison avec toute sa légende, le poison qui tue comme la foudre et ne laisse pas de trace, la fameuse recette léguée d'âge en âge, sous les empereurs et sous les papes, et jusqu'à nos jours de bourgeoise démocratie.' ('Rome,' p. 493.)

Few finer scenes are to be found in modern fiction than that in which Cardinal Boccanera assists at Dario's death and pardons his murderers, the pride of the noble and the caste feeling of the Churchman triumphing over the natural instincts of the man.

'Il est des scandales qu'il faut épargner à l'Eglise, laquelle n'est pas, ne peut être coupable. Livrer un des nôtres aux tribunaux civiles, s'il est criminel, est frapper l'Eglise entière, car les passions mauvaises s'emparent dès lors du procès, pour faire remonter jusqu'à elle la responsabilité du crime. . . . Ah! pour ma part, que je suis atteint dans ma personne ou dans ma famille, dans mes plus tendres affections, je déclare, au nom du Christ mort sur la croix, que je n'ai ni colère ni besoin de vengeance, et que j'efface le nom du meurtrier de ma mémoire, et que j'ensevelis son action abominable dans l'éternelle silence de la tombe.' ('Rome,' p. 576.)

'Rome,' however, is something more than literature: it is a novel with a purpose. This purpose is to show that Catholicism is dead: that a veritable *genius loci* attaching to the historic soil of Rome has made the Popes the spiritual heirs of the Cæsars, and animated them with the fantastic and impossible ambition of universal rule; that in virtue of this succession the Church is pledged to an attitude of absolute intransigence in the face of modern life and the modern spirit; and is destined, in consequence, like Nineveh and Babylon, like Thebes and Memphis, sooner or later, but inevitably, to pass away. Granted the permanence of this attitude, the conclusion is inevitable; the world does not go back. And it must be admitted that it is not easy to imagine its abandonment; Rome is indisposed to compromise on what she considers essentials, and does not willingly admit change. But to confine our view to actual Catholicism is misleading. An outlook over history suggests larger

possibilities; behind the Papacy lies the Church, behind the Church Christianity; and 'das Christentum ist das 'Allerveränderlichste: das ist sein besonderer Ruhm.'*

It is improbable that M. Zola had read Hobbes; but, had he done so, he could hardly have found an apter motto for his 'Rome' than the famous description of the Papacy as the ghost of the old Roman Empire sitting crowned among the ruins thereof. The hereditary pride of race and rule, inbred as in the Cæsar so in the humblest legionary, as in the Pontiff so in Tito, the boy workman with his haughty 'Io son' Romano di Roma'†—this is the thread worked into the book from the first page to the last. It is the key to the history of that great politico-ecclesiastical institution the Papacy. History shows us two institutions, and two only, which have claimed and exercised jurisdiction in every place and over all men; to which, therefore, an œcumenical signification attaches: the one was the Roman Empire, the other is the Roman Church. And there is a sense in which the two are one, in which the Empire survives in the Papacy, Pagan in Christian Rome. The fact and the consciousness of this universality of charge have imprinted from the first a note, or special character, on the Church to which it pertains—the note of government, inherent, as has been said, in the very soil of the Eternal City. The saying of Hobbes had its prototype in the 'Tu regere imperio 'populos' of the poet. This has been the maxim of the Popes, as of the Cæsars; the distinctive faculty, or function, of Rome is authority: the *potior principalitas*—neither more nor less—is her claim:

> 'Others, belike, with happier grace
> From bronze or stone shall call the face,
> Plead doubtful causes, map the skies,
> And tell when planets set and rise;
> But, Roman, thou, do thou control
> The nations far and wide:
> Be this thy genius, to impose
> The rule of peace on vanquished foes,
> Show pity to the humbled soul,
> And crush the sons of pride.'‡

Certain defects go with certain qualities; this temper, lofty as it is, has limitations on more than one side. The generals and statesmen of Rome, Republican and Imperial,

* R. Rothe, 'Stille Stunden.' † Rome, p. 334.
‡ Æneid, vi. 847 ff., Professor Conington's translation.

looked with a touch of contempt on the arts of peace, on letters, on philosophy, on the religious enthusiasm of the Hebrew, on the nimble brain and quick hand of the Greek: their modern representatives, the prefects of the great Roman Congregations, the canonists and law officers of the Curia, the Nuncios at foreign courts, the permanent official staff which from the centre of Christendom directs, organises, and administers the various national and local churches, are impatient of the fog-bound northern mind, with its visions half seen and its aspirations half realised. This mind is to theirs as a Gothic cathedral, dim, vast, many-vistad, to a hypæthral temple—small, compact, perfectly proportioned, the whole in full view. To them everything is distinct, sharply defined, clear-cut: they are intolerant of the haze on the horizon which Nature is never without in thought or in landscape; they make small account of abstractions, of the indefinite, of the unpractical—as they conceive it—in a word, of ideas. They know exactly what they want, and the means—in the choice of which they are not very scrupulous—best calculated to attain it; they do not trouble themselves about the unattainable, about what lies beyond. They take essentially short views; hence at once their strength and their weakness: strength for the moment, weakness for all that lies beyond its immediate requirements. For the abstract of to-day is the concrete of to-morrow; ideas, fanciful and incapable of realisation as they appear in their earlier stages, do, in fact, take shape, come to maturity, inspire and move men. But the *esprit moyen* of Rome by temperament and policy alike holds aloof from them. Rome is not, and has never been, a school of learning, even of theological learning, as were Antioch and Alexandria in early days, Bologna and Padua, Paris and Oxford in the Middle Ages: with few and far between exceptions it would be difficult to point to any literature above the rank of textbooks for seminarists to which it has given birth. Its work has all along been positive, not speculative: not to teach, though, strangely enough, it acts as a court of final appeal in matters of doctrine, but to judge and legislate; not research, but rule. The focus of the ecclesiastical world, it forms a little world by itself: a world singularly concentrated, singularly inaccessible to outside influences; a strange complex of contradictions—energetic, yet slow of judgement; rigid, yet elastic; persistent, yet vacillating; with a show of breadth, yet intensely narrow; with ramifications on every continent and among every

people, yet local, limited, and self-centred beyond belief. There were mediæval mystics who saw in it the Babylon of the Apocalypse, to whom the Curia, the hierarchy, the whole exterior polity of Christendom seemed of anti-Christ, not of Christ. The enthusiast for ideas, for knowledge, for religion, is chilled by its atmosphere; by a temper so sober, so severely practical, so circumspect, so habitually averse from extremes. For, paradoxical as it may appear, the temper of Rome is the reverse of fanatical. Where it appears to be so it is due to a defect in the working of the system; a question addressed or a denunciation made to a Congregation, if it gets beyond a certain stage, works automatically, because the machinery is antiquated and inelastic; aware of this the authorities, with rare exceptions, discourage questions and denunciations. 'Quieta non movere' is their motto; they want, if possible, to let things alone. Their influence is cast, on the whole, on the side of moderation. They can make use, indeed, of enthusiasts, when it suits their purpose to do so; but of all things enthusiasm is the most alien to them. Ideas, as such, they instinctively dislike and distrust; to knowledge they are indifferent; religion they employ as a means to an end. There have been learned Popes, but one can scarcely imagine a Clement of Alexandria or a Gregory Nazianzen the successor of St. Peter; there have been saintly Popes, but it is difficult to picture a Francis of Assisi or a Philip Neri in the Papal chair. Those, perhaps, have been the greatest Popes who have best assimilated the distinctively Roman spirit, with its legalism, its love of routine, its antipathy to what is doctrinaire or theoretical, its looking to the good of the whole, as it conceives it, rather than to that of the part, its refusal—so incomprehensible to minds cast in another mould—to anticipate matters, to deal with, or even to forecast, the problems of to-morrow. Opportunism, touched by genius, and raised to the level of a fine art—this is the *Leitmotif* of the whole. He on whom the solicitude for all the Churches falls must observe times and seasons; must practise reserve, self-suppression, economy; must let the office limit and restrain the man. Do we envy those in high place? Oh, irony of human things! It is they who, from a personal standpoint, have reason to envy us; they are less free to live their lives, to act, to speak, to think and feel even than we. And of all men, perhaps, the Pope is the least his own master, the least able to act on his own initiative, and as his judgement, his inclination, his

conscience direct. For the Pope is not Rome. Behind the individual Pontiff lies the system—the impersonal bureaucracy with its traditions, its routine, its fixed methods and procedure. Ministers come and go; the permanent staff continues: Popes pass; the Curia remains. From the first the prerogative of St. Peter attached rather to the Church of Rome than to the Roman bishop. The Vatican is a prison, the Pope is a prisoner; but his gaolers are not his enemies, but his friends.

> 'Ahi, Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
> Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
> Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!'*

The Roman question is the leprosy of Catholicism—an open sore, draining away its life. More than once in the course of his long pontificate has Leo XIII. shown an inclination to attempt its solution; Abbot Tosti's famous pamphlet is believed to have been submitted to and approved by him before publication; but in each instance reactionary influences have been too strong for him; the blessing promised to the peacemakers is reserved for another than he. The Temporal Power is a field on which the characteristic features of Roman diplomacy have displayed themselves in their most characteristic forms; the policy of the Vatican has been at once astute and short-sighted, crafty and fatuous, a laborious spinning of cobwebs which a breath blows away. From 1849 to 1870 Antonelli played France against Sardinia with the skill of a gambler, and so postponed the inevitable for twenty years. He did not consider the harvest of hatred that he was sowing in Italy and throughout Europe: perhaps he did not regard it; but Catholicism has reaped, and is reaping, it to the full. Since 1870 the same policy has been pursued with a tenacity and perseverance worthy of a better cause; it has been the supreme end to which other ends have been deliberately sacrificed; it has been the underlying motive of every act and utterance of the Holy See. 'All these things will I 'give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me:' but the promise is deceitful; the price has been paid in vain. A European war would have been welcomed at any time during the last thirty years by the partisans of the Papacy on the off-chance that a redistribution of territory at its close might restore what were once the States of the Church to their former ruler; the presence of foreign bayonets on Italian

* Inferno, xix. 115.

soil would have been acclaimed with enthusiasm so that they propped up the tottering throne of the Vicar of Christ. With this end in view France has been flattered and cajoled; Austria, as a member of the Triple Alliance, slighted; Italy materially and morally weakened; the red fool fury of Anti-Semitism roused and fostered; brigandage in Naples and Calabria connived at; anarchism at Milan rebuked with bated breath. It was exceedingly clever, but it was exceedingly wanting in foresight; there will be, there is, a Nemesis for these things.

The general result has been the secularisation of the temper and aims of the Papacy. Everything—theology, religion, the needs of the Church as a spiritual organisation—is treated as matter of policy and with a view to the influence, however remote, that it may conceivably or inconceivably exercise on the all-important question of the temporal power. 'When,' asked a cynical prelate, 'shall 'we have a Pope who will have time to occupy himself with 'religion?' The Curia, absorbed in this one idea, has neither leisure nor inclination to take other interests into account; it minds earthly things. The consequences of this are far-reaching. A spiritual society does not substitute the material for the spiritual with impunity: this is to do violence to the law of its being. The antagonism between religion and knowledge has seldom been more marked than in modern Catholicism; hence its intellectual and moral impoverishment. The attitude of the Pontiff to the new Rome finds a parallel in that of the Church to the modern mind: Pontiff and Church alike sit apart in self-imposed isolation, speaking to men in unaccustomed accents and a strange tongue. Theological science is non-existent, because thought and its expression are fettered; the few Catholic *Gelehrte*—a Schell, an Ehrhardt, a Loisy—work in chains. Scholarship is suspect; research stifled: the fear of the Index and the Inquisition lies over all. This means more than merely intellectual stagnation; because, in the last resort, intellectual and moral virtue are one. The indifference, not to say hostility, to truth involved in the Church's attitude to knowledge reacts on character; nor can piety, as such, be relied on as an antiseptic; without enlightenment it degenerates too easily into superstition, without unction into fanaticism: the *bonus odor Christi* * disappears. At no time and in no religious communion could such symptoms be

* 2 Corinthians ii. 15.

viewed without anxiety, but in the case of the Roman Church her lofty claims and the circumstances of the time in which we live give it special significance. An infallible Church cannot afford to show herself fallible; nor does Catholicism lie outside the contemporary movement of thought and feeling known as Liberalism.

'Non obtunsa adeo gestamus pectora Pœni,
Nec tam aversus equos Tyriâ Sol jungit ab urbe.'*

It is stirred to the depths by it; on its power of dealing with and assimilating it its future as a Church hangs. There will be no second Reformation; the time has gone by for founding new Churches. But indifference and unbelief are more effective solvents than open revolt. They may go with nominal assent and exterior submission; but where this is so the springs of life are poisoned: religion, while having the name of being alive, is dead.

The Church, however, has escaped so many seemingly imminent dangers in the course of her long history that she may escape this also. She represents so large a portion of humanity that it is difficult to conceive her definitely and permanently stultifying herself: she does advance, though she advances slowly and with backward gaze.

'Nous ne désespérons pas, vu les progrès croissants des sciences morales et historiques, que la critique n'amène peu à peu la théologie à ouvrir ses textes aux principales conclusions qu'elle a posées, toujours grâce aux mêmes procédés de libre interprétation. De même que la théologie accepte le mouvement de la terre, la période neptunienne et les déluges partiels, la théorie des époques de la création, l'immensité des cieux peuplés d'un nombre infini de mondes solaires, en faisant remarquer que la sagesse divine a dû descendre à la portée des premiers hommes et leur parler un langage qu'ils pussent comprendre, de même ne pourrait-elle accepter un jour, d'aussi bonne grâce, certaines explications historiques et psychologiques de la critique touchant les symboles, les mythes et les mystères de la foi?' (Vacherot, 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' July 15, 1868.)

This, however, will not come about without fermentation and conflict; and the Papacy is not seen at its best in dealing with ideas. Will it renew its youth? or is it destined, like the Patriarchates of the East and the Metropolitan Sees, once so prominent in Christendom, to fall into the background, surviving, *magni nominis umbra*, a shadow of its former self? 'Its practical claims and action may 'vary in the future as they have varied in the past. . . .

* Æneid, i. 567.

'We can probably as little prophesy what changes might 'occur in the position of the Papacy as Catholics could in 'the fourteenth century have guessed the vast changes 'which have already come about in its practical position 'since that time.'* Nor were mediæval theologians wanting who cut the Gordian knot after a fashion that would scarcely commend itself to modern apologists. 'According to the 'theory of Occam . . . both General Councils and Popes 'may err. . . . The Primacy, and hierarchical institutions 'in general, are not necessary or essential to the subsistence 'of the Church; and the forms of the ecclesiastical as of 'the political constitution ought to vary with the varying 'needs of the time.'† Be this as it may, the times are critical; Rome, it seems, is at the parting of the ways. It is open to the Papacy to make itself the mouthpiece of a mediæval sect, narrow, dogmatic, intolerant; or of a world-Church co-extensive with mankind, and embracing the entire human inheritance of knowledge and sympathy.

At present, perhaps, it realises this imperfectly. Its temper is secular rather than religious: the ends that it pursues are material; it forgets that the outward in religion exists for the sake of the inward, the latter for its own. This is so in civil as well as in religious society. The State has an executive, an army, the machinery of government, a sovereign, the pomp and circumstance of a court. But it does not consist in those things; its essence is the free and orderly developement of the nation's life. Were it otherwise the community of the future would be anarchic, and rightly; the State as we know it would be doomed. So with religion. A Church whose essence was the priest would be no less a moral horror than a State whose essence was the hangman. The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; neither ritual nor dogma; neither Presbytery, nor Episcopacy, nor the Papacy. For religion does not consist in those things; rather between it and them there is an insuperable, if at times latent, element of antagonism: lay stress upon them, and religion, like some subtle essence, evaporates and disappears. Clothes at best, they may become grave-clothes, impediments to freedom and movement, to be discarded by the living—'Loose him and let him go.'

As 'Lourdes' is a criticism of religion, and 'Rome' of the Church as represented by the Papacy, so is 'Paris' of

* W. Ward, 'Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman,' vol. ii. p, 582.
† Pastor's 'History of the Popes,' vol. i. p. 76.

civil society, of the modern State. The book is of less interest than the other two, and that for two reasons: first, because its criticism has been to a certain extent anticipated in them; and secondly, because, social questions being more familiar to the average man—and it is for the average man, as has been said, that M. Zola writes—than religious or ecclesiastical, this criticism has not the attraction of novelty. It has been tried and found wanting; whatever may be the remedy for the sins and shortcomings of the world we live in, it is not to be found here. Perhaps M. Zola hardly proposes a definite remedy. 'C'est là, enfin, la nouvelle espérance, la justice, après dix-huit siècles de charité impuissante'*—this is to take refuge in generalities; we want at once less and more. What is justice? asks Plato in the 'Republic.' M. Zola does not put the question; but it must be answered before much can be accomplished in the way of reform. His power of delineation is as marked as before; the book is a panorama of Paris—all-embracing, graphic, full of movement. And its large human sympathy is inspiring; they must be very callous or very thoughtless to whom this does not appeal. But sympathy divorced from knowledge, like the *vis consili expers* of the poet, *mole ruit sua*: it replaces one wrong by another; the last state of the society in which it had its way unchecked would be worse than the first. Salvat's bomb kills not the financier, but the errand girl, the child of the people; the attempt on the Basilica of Montmartre, had it been successful, would have scattered death in its cruellest form over a mixed multitude of poor. Society may, and must, defend itself against such outrages: sympathy with the Salvats, the Mathis, the Janzens is out of place. 'Paris' is not, indeed, as a whole written in this vein; the unhealthy sentiment referred to is corrected by the strong sense of the young Normalien François, and by the sanity and equilibrium of the scientists Bertheroy and Bache:

'Je n'ai que mépris pour les agitations vaines de la politique, aussi bien la révolutionnaire que la conservatrice. . . . Un pas de la science avance plus l'humanité vers la cité de justice et de vérité que cent ans de politique et de révolte sociale. Allez, elle seule balaye les dogmes, emporte les dieux, fait de la lumière et du bonheur. . . . C'est moi, le membre de l'Institut, renté, décoré, qui suis le seul révolutionnaire.' ('Paris,' p. 143.)

For there is a process in things independent of our will or

* Paris, p. 596.

liking; a growth in the world and mankind which we are powerless to check or stay.

'Bah! qu'ils se dévorent!' says Guillaume, when taunted with the insincerity of place-hunting politicians; 'ils ne se battent guère que sur des questions de personnes, dans l'âpre ambition de régner, de disposer de l'argent et de la puissance. Mais ça n'empêche pas l'évolution de se faire, les idées de s'épandre, et les événements de s'accomplir. Il y a, par-dessus, l'humanité qui marche.' ('Paris,' p. 591.)

Against this mighty onward sweep of tendency movements, reactionary or anarchic, break in vain. Nor is the advance material only: aspiration is higher, insight clearer, feeling deeper, judgement more righteous; the level of life is raised. The most significant events in history are not those which attract most notice: rather these come about imperceptibly, and while men sleep. A European war, the substitution of one dynasty or form of government for another, the rise of some new school of literature or art, how large such things bulk before the imagination! People talk and think of nothing else for the time being; the press is full of them; they absorb the public mind. Yet the real life of the world is comparatively unaffected by them; the surface waters are troubled, the depths remain unmoved. A truth of science, on the other hand, an induction from facts of observation or experience, makes little outward stir. It matures silently in the mind of a student, it is discussed by experts, tested, sifted, scrutinised, till, finally, it passes into the common stock of knowledge. The fabric, slow-rising, but massive in its consistency, receives a permanent addition; there is no going back on what has been once gained. There is nothing showy or striking in this; the pedantry of science, her colourlessness, her lack of insight, have furnished point to many a sneer. She need not be very careful to answer these charges. If, as a poet reminds us, the Muse is more austere, the austere figure of Science is perhaps more musical than we conceive her; and, for the rest, 's'il est devenu banal que deux et deux font quatre, 'pourtant ils font bien quatre. Le dire, cela est encore 'moins sot et moins fou que de croire, par exemple, aux 'miracles de Lourdes.'*

The direction in which the world is moving is unmistakeable. The practice among apologists of a certain type of clutching, like drowning men, at every straw is as futile as it is undignified; the fragile support, unable to bear the

* Paris, p. 195.

strain put upon it, breaks in the hand. Much has been made of late of the revival of mysticism in certain unexpected quarters, and of the famous cry of the bankruptcy of science, raised in the first instance by a distinguished man of letters, and taken up by persons of lesser note in the world of religious and semi-religious journalism. Mysticism is a plant that flourishes on various soils and under various surroundings. There is the mysticism of the 'Imitation' and there is the mysticism of the Sufis; there are depths beyond and below. A slight acquaintance with the literature of the subject is sufficient to show to what type that recently revived in Paris approximates: its prophet is M. Huysmans; its *Ur-Evangelium* 'Là Bas.'

'Voici le satanisme, l'occultisme, toutes les aberrations qui fleurissent. . . . Aux fruits l'arbre n'est-il pas jugé? et au lieu d'une renaissance, d'un profond mouvement social, ramenant le passé, n'est-il pas évident que nous assistons simplement à une réaction transitoire, que bien des causes expliquent?' ('Paris,' p. 200.)

The bankruptcy of science is more discussed in literary and theological than in scientific circles. The phrase itself is a *réclame*, and suggests the tradesman whose best goods are in his window. Look close; there is not much behind. Literature works above, science below ground; literature addresses itself to the imagination, science to the understanding; literature is quick, science slow—this is about what it comes to. There is a fashion in these things. Positivism, which had become over-definite, and gave out more light than heat, invited reaction; and reaction came. But it was, and is, superficial; it does not touch those who look at the matter from within.

'Quant à mes camarades de la section scientifique . . . . le néo-catholicisme, le mysticisme, l'occultisme, et toutes ces fantasmagories de la mode ne les troublent guère. Ils n'en sont pas à faire une religion de la science, ils restent très ouverts au doute, mais ce sont pour la plupart des esprits très clairs, très nets et très fermes, passionnés de la certitude, tout au zèle de l'enquête, dont l'effort se continue au travers du vaste champ des connaissances humaines. . . . Allez leur parler, à ceux-là, de la banqueroute de la science: ils hausseront les épaules, car ils savent bien que jamais la science n'a enflammé plus de cœurs ni fait de plus prodigieuses conquêtes. Qu'on les ferme donc, les écoles, les laboratoires, les bibliothèques, qu'on change profondément le sol social, alors seulement on pourra craindre d'y voir repousser l'erreur, si douce au cœurs faibles, au cerveaux étroits.' ('Paris,' p. 197.)

Phrases will not serve; the ground must be ploughed deeper; we must get down to the real.

Here, however, M. Zola fails as completely as M. Brunetière. He sees and describes the surface of things admirably: hence his power; for life is lived, for the most part, on the surface. But he possesses sight rather than insight; the substance of things, their inner tendencies, the world of to-morrow shaping itself in that of to-day—these he does not see. Hence the impression left on the reader is one of superficiality and limitation. Religion is an Illusion, because it contains an element of myth; the Church a Survival, because the Papacy is, in some respects, an anachronism; the State a Tyranny, because poverty, inequality, injustice abound. To reason in this way is to want better bread than is made with wheat: treasure in earthen vessels is the law of our condition; there is an alloy of imperfection inseparable from human things. Religion, the Church, Civil Society are indefinitely larger than M. Zola conceives them: they are more complex and many-sided; their roots strike deeper into the past and into human nature; their future embraces vaster and more varied possibilities than he dreams of. To argue from them as they are here and now is to take a number for the series into which it enters. They are facts and outcomes of human nature in its entirety, and must be viewed from this standpoint; it is as vain to endeavour to extirpate as it is to stereotype them: they have always been, and they have been always changing; they are, they will be; but they change, and they will continue to change. This point of view does not lend itself to rhetoric, or subserve the interests of religious or political party; it solves few, if any, of the questions which perplex us; its answer, when these are put to or pressed upon it, is, and must be, for the most part, 'I do not know.' For there are many things of which we must be content to remain ignorant; with regard to which knowledge is given to us in outline only—the detail is not filled in. Again, over and above certain technical studies in history and philosophy, it presupposes what is called a liberal education; the sense of proportion, the power of comparison, the faculty of estimating the nature and value of evidence: hence it is in a sense esoteric, and inaccessible to the uneducated or half-educated—in a word, to the average man. That this is so is, probably, the chief difficulty that religion has to meet in our time. For religion, though to be distinguished from, is, in the concrete, intimately associated with theology; and to accept the traditional theology in any real sense a certain power of drawing distinctions, of philosophising, is

necessary. While the number of well-informed persons—and to these its inadequacy is palpable—is increasing daily, philosophers are, and are likely to remain, few. Hence an intolerable strain and tension. 'Entre la religion inintelligente et le 'matérialisme brutal, âme poétique et pure, où serait ta place?' There is no royal road out of the *impasse*; step by step the upward path must be trodden: no one can do our thinking for us; we must think and feel each for himself and alone. But if the experience of the past has any lesson it is this: that short cuts are to be distrusted; that direct and simple methods lead us, in the long run, astray. Lucidity is a good; but it is so relatively to the subject-matter: this admits of it more or less according to its character; the most valid standpoint is not necessarily that which the average man most readily grasps. To forget this is the besetting sin of the French intellect. Its thought is logical; its language perspicuous: and herein, in dealing with the things of mind, lies a twofold snare. A French writer of repute, the story goes, interviewed Hegel, and asked that philosopher to put before him a succinct account of the Hegelian system. 'Monsieur,' was the answer, 'ces 'choses ne se disent pas succinctement—surtout en fran-'çais.'

ART. VII.—1. *The Case for the Factory Acts.* Edited by Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB. With a preface by Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD. Second edition, 1902. London: Grant Richards.

2. *Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for the year* 1901. Blue-book [Cd 1112], 1902. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.

3. *Dangerous Trades: the Historical, Social, and Legal Aspects of Industrial Occupations as affecting Health, by a number of Experts.* Edited by THOS. OLIVER, M.D., Medical Expert of the White Lead, Dangerous Trades, Pottery, and Lucifer Match Committees of the Home Office; Professor of Physiology, University of Durham; Physician to the Royal Infirmary, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. London: John Murray, 1902.

4. *Reports and Pamphlets of the Industrial Law Committee* and *the Industrial Law Indemnity Fund, administered by that Committee,* 1898–1902. London: 5 Palmer Street, Westminster.

5. *Report of Royal Commission of Inquiry into the working of Compulsory Conciliation and Arbitration Laws.* Ordered to be printed by the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, July 24, 1901.

IF, as a nation, we were more given than we are to the celebration of landmarks in our history, the year just past would certainly have witnessed the keeping of a festival in honour of the centenary of factory legislation. For it was in the year 1802 that Parliament first put its hand to the work of industrial reform. The Factory Act then passed was designed principally for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices in cotton mills. Very great and urgent was the need for intervention in their case. For the most part the apprentices were 'children of the State,' supplied to manufacturers by workhouse authorities, who were ready to pay a small premium to get quit of the charge of them, and cared nothing whatever as to their subsequent fate. Very often it was horrible. Obtained in many cases through 'child-jobbers,' on the nominal understanding that they would be properly fed and clothed during the period of apprenticeship by their employers, very many of them were habitually the subjects, not only of the grossest neglect, but of the most brutal oppression. The early death of these forlorn young creatures from overwork and under-feeding,

aggravated by active savagery on the part of masters and overlookers, was by no means unknown. Their case was taken up with much zeal by the first Sir Robert Peel, himself a cotton-spinner, who had employed them, and the awakening humanitarianism of Parliament, which was moving towards its triumph over the slave-trade from Africa to the West Indies, and saw in the cotton-apprentice system a home traffic with features of undoubted similarity, felt stirred to interfere. It enacted modest requirements as to the feeding, clothing, and instruction of the apprentices, with a limitation of their hours of work to twelve a day, exclusive of meal-times, and provided for 'Visitors' to the factories to see that these conditions were observed.

This legislation was well meant and cannot have been altogether without effect, direct or indirect. The system of pauper apprenticeship in the cotton-mills soon began to wither. That change, however, was doubtless promoted in large measure by the growing use of steam instead of water-power, which facilitated the concentration of mills in the more thickly populated neighbourhoods where local child labour could be readily obtained. Naturally employers, whose infamous slave-driving of the boys and girls handed over body and soul to their charge had compelled Parliamentary intervention, were only a degree more humane in their treatment of the children of their own operatives, and an Act of 1819, also due to the benevolent initiative of the father of the great Sir Robert Peel, laid it down that no child under nine years of age should work in a cotton factory at all, and no young person under sixteen should work there more than twelve hours a day. By this Act, too, we must suppose that some good was done. But the purpose of Parliament was not expressed clearly enough, or the scope of its aims extensive enough, or the machinery for enforcing them strong enough, to place any really effective check on evils which were menacing the very life of the nation, while its home was becoming the 'workshop of the world.' A further step forward was made in an Act passed in 1825, chiefly at the instance of Sir John Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, restricting to sixty-nine hours a week the duration of toil which could be exacted from any person in a cotton-mill under eighteen years of age. But the benefit achieved by this measure, though not inappreciable, was infinitesimal compared with the vast and quickly growing evils left untouched. All the measures so far mentioned, it will have been observed, related only to cotton-mills. Other

textile industries, including the woollen trade, the oldest established of our national manufactures, were not touched till in 1831 Sir John Hobhouse and Lord Morpeth, with the enthusiastic and strenuous support of Mr. Michael Thomas Sadler, succeeded in pushing through a Bill aiming at a much more extensive range of control, and a closer limitation of juvenile hours of labour than had been previously attempted. Its provisions, however, were so much cut about before it became law that according to Lord Shaftesbury's biographer, Mr. Hodder, it was impossible for it to be 'at all 'effective.'

That this opinion is a just one appears only too clearly from the conclusions of the Royal Commission appointed in 1833, at the earnestly expressed desire of the millowners, in view of the startling statements by which Mr. Sadler, in the year of the first Reform Bill, had advocated his Ten Hours Bill, and of the activity with which Lord Ashley, who had now consecrated himself to the great work of his life, was furthering that measure in and out of the House of Commons. The Commissioners declared that from the whole of the evidence laid before them, which included that of some of the most influential of the mill-owners, they found—

(1) 'That the children employed in all the principal branches of manufacture throughout the kingdom worked during the same number of hours as the adults.

(2) 'That the effects of labour during such hours were, in a great number of cases, permanent deterioration of the physical constitution, the production of diseases wholly irremediable, and the partial or entire seclusion (by reason of excessive fatigue) from the means of obtaining adequate education, and acquiring useful habits, or of profiting by those means when afforded.

(3) 'That at the age when children suffered those injuries from the labour they underwent they were not free agents, but were let out on hire, the wages they earned being secured and appropriated by their parents and guardians.

'We are therefore,' said the Commissioners, 'of opinion that a case is made out for the interference of the Legislature on behalf of the children employed in factories.'

The case so made out for the interference of the Parliament of that day was plainly an unanswerable condemnation of the Parliaments which had preceded it since the beginning of the century. Their feeble, tinkering efforts at the reduction of some gross abuses, their prolonged neglect of others equally horrible, were exhibited in the relentless light shed by a simple statement of the results of the evils they

had failed to check. In her eloquent preface to 'The Case 'for the Factory Acts,' Mrs. Humphry Ward presents some condensed extracts from the evidence given to the Commissioners in 1833 by operatives, children and adults:—deformed children who had begun to work at seven years old, and had got 'crooked' as they 'wrought;' parents who had a 'deal 'of trouble' and had to use the rod to get their children up in the dark winter mornings 'when the first bell rang at 'half-past four by the factory clock;' middle-aged men who could compare the vigorous hand-spinners of 1801 with the feeble creatures whom they saw around them in 1833, worn out by toiling long hours all their lives in the heat of the mule-spinning rooms, and their still feebler children.

'Voices,' proceeds Mrs. Ward, in a striking apostrophe, 'of pity and of shame, which may well bring round us the whole phantom host of those lost generations which perished for the making of industrial England—of those deformed children and youths, those sickly, demoralised girls, those exhausted men and women, whose bones lie at the foundation of our great textile industries.'

There is no exaggeration here. The employment of the terrible parallel with the Wagram scene in 'L'Aiglon' is perfectly justified in the case of the textile industries. Unhappily, too, its just application is by no means confined to them or that first third of the century and more which were required to bring home to the national conscience a sense of the commanding claim of the workers in them to Parliamentary intervention. The same kind of parallel must force itself constantly on the mind of every student of the strangely slow, fitful, partial, unthought-out course of our factory legislation. It is a story, no doubt, of progress in protection of the defenceless, but in almost all cases of protection undertaken after one, two, or even three whole generations of miserable workers had gone to their early graves unfriended, and had handed down enfeebled powers of body and mind to their offspring. If there had not been the steady flow into the manufacturing towns of fresh, wholesome blood from the country villages, a large proportion of the whole stock must inevitably have become altogether vitiated. How much of it actually did so it is hard to say.

We have seen the results, declared by a tribunal not unfriendly by any means to the employers, of the absence of any effective intervention by the Legislature in the textile industries up to 1833. Yet even in that sphere the steps taken by the reformed Parliament to repair the consequences of the apathy and neglect of its unreformed predecessors were

slow and halting. Althorp's Act, as it was called, was an unsatisfactory compromise between the demands of the Short-time Committee of the textile operatives, championed with not less sobriety and moderation than knightly devotion by Lord Ashley, and the strenuous protests of the mill-owners against what they denounced as the threatened ruin of their trade. Its provisions, so far as enforced, did no doubt reduce very appreciably the crushing burdens of toil laid upon children and young persons under eighteen years of age in the textile factories. But it was much evaded, with the connivance of magistrates of the employing class, and also, as it did not attempt to protect women, the amount of overwork to which they were subjected was much increased, with very deplorable results to their health and families. In 1844 Sir Robert Peel's Government felt compelled to deal with this grave abuse, and women's hours of labour were placed under the same restrictions as those of 'young persons,' after excited debates. Strenuous resistance, however, was offered by ministers to Lord Ashley's proposal to make the limit ten hours, and though an amendment to that effect was carried, it was subsequently rescinded under threats of resignation from Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham. Not till 1847 was the ten-hour (or rather, actually, ten-and-a-half hour) limit enacted for women and young persons in the textile industries, and not till 1850 was the legislation in that sense made really effective. Yet within a short period it was recognised on all hands, even by those who had most strongly opposed it, that this charter of redemption for the textile operatives had done no kind of harm to their employers, and there is a true and pretty story of one of them who took Lord Ashley's hands in both of his and congratulated him on his victory only a year or two after he had finally won it. For the last forty years of the century, we believe, no person of the slightest reputation would have ventured to challenge on economic grounds, any more than on those of humanity, the wisdom of the great industrial emancipation which it took the whole first half of the century to secure.

A great industrial emancipation, indeed, was the Ten Hour Law, when finally placed, with adequate provisions against evasion, on the Statute Book; but how partial and arbitrarily limited in its scope! To illustrate this, it is best to revert to a historic scene which occurred in the course of the debates on Lord Ashley's gallant and nearly successful attempt to turn the Government Bill of 1844 into a Ten

Hour Law. In strenuously resisting that attempt, Sir Robert Peel, who was hardly as keen an industrial reformer as his father, advised the House to contemplate the extent of the legislation on which they would have to embark if they were to undertake the regulation of *all* labour in respect to which females were employed for an excessive number of hours.

'In the plate and saucer manufacture,' he continued, quoting from a recent report, 'children worked in a temperature of from 100° to 130°, carrying pieces weighing 2 lbs., and each child carrying two at a time. The calculation is that the child would carry per day some thousands of pounds' weight. In manufactures other than cotton work might be continued thirteen, fifteen, even seventeen or eighteen hours consecutively. Read,' urged the Premier, 'the account of the earthenware, read the account of the lace manufacture, which are not to be touched by this Bill; read the account of the hosiery trade; but, above all, read the account of the dressmakers and milliners employed in this very town, and then answer me this question: Is it right to subject to these new and peculiarly severe restrictions the labour in factories, and to leave untouched all those other departments of labour in which female children are employed?'

'If,' proceeded Sir Robert Peel, as moving towards a *reductio ad absurdum*, 'you are prepared to legislate for all 'these people ——,' whereon he was interrupted by loud cheers from both sides of the House. '*Are* you prepared to 'legislate for them?' Sir Robert Peel asked, in surprise, and the cheers were renewed.

But Sir Robert knew his fellow-members better than they knew themselves. The successive dates at which the regulation of the non-textile industries was taken up afford mournful suggestions of hopes deferred among the workpeople in those branches of manufacture who had heard of the spontaneous expression of desire to help them on the part of the House of Commons of 1844. The calico print works, indeed, were dealt with, at least partially, in the following year, but their case had the prevailing championship of Lord Ashley. All his time, however, and more than all his strength, were occupied, in and out of Parliament, during the next few years in securing the final triumph of the ten hours' movement for the textile industries,—by which, be it remembered, the toil of more than 350,000 workpeople was directly prevented from being prolonged to exhausting excess,—together with the reform of the lunacy laws, the reform, or almost the introduction, of sanitary administration, in face of the cholera visitation, and other important

social questions. In 1851 his father's death removed him to the House of Lords, where he had always recognised that his power as a social reformer would be at least relatively paralysed. His influence, of course, continued to be earnestly exercised in the cause of factory reform, but without him in the House of Commons the forces of progress seem to have been sadly shorn alike of inspiration and of leadership. It was not till 1860 that bleach and dye works, not till 1861 that lace works, were dealt with by Parliament; and only in 1864 was an Act passed for the regulation of the manufactures of earthenware, lucifer matches, percussion cap and cartridge making, paper staining, and fustian cutting. And only in 1867 was factory legislation at last introduced and carried through of an at all approximately general character, based on the principle that, at any rate in the case of all women, young persons, and children industrially occupied, there was an original presumption in favour of legislative protection, which did not need to be established by evidence of exceptional hardship or oppression and injury.

Slow moving, indeed, for the most part were the mind and conscience of the nation and its Legislature, unless when informed and stirred by the devoted eloquence of that admirable man who had dedicated his life to the uplifting of the lot of the humble and defenceless. The longer the contemplation which they give to the life-work of Lord Shaftesbury the readier will most Englishmen become to concur in what we believe was the deliberate opinion of so acute and dispassionate a judge of men as the late Lord Houghton, that that life was the greatest lived in England in the nineteenth century. There were many others who preceded or co-operated with Lord Shaftesbury in the work of social and industrial reform, to the value of whose labours he was always eager to pay the most generous tributes. But in none, surely, either of his predecessors or his contemporaries, or of those who followed him, was there to be found that combination of personal distinction, kindling earnestness for the righting of wrongs, grasp of detail, and power of luminous and moving exposition, with sound practical judgement and wisdom in counsel, which marked Lord Shaftesbury himself. If his country had been happy enough during his lifetime to possess in various social grades half a dozen men such as he, it would scarcely have stood on record that fully two-thirds of the century in which England's industrial supremacy swept to its climax was allowed to pass [illegible] an attempt was made to regulate on sound

general principles the recognised and inevitable workings of unchecked individualism in the industrial field. Recognised and inevitable workings, we say, for what conceivable reason could exist for supposing that the economic conditions attending the great and varied group of non-textile industries, still less the human nature of employers and employed therein, would differ materially from those which, without regulation, had led to such disastrous results in the textile mills? Like causes produced, as always and everywhere, like effects.

And so it was that when Mr. Walpole, as Home Secretary, brought forward the Government Bill of 1867 for the inclusion within the scope of factory legislation of a large number of trades only partially, as was the case with the lace and hosiery manufacture, or not at all, as in that of clothing, under previous regulations, he had to state his conviction that the evils incident to the employment of women and children in them were, if anything, greater than those which had been found to exist in trades already under inspection. It is hardly, in fact, any exaggeration to say with regard to the whole range of industries in which women and children are employed that the postponement, in the case of so many of them, until nearly or quite the end of the second third of the century, of their regulation by law, involved the physical and moral sacrifice of another generation of the workpeople engaged in them. Beyond all question the total effect of that postponement must have involved a substantial deterioration in the average type of the industrial worker, with whom in the last third of the century we have had to face the advancing industrial competition of foreign nations.

Even so, the record of our culpable tardiness as a nation in attention to the things belonging to the happiness and efficiency of our working people is very far from being complete. It took us more than sixty years from the first beginnings of our factory legislation to discover that all factories and workshops needed to be under law—that whatever their raw materials and whatever the processes employed for dealing with them, the safety and health of the workpeople required that machinery should be fenced, that the sanitary condition of the buildings should be regulated, and that the hours worked therein by women, young persons and children should be placed under clear restrictions. But it was not less necessary that wherever the materials used, or the processes dealing with them, or the necessary circum-

stances of the work, were in themselves definitely dangerous to health or life, the industries concerned should be subjected to special regulations applicable to and calculated to mitigate or remedy their peculiar drawbacks.

With the exception of one particularly dangerous industry, that of coal-mining, the obligation to which we have just referred was entirely ignored by Parliament down to the sixth, and to a very large extent down to the last decade of the century. It is doubtful if coal-mining would have been dealt with, as it was, comparatively early had not the subject of that industry been brought into a peculiarly vivid and ghastly light by the Commission obtained by Lord Ashley in 1840. The speech in which in 1842 he laid before the House of Commons the results of that inquiry was one of the most completely successful in its immediate results that was ever made in Parliament. Its exposure of the repulsive abuses practised in the hidden depths of the coalpits was so terrible that to the first reform which he asked for—the prohibition of the employment of women and girls underground—there could be no effective opposition in the Legislature of a country claiming to rank as civilised and Christian. The prohibition was enacted in the same session.

Yet it was not until thirteen years later that the coal-mining industry, on which public attention had been thus painfully concentrated, which lay at the very foundation of England's industrial prosperity, and which in every twelvemonth that passed gave terrible evidence of its abounding peril to life and limb, was made the subject of legislation directed towards the general safety of those employed. And even that legislation, providing for such elementary requirements as adequate ventilation, to dilute and render harmless noxious gases, the fencing of disused shafts, proper means of signalling, and so forth, as well as for special rules for individual collieries, to be arranged between the Home Secretary and the colliery owners (if necessary after arbitration), was only enacted at first temporarily for five years, by way of seeing whether the coal-mining industry was able to bear it. Such were the first endeavours on the part of the British Parliament to cast its protection over those engaged in a definitely dangerous occupation. Generation after generation had grown up, toiled, and died, in or about the pits, amid conditions absolutely destructive to decency, self-respect, and health, as well as fraught with imminent dangers to life—their

wretchedness, their degradation, and their perils utterly unregarded. And the workpeople of yet another generation were to grow up, toil, and die, in other trades, their health being constantly undermined by the use of more or less poisonous materials and their lives often prematurely cut short, before Parliament was roused to a sense of their claims for protection.

In the course of the next five and twenty years the protective provisions of the Mines Acts, stimulated from time to time by the results of inquiries held into disastrous explosions, were very considerably developed, and by 1872 the very important requirement had been enacted that every mine should be under the constant supervision of a manager holding a certificate of competency from the Home Secretary as the result of examination, which certificate could be suspended or withdrawn in case of practical evidence of unfitness. At the same time the workers in metalliferous mines received a measure of protection for their health and safety from accident—hitherto almost entirely neglected—similar in scope to the latest Coal Mines Act. With these exceptions, however, the special treatment of specially dangerous trades, which was absolutely required in the interests of the health and safety of multitudes of workers, was very largely neglected by Parliament until a much later period.

The valuable historical sketch contributed by Miss Anderson, H.M. Principal Lady Inspector of Factories, to the important volume on Dangerous Trades, edited by Dr. Oliver, of the Home Office, illustrates very clearly the point we are making. We have no wish whatever to represent the case as worse than it actually was. It is quite true that, as Miss Anderson points out, the Factory Acts of 1864 and 1867 prohibited the taking of meals in certain workrooms where dangerous processes were being carried on—e.g. lucifer-match making, earthenware dipping, china scouring, and glass making—made provision for ventilation with a view to the removal of gases, dust, or other impurities generated in the course of manufacture, and spoke of 'a fan, 'or other mechanical means, approved from time to time 'by the Secretary of State,' to be used for that purpose. Employment of young workers was also prohibited in certain dangerous processes, and power was taken by the Factory Act of 1878 to extend such prohibition. 'Nothing was 'done, however,' says Miss Anderson, 'at the time of this 'great measure—which was primarily for better administra-

'tion of existing provisions, and was accompanied . . . by a 'thorough reorganisation and extension of the inspectorate— 'towards securing more detailed regulation of methods and 'conditions of working in dangerous trades, in spite of a 'recommendation to that effect from Mr. Redgrave.' A fleeting attempt to introduce the 'special rules' system from the Mines Act, on the employers' initiative, but without the arbitration clause, was made in 1864; but it was not well conceived, did not work well, and was not renewed in the Consolidating Act of 1878.

Not till the Factory and Workshop Act of 1883, in those of its provisions—which, doubtless, were very vigorously conceived—dealing with white lead, do we find 'the first 'distinct attempt to regulate a dangerous manufacturing 'industry.' And it was only in the Act of 1891 that general power was taken for the Home Secretary to issue, in the case of any non-domestic industry, an order certifying any of its processes as 'dangerous,' and, having done so, to frame special rules for the manufacturing establishments concerned, but subject to a provision for arbitration if employers should think themselves aggrieved. Under the important powers given in this measure a considerable number of 'special rules' have been formulated and adopted in certain dangerous trades. Dr. Oliver's volume, written throughout by experts, affords the opportunity, which is full of interest and value, of studying the special rules which have thus come into statutory force, the circumstances to which they relate, and their probable or actual results. In more than one important case, as it is happily possible to record, those results have been of a highly satisfactory character, and in none more clearly so than in that of the hitherto deadly white lead industry. On this and kindred subjects Dr. Oliver himself writes with the knowledge derived from long and close study and first-hand observation. He was a member of the Departmental Committee whose recommendations in regard to white lead were largely, if not altogether, adopted and enforced by the Home Office in 1898, under the powers derived from the Act of 1891, supplementing, in the case of this particular trade, those conferred by the Act of 1883. One of the leading features of those recommendations was that women should be entirely excluded from the dangerous processes, such as the stripping of the 'white 'beds' and the emptying of the 'Dutch stoves,' in which they had often previously been engaged, with specially [illegible]quent, rapid, and lamentable results to their health, and

often to their lives, as well as to their powers of becoming mothers of families. For the rest, the general tendency of the special rules enforced in the white lead industry appears to have been to level up the badly managed or ill-constructed factories somewhere near to the standard attained by the well-ordered and well-constructed ones.

'As illustrating the preventableness of industrial white 'lead poisoning, it is worth mentioning,' writes Dr. Oliver, 'that in one of the largest and best conducted factories in the 'Newcastle district there has only been one fatal case of 'lead poisoning within the last twenty years, and since the 'enforcement by the Home Office of the recommendations of the White Lead Committee,' a factory that in the two years and a half from October 1890 to March 1893 sent fifty-two cases of lead-poisoning to the Newcastle Infirmary 'at present 'scarcely sends one patient per annum. Lead-poisoned 'females are now practically never met with in Newcastle, 'and male patients are becoming every year rarer.' These are great results, and they reflect the greater credit both on the Home Office and its expert committees and inspectors, on the one hand, and on the spirit in which the new special rules have been observed by the firms concerned, on the other hand, in that the class of labour employed at the white lead works is difficult to deal with. To a large extent it is variable, and even casual—a fact which makes the enforcement of regulations with regard to personal cleanliness and the wearing of respirators and other protective coverings much more troublesome and uncertain than when the workpeople engaged are rooted to the neighbourhood and regular in their attendance at the works. The employers, or many of them, strongly objected in the first instance to the enforcement of several of the points contained in the special rules; but Dr. Oliver believes that they now admit not only that there is less sickness among their employés, but that the work under the new system is better done.

An equally important advance appears to have been made in the protection of workpeople from the same poison, but in a very different industry—that of the potteries—through the operation of special rules prescribed by the Home Office, under the Act of 1891. Those rules, which came into operation in 1898, superseding a set dating from 1894, constitute an elaborate code, minutely prescribing the duties both of employers and of employed in relation to the dangerous processes connected with the manufacture of earthenware and china. The chief, though not the only, danger

arises from the presence of lead in the glaze, and the detachment of particles of lead-laden dust, which are inhaled or swallowed or otherwise absorbed by the workers, and subsequently dissolved into the human system by one or other of the acids it contains. The rules require that at each of the various stages in this elaborate and very interesting manufacture at which the liability just indicated occurs provision shall be made for the removal, as far as possible, of the poisonous dust, by exhaust fans or other satisfactory means of ventilation, from the air of the rooms, and the protection of the persons of the workpeople by overalls and headcoverings, and by liberal washing appliances, from the entry into their systems at any channel of such of the dust as fails to be drawn off. Further—and this is most important—in the case of all women and young persons employed in any of the dangerous processes, a monthly examination by the certifying surgeon of the district is insisted on, and he is empowered to suspend indefinitely the employment of any of the workers in whom he finds any symptoms of lead poisoning.

Hardly had these special rules come into force when the then Home Secretary (Sir Matthew White, now Lord, Ridley), who was deeply possessed by a sense of the claim of the workpeople in the Potteries to all possible protection against the risks of their industry compatibly with its continued successful prosecution, invited Professor Thorpe, with Dr. Oliver, to conduct an inquiry directed to ascertain how far the chief danger might be diminished or actually removed by substituting for the carbonate of lead ordinarily used for the 'dipping' of earthenware and china 'either (*a*) one or other less soluble compound of lead—e.g. a silicate—or (*b*) leadless glaze.' The result of this inquiry was a set of recommendations of a much more drastic character than those embodied in the rules just referred to. The two eminent experts employed by the Home Office in this matter expressed the opinion that with regard to the great mass of the output of the Potteries, and particularly the cheaper white and cream-coloured ware, there was no reason at all why leadless glaze should not be employed. In the case of other branches of the potting industry, and particularly of more costly kinds of earthenware and china, they admitted that there would be greater difficulty in dispensing with lead compounds. They maintained, however, that a glaze so compounded as to yield a very small proportion—only two per cent.—of

soluble lead under the influence of the acids of the human system could be made to meet all the requirements of the manufacturers. On recommendations based on these views battle was joined, a large number of the most important employers maintaining that the very existence of their trade would be imperilled if any such rules were enforced; and the matter was carried, under the provisions of the Dangerous Trades clauses of the Act of 1891, to an arbitration, in which, in October 1901, Lord James of Hereford acted as umpire.

To go into any detail as to the evidence given on that very interesting occasion would be impossible in such a general survey of the scope and operation of the Factory Acts as that on which we are here engaged. It is, however, we think, fair to say that the general result of the hearing was to produce considerable doubt as to the possibility of carrying on the potting industry, at any rate in its higher branches, under regulations so severe in regard to the employment of lead as those recommended by the Home Office experts. On the other hand, the course taken by Lord James in adjourning the arbitration for eighteen months, on the main points at issue, while promoting and giving his seal to an agreement between the Home Office and the employers as to certain detailed sanitary improvements in practice, could hardly have been taken without a grave wound to the public conscience, had there not been evidence that the special rules of 1898 had brought about a marked decline of the evils of the industry. Of this there could be no doubt. Statistics from different sources showed somewhat varied results, but the returns presented to Parliamentary papers will serve. According to them, the cases of lead poisoning in the Potteries, which had been 446 in 1897 and 457 in 1898—the year when the special rules were put in force—sank to 249 in 1899 and 200 in 1900; and in 1901 the figure fell further to 106. Such results as these plainly demonstrate that if—a point on which we do not undertake to offer any opinion—the continued use of lead is necessary to the prosperity of the English potting industry, the action taken under the Factories Act of 1891 is going far to reduce the evil influence of that element to a minimum.

This is a fresh and satisfactory proof of what can be done, and done quickly, for the amelioration of the condition of sections of the industrial population as to whose need for parliamentary or governmental intervention the

public conscience has been aroused, or who possess any special means of bringing pressure to bear upon politicians of influence. Another example of the same truth is supplied by the case, very clearly recounted in the chapter in the 'Dangerous Trades' volume by Dr. James Wheatley, Medical Officer of Health for Blackburn, on the Manufacture of Cotton, of the recent regulation of cotton cloth factories in which an artificially humid atmosphere is created. This practice, curiously enough, in its present measure, appears to date from, or to be originally traceable to, the American Civil War. The scarcity of cotton caused in Lancashire by that struggle led the manufacturers to add 'size' to their yarn in weaving, to an extent far beyond what had ever been previously thought of, in order to make it go as far as possible. Once adopted, however, under the stress of a special emergency, this method of enhancing the apparent capacity of any given amount of cotton-yarn was found to be so profitable that its vogue continued and even increased. It entailed from the first the employment of artificial means for enhancing the dampness so common in Lancashire air, with a view to making the thickened yarn work satisfactorily in the looms, and the result was to produce a condition of moisture in the weaving sheds which, however useful in aiding the production of delusively weighted cheap cotton fabrics for the Asiatic markets, was felt to be insalubrious as well as uncomfortable by the Blackburn and other operatives employed in that manufacture.

In this case, not indeed quite falling within the category of 'dangerous' industries, but still well deserving of legislative notice, a good deal of agitation, supported by inspectors' reports, had to be prosecuted through many years before any remedy was applied by Parliament. Not till 1889 was it recognised that here was a case in which it was quite right that there should be once more a special law for a certain class of textile workers. By the Cotton Cloth Factories Act of that year very considerable improvements were effected, but they did not satisfy the weavers, who pressed for the entire prohibition of steaming. Thereon a very competent expert committee was appointed by the Home Secretary, and on their report he based, in 1898, a statutory Order making regulations for the protection of health in cotton cloth factories. Under this Order security is taken against the introduction, as had frequently happened, of steam generated from polluted water, against the excessive heating of the air, and, further, for the main-

tenance of a recognised standard of purity in the air of weaving sheds—the new regulation requiring that 'the 'carbonic acid gas contained in 10,000 volumes of air should 'not exceed nine volumes.' Dr. Wheatley observes, with justice, that 'it is difficult to over-estimate the importance 'of this step. It applies a scientific test to the ventilation 'of the factory, and at the same time it allows the utmost 'freedom to the manufacturer in selecting means to attain 'that end. . . . The difficulties in the way of carrying out' the requirements of the Order 'seem to be gradually being 'surmounted, and already a standard much higher than the 'legal one has been attained in many factories. . . . The 'stimulus given by these [Cotton Cloth Factory] Acts to 'ventilating engineers has already brought about great 'advances. One extremely ingenious apparatus will deliver 'enormous quantities of fresh air (250,000 cubic feet per 'hour), warmed and moistened as required, into a room at 'one single point, and diffuse it over an area of 8,000 square 'feet without causing a draught.' Ordinary church-goers and theatre-goers may well gasp with envy at this picture of the atmospheric privileges enjoyed by many workers in cotton cloth mills. Without pointing any such invidious contrast, Dr. Wheatley maintains that, 'compared with 'the workrooms of most other trades, cotton-weaving sheds 'must be considered to be well ventilated, and when the 'regulations have been thoroughly enforced these sheds will 'have few equals among workrooms, judged by the amount 'of respiratory impurity.' It is true that when the gas is lighted it is found impossible to maintain the required standard of atmospheric purity by any of the systems of ventilation yet devised; but Dr. Wheatley anticipates, and no doubt rightly, that this difficulty will disappear with the general adoption of electric lighting.

Enough has perhaps been said to illustrate the main general lines of progress which have been followed in our factory laws and their administration during the past hundred years. The sadly slow rate and the curiously fitful and partial character of that progress, and the deplorable—indeed, the appalling—waste of health and life and deteriorations of human type due thereto, have been exhibited. And, on the other hand, we have witnessed very satisfactory and cheering evidences of legislative and administrative capacity in the field of industrial reform, increasingly aided by the systematic, scientific observation and research now at the disposal of legislators and ministers. In all this it is

very certain there must be many lessons of warning and guidance for us who live and exercise civic responsibility, in any form, in the United Kingdom of to-day. To be thankful for what has been achieved, even after delays, however tragic, is one of those duties; but to rest even for a moment, as if a goal had been attained, is unquestionably not so. If our fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers repeatedly, while dealing with the hardships and injuries suffered by one class or another of practically defenceless toilers, ignored as if they had no existence the sufferings and hardships not less cruel and demoralising endured by other classes of workers, and even let one generation after another pass to its grave with acknowledged grievances unredressed, we their descendants must take very good care to secure that like responsibilities do not lie at our own door.

We may perhaps indulge the hope that there are not many large classes of toilers at the present time over whom the Factory and Workshops Acts—consolidated with amendments and extensions as they were into one statute in 1901—cast no sort of protection. Yet even such a hope can only be cherished with much diffidence and with very serious qualifications. For indeed there still are classes of workpeople of no inconsiderable numbers who are altogether excluded from any legislative protection, while there are others to whom such protection is afforded in a partial, hesitating, and ineffective fashion. Among the first—the classes, that is to say, absolutely neglected—are the women and young persons engaged in the preparation of food for sale for immediate consumption. The workers in the very numerous restaurant and refreshment-house kitchens, both in London and in provincial towns, have never been brought adequately under review. In one great town an inquiry which was held a few years ago revealed a lamentable prevalence both of insanitary conditions and of overwork among those engaged in this occupation. The squalor of their surroundings was in many cases such that a walk through the kitchens would have been more than sufficient to deter customers from ever visiting those restaurants again. Combined with that squalor, the heats amid which the work had to be done were calculated to exercise a very unfavourable influence upon the physical developement and the general condition of the juvenile workers, and the hours worked were excessive.

The inquiry, which was conducted as fairly as possible by

the selection of what might reasonably be regarded as typical refreshment shops of different classes, showed a proportion of fully two-thirds of the kitchens visited as being in a condition urgently demanding regulation in just those respects in which the great mass of non-textile industries are happily now regulated. Nothing could be done, however, with them under the wording of the then existing Acts, and no attempt was made to bring them within the scope of the consolidating and extending Act of 1901. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the restaurant industry in the city in which the partial inquiry was made was carried on under more unfavourable conditions than in other provincial towns, and it appears only too certain that in the case of London excessive rents must operate to aggravate whatever evils of crowding and want of ventilation exist in other centres of population. There is no conceivable reason, so far as we are able to discern, why those who prepare other food than bread should not enjoy the same kind of sanitary protection as is afforded under a code of some elaboration to those who work in bakehouses. We do not deny that in regard to hours of employment there might be difficulties in insisting upon the same kind of restrictions as in bakehouses, but there is really no sufficient reason why in this matter any one class of the population should be sacrificed to any other, and there are very powerful reasons why no such sacrifice should be allowed. There are certainly many hundreds, probably many thousands, of women and young persons of both sexes overworked, amid noisome and unhealthy conditions, in connexion with the preparation of food to be eaten 'on the 'premises.' It is absolutely inevitable, if the existing state of things is allowed to continue, not only that the lives of these women and young persons will be individually wretched while they last, and miserably curtailed, but that they will make as a class a substantial contribution towards lowering the efficiency of the national type; and that is precisely what this country can no longer contemplate with the slightest equanimity.

Another case, for the omission of which from the full sweep of legislative protection we can see no sufficient reason, is that of telephone workers. Telephone exchanges, as the law now is, are neither factories nor workshops; they do not, that is to say, come within the definition of a place where any 'articles are made, altered, repaired, ornamented, 'finished, or adapted for sale, by means of manual labour 'exercised for gain,' and therefore no factory inspector can

interfere in the interests of the women and young persons employed in them. It is possible that, so far as sanitary conditions are concerned, local authorities have power to interfere where necessity requires; but local authorities, as is noticed later on, can by no means always be relied on in these matters, even when stimulated by factory inspectors. It seems also reasonable that telephone workers should enjoy the same security as factory operatives for means of escape from fire, and similar, if not identical, protection against excessive hours. We do not say that the number of the persons involved in the case of the telephones is very large. But it is much too large to be neglected, and the competition of municipal telephones will tend, in the absence of regulation, to increase the liability to suffer from injurious conditions among persons employed by private owners of telephone systems.

Again, it is not only true that certain industries, new and old, are, without any apparent justification, excluded from the protection of the Factory Acts, but those Acts are also unquestionably incomplete in respect of the dangers against which they grant protection. Conspicuously this is so in the case of the carrying of heavy weights. Hardly any practice is more certainly injurious, or, often, more directly deforming to the growing human frame. Attention was prominently called to the piteous evils resulting from it in early reports on factory abuses. And yet the subject has never been clearly or directly dealt with through the whole long series of factory legislation. Consequently, under this head, abuses of the most lamentable kind still prevail in several industries. Some shocking cases are quoted in the report of the Principal Lady Inspector of Factories for 1901. One of her staff—Miss Squire—records that she found 'a particularly small and slight girl, aged fourteen, 'carrying, evidently with difficulty,' a load of 107 lbs. of sharp-edged plates in a tinplate works; and apparently 100 lbs. is a not uncommon burden to be carried by these poor young creatures. They tell the Lady Inspector of pains in their sides, and swellings and bruises caused by their having such work to do. In nail and rivet works at Birmingham the same Lady Inspector has found 'little 'girls from thirteen to fifteen years of age acting as 'carriers for the machine men, who employ them nominally 'as "sorters," and fetching long strips of iron in 'bundles weighing half a hundredweight from a distant 'shop, carrying them across a large yard, and up two

'flights of stone stairs.' Scandals of the same or of similar kinds occur in other industries, but the Inspectors are without power, under the law as it now stands, to do more than address representations on the subject to the humane feelings of the employers. That course may sometimes be attended by good results, but there is no kind of certainty that it will be so. The matter is clearly one which ought to be dealt with either directly and in terms by factory legislation or by the application by the Home Secretary, in all industries where the evil is liable to occur, of powers to be entrusted to him for that purpose. As it happens, the late Home Secretary did very properly include a much-needed prohibition of the carrying of weights likely to cause injury to them by female young persons in an Order issued by him in June last, under the Act of 1901, for the regulation of the fruit-preserving industry. But he appears to have been only able to do so in virtue of authority given to him by that measure to attach such conditions as he thought reasonable to the exemption from regulation, still conceded by Parliament, in regard to hours of work, meal-times, and holidays, in the jam trade, during the period when perishable fruit is pouring in in the largest quantities. It is more than doubtful whether the amount of extra liberty allowed under the Home Secretary's Order in regard to the hours of work of young persons is not much beyond what the economic necessities of the case, or a reasonable regard for the health of the workers, can be held to justify. In our strong opinion, no young persons ought under any circumstances to be allowed to work fifteen hours a day. But, in any case, it is certain that if the young jam-hands, during the 'emergency' period, deserve protection against the carrying of excessive weights, so also do the girls in the tin-plate, nail and rivet, and other industries, where they are shown to be worked in a manner which, if they were not human beings, would entail prosecution under the Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

In France, where this matter is dealt with by administrative regulations framed in pursuance of a law passed ten years ago, a scale is in force under which girls below sixteen years of age are prohibited from carrying at all a load exceeding 11 lbs.—that is to say, *one-ninth* of the load recorded above as carried by girls of fourteen in British tin-plate works, and one-fifth of that which, in British nail and rivet works, such girls may be found carrying up two flights of stairs. The contrast is chastening to the pride which

Britons are apt to take in the pioneering work done by their country in the sphere of industrial reform. In this connection, a word of cordial welcome and support is due to the Address presented to the Colonial Premiers, when they were in England for the Coronation, from the Society of Comparative Legislation, calling attention to the useful work already done by that body, and to the desirableness of giving it further developements. Among the developements suggested as possible if the Society received more widely extended co-operation, and a very moderate amount of sympathy in the form of cash, is that of answering inquiries, conducting investigations, or obtaining reports from competent authorities, as to foreign legislation upon questions which occupy the attention of the Imperial Parliament, or of colonial legislatures. Another is the aiding of the formation of a central library containing complete sets of the statutes and ordinances of all legislative bodies within the Empire. Without doubt, helps of the kinds thus indicated towards the comparative study of attempts at the legislative treatment of social and industrial problems in various countries, British and foreign, would be of essential service to persons interested in the developement of such legislation on sound and hopeful lines. To that end the spread of a knowledge among us of the work and publications of l'Association Internationale pour la Protection Légale des Travailleurs is much to be desired. In Great Britain, strangely enough, alone amongst industrial countries, there is no branch of that organization. No friend of industrial reform can fail to wish that there should be established for the United Kingdom, or for the Empire, some kind of body in correspondence, if not in closer union, with l'Association Internationale, whose office, it may be mentioned, is at Rebgasse 1, Clarahof, Bâle, under the direction of Professor Etienne Bauer, of the Bâle University.

Another important illustration of the grave incompleteness of our factory code is supplied by the case of laundries. That trade, as has been made abundantly clear by the interesting reports of H.M. Inspectors, Miss Deane and Miss Paterson, quoted in the Factory Blue-books for 1900 and 1901, is in rapid process of transformation, especially in West London, from a domestic to a factory industry, under conditions which call for specially close supervision in the interest of the health and safety of the workers. Very many of the houses in which gas or steam engines, and washing machinery run thereby, have been, and are being,

installed are altogether unsuitable for such purposes. Their cramped construction renders it, as Miss Paterson points out, almost impossible to secure anything like the lighting, ventilation, and means of removing steam which are so urgently required in steam laundries, and the dangers of injury both to the actual workers and the children of the households which are thus converted into small factories are very serious indeed. Without doubt, this quickly developing industry ought to be subjected to particularly vigilant regulation. And, as a matter of fact, an association, representing a large number of laundry proprietors, did acquiesce in the necessity for the introduction of provisions for an enhanced degree of effective supervision into the Bill of 1901. But, unhappily, owing to the weak surrender of the late Home Secretary to the claims mainly of the friends of Irish Roman Catholic 'institution laundries' for exemption from all inspection, and also, it must be added, to the unwillingness of the Cabinet to insist upon a prolongation of the session, by which the error might have been repaired, the most ignominious and injurious solution possible was accepted. The institution laundries were left altogether undealt with; so, most unfortunately, were the small laundries employing not more than two persons from outside, which the Bill had proposed to bring under an urgently required supervision; and the other commercial laundries, in order that their proprietors might not be able to say that they had been treated unfairly, were left in the position created by the Act of 1895, which, by the clear acknowledgement of Mr. Ritchie, afforded inadequate protection to the workers. In the first part of the session of 1902 Lord Lytton introduced, and with the assent of the Government carried through the House of Lords, by March 20, a measure designed to make good the results of the deplorable surrender of 1901; but no facilities were obtainable for its discussion in the Commons, although Parliament sat for most of the remainder of the year.

Those who have read the foregoing pages will recognise that the new Home Secretary has very important opportunities of signalising his term of office by the extension, both legislatively and administratively, of the scope of the protection afforded by the State against the risks of industrial occupations. The cases at present, altogether or partially, omitted from such protection, to which reference has been made, while important in themselves, have not been put forward as affording more than illustrations of the lines on

which further progress is demanded. Such progress, we must add, is by no means likely to be generally or rapidly secured unless public opinion manifests itself as alive to the necessity for reforms. Towards the education of public opinion on these and cognate subjects, alike in matters of principle and of detail, valuable service will be rendered by a study of the books and papers whose titles stand at the head of this article. While not prepared to follow Mrs. Sidney Webb to all the conclusions of her acute and powerful chapter on the 'Economics of Factory Legisla-'tion,' we cordially agree with a great deal of the substance of her argument, and think it important that its cogency should be generally recognised. The more fully the history which we have passed in brief review is examined, the more general and profound will be the conviction that without State intervention no juvenile workers, and no adult workers who are weakly, or not at all, organised, can have any chance of securing reasonably safe, wholesome and comfortable conditions of employment. Not only so, but it is certain that the profits which are enjoyed by unscrupulous employers, at the expense of the health and well-being of their employés, do practically constitute them parasites on the national life, in that their prosperity, if they are prosperous, is a symptom not of the good case of the commonwealth, but the reverse.

Mrs. Webb and her husband, as all readers of their masterly work on 'Industrial Democracy' are aware, are at pains to establish the claim that the intervention of the State should be carried to the point of prescribing in all industries the minimum rates of wage for which they shall be permitted to be carried on. Only so, as they maintain—and the argument of their large book, on this subject, is powerfully condensed into Mrs. Webb's chapter in the little book under notice—are the terrible evils of sweating to be effectually checked. Mr. and Mrs. Webb have found in the British colonies an increasing number to agree with them. In the 'National Review' for August, 1902, Mr. Wise, the Attorney-General for New South Wales, sets forth the effect of the provisions of the Compulsory Wages Arbitration Act, which came into force in that colony at the beginning of the present year, and indicates the extent to which the writings of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb have inspired the line of thought and aspiration which is embodied in that measure. Mr. Wise claims that if the fixing of wages by Courts succeeds in New South Wales it should succeed everywhere.

The experiment certainly deserves to be watched with the greatest attention. But the degree of hope with which it will be watched would have been appreciably greater on our own part if we could see any indication that Mr. Wise, or Mrs. Webb, or Mrs. W. P. Reeves, who writes on Colonial Developements in Factory Legislation in 'The Case for the 'Factory Acts,' had paid any serious attention to the important report made last year by Judge Backhouse, of New South Wales, to the Legislature of that colony on the working of compulsory arbitration in trade disputes in Victoria. According to Judge Backhouse, who did not appear to be prejudiced, and reported, on the whole, favourably of the working of the cognate legislation in New Zealand, in Victoria there had ensued precisely those classes of evils which have always been predicted here as likely to result from endeavours to exercise State intervention in regard to wages. On the one hand, there was extensive evasion of the law by consent between employers and those of their employés who were conscious that their labour was not, in fact, economically worth, at that time and place, the price put upon it by the award of the Court; and, on the other hand, there was the actual loss of employment, with resultant poverty and misery, in the case of other slow and inefficient workers, whom their employers did not care, or were not able, to induce to join them in defeating the law. These facts, of course, relate to only some of the considerations which ought to be taken into account in debating the case for and against legislation for the control of private contract in the labour market. But they are very important and relevant considerations, and will have to be very seriously dealt with before any impression is made upon the rooted distaste with which even the bulk of the organised working classes in this country, as the recent vote of the Trade Union Congress shows, contemplate the idea of any such interference with their ancient liberties.

The strong doubt, however, which we entertain as to the desirableness or the possibility of the conversion of public opinion here to the position to which Mr. and Mrs. Webb and some of our colonial guides would lead us, only serves to intensify our hope that there may be developed a much wider and deeper sense of civic responsibility among us in regard both to the extension and the administration of our present factory laws. Extension, as we have tried to show, is much needed in many directions, but if it were possible to bring about an approach to the universally effective adminis-

tion of the existing code, it is impossible to exaggerate benefit which would be thereby conferred on the popula- n as a whole or the increase which would be secured in efficiency of the next generation. To that end, without ubt, there ought to be a considerable numerical reinforce- nt of the inspectorate, especially of its lady members. It otally impossible for the existing force, the high devotion l intelligence of whose work must have impressed all who e given any study to industrial questions, to overtake vast sphere of duty assigned to them. Visits to factories l workshops where the law is being evaded or defied in pect of sanitary conditions, or hours of labour, or excessive s, lose half their reformatory or deterrent value unless re is a reasonable security that they will be speedily eated, and the first warning followed up, if neglected, by secution. No such assurance can possibly exist with the sent number of Lady Inspectors. This is, of course, simply Treasury question. Some modest liberality is urgently led for in regard to the scale of the female side of a staff ose whole *raison d'être* is the giving of effect to laws passed ncipally, though of course not exclusively, for the pro- tion of female workers. Such liberality would be many es repaid in the added economies of health, and of morals , which it would promote among the women of working- ss homes.

But it is of vast moment that public interest in these tters, if it can only be effectively roused, should not be isfied by any mere addition to the number of Govern- nt officials engaged in enforcing the law. A glance at any tory blue-book, and at the current one in particular, will eal the sense of H.M. Inspectors that except in large lustrial centres, where the city or town councils pretty nerally contain persons of public spirit, the share of ponsibility in regard to the sanitary condition of work- ps which is assigned to the local authorities is very tially and inadequately realised. They reply civilly, as a e, to representations made to them by H.M. Inspectors, there is too often lamentable delay in their action, if, leed, any genuine action for the enforcement of the law is en at all. The Home Secretary, under the Act of 1901, power to interfere directly when there is grave neglect duty by local authorities, and we hope that Mr. Akers- uglas will not hesitate to use this discretion. But all wheels of administration would move infinitely more oothly, and the health of tens of thousands of operatives

would be speedily and greatly benefited, if only there could be developed a spirit of cordial co-operation on the part of the local authorities generally in the enforcement of the law. This is only one, but it is a very cogent, reason among many why persons of cultivation and leisure should throw themselves much more extensively than is at present the case into the work of local self-government, even in the smaller areas.

But there are other and very important ways in which the operation of existing laws for the protection of our industrial workers may be powerfully aided by the action of individual citizens. Chiefly these methods resolve themselves into efforts for the diffusion of knowledge as to the provisions of the law and measures of defence against the vengeance taken by detected employers against workpeople who have given evidence in regard to breaches of the law. In both these spheres of activity most valuable work is being done by the Industrial Law Committee, a body of influential ladies presided over by Mrs. H. J. Tennant, herself one of the chief experts on the subject. For some three or four years past this Committee has arranged for the delivery of lectures and addresses in many parts of the country by its own members, by Lady Inspectors and other highly capable women, to audiences either of working women or of those interested in their welfare. By these means, supplemented by the distribution of excellent pamphlets and leaflets, expressed in very clear and simple language, many hundreds, and probably thousands, among the classes for whose benefit the Factory Acts are designed must have been made aware both of the provisions of the laws enacted on their behalf and of the steps by which they could most effectually be put into operation where required by their own cases. There is the best reason to believe that already, in numerous cases, H.M. Inspectors have been placed on the track of abuses in the way of neglect of sanitary requirements, illegal overtime and cognate matters, which, but for the knowledge of the law spread by the Industrial Law Committee, might have remained for ever unredressed. But a very great deal more remains to be done in the same direction, and the Committee appeal for co-operation in their work from all religious and philanthropic persons who devote their time and strength to the elevation of the condition of their humble neighbours. It is difficult to overrate the benefits which would accrue to our working population if in this way there should gradually be formed throughout the country a network of individuals

alive to the nature of the protection afforded by the law and feeling it their business to aid the enforcement of its provisions.

But, very wisely, the Committee early recognised that the readiness which workpeople might often feel to promote the observance of the law, when they understood its beneficent provisions, was liable to be more or less completely paralysed by the fear of losing employment at the hands of masters whose wrong-doings their testimony might have served to expose. To meet this danger there was formed an Industrial Law Indemnity Fund to be administered by the Industrial Law Committee, but with the very solid additional guarantees against any policy of injudiciously sympathetic indulgence afforded by the presence of Lord Welby and Mr. Francis Buxton as trustees and Mr. Alfred Lyttelton as honorary legal adviser. This enterprise was most cordially welcomed by the Home Office, which issued a circular in July 1899 to H.M. Inspectors of Factories, drawing attention to the benefits of the Industrial Law Indemnity Fund, and at the time of the issue of the last published report of the Fund the great majority of the cases in which indemnities had been granted had been brought to the notice of the Committee by H.M. Inspectors.

The need for the protection afforded by the fund is unfortunately by no means diminishing, and is indeed likely to increase rather than decline until among all unscrupulous employers it becomes recognised that vengeance against the truthful witness in a factory case is a perfectly hopeless enterprise and may as well not be attempted. Towards that consummation such cases of beneficent protection as are on the recent records of the Indemnity Fund cannot fail to afford very sensible assistance. Thus, to take examples from different trades, we find C. D., a tea-room hand, and an expert packer in a confectioner's establishment, dismissed for having given evidence in a prosecution for excessive hours. C. D.'s testimony showed that she had been employed at a factory from 8 A.M. to 12 noon; then at a shop from 1 P.M. to 3 A.M. with intervals; slept in the workroom and was at work with intervals for rest and meals till the next afternoon but two. In this case, which, happily, resulted in the conviction and fining of the firm concerned, as well as some strong language from the Bench, an indemnity of 6*l.* 13*s.* was paid until a fresh situation was found. In a dressmaking establishment, P. Q., a sewer, was found at work at midnight, and on her evidence the employer was

convicted and fined. Whereon P. Q. was dismissed with a week's wages and the ruffianly remark—'If you prefer to 'work for the Factory Acts you can do so.' Not only so, but X.Y., the sister of P. Q., working in different premises which had not been visited, was sent for and dismissed by the manager, who gave the reason that her sister P. Q. had been witness against the firm. The Committee of the Indemnity Fund obtained work for P. Q. with an excellent firm in seventeen days, and her sister secured fresh employment after an even shorter interval. Both of them received an indemnity. It is very pleasant to read of oppressors being so completely discomfited, and there ought, we should think, to be a lively competition for the privilege of providing the Industrial Law Committee with the modest sums which they disburse with such very excellent effect.

Aid given whether pecuniarily or by personal effort to any branch of the work of the Industrial Law Committee will, indeed, be among the worthiest possible forms of retrospective celebration of the centenary of the feeble beginnings of our factory legislation. In such work persons of all classes, all parties and all creeds may be happy to combine. If we are not quite all Socialists now, as Sir William Harcourt once said, we are at least all alive to the magnitude of the blunders committed, with doubtless the best intentions, by the eminent Radicals who from time to time in the past century helped to delay the slow advance of factory legislation. We all see now that the bodily and mental health and vigour of the industrial classes form an asset of priceless value in the fierce and ever-intensifying economic struggle between Britain and her eager and powerful rivals. We know, or may obtain the knowledge, how to preserve and develope that asset, so far as it depends on industrial conditions. If as a nation we do not avail ourselves of the means thus ready to our hands, if we do not give our best help towards the extension and realisation of the best intentions of our Parliament for the preservation and enhancement of the economic efficiency of the people, we shall certainly not deserve to escape from the consequences which such apathy and self-indulgence must inevitably entail.

ART. VIII.—1. *Motors and Motor-Driving.* By ALFRED C. HARMSWORTH, and others. London: Longmans. 1902.

2. *Cantor Lectures on Mechanical Road Carriages.* By W. WORBY BEAUMONT, M.I.C.E. London: Society of Arts. 1896.

3. *Motor Vehicles and Motors.* By W. WORBY BEAUMONT, M.I.C.E. London: Constable. Second Edition Revised. 1902.

4. *The Motor-Car.* By Sir HENRY THOMPSON, Bart., F.R.C.S. London: Warne. 1902.

5. *Publications of the Roads Improvement Association.* London: 1901–2.

'HITCH your wagon to a star,' was Emerson's advice to his age. It has been accepted of late years in a sense which he never anticipated. The motor-cars which scour the roads of all civilised countries bear witness to that. One may say, without a serious straining of the metaphor, that they are all 'hitched to a star,' whether they be directly actuated by petrol or steam or electricity. Petroleum, like coal, is but a convenient accumulator in which Nature, the boon goddess, has stored up the energy once radiated by our Sun—a star, as the astronomers assure us, of no great magnitude. There is much in an apt choice of names, and when one realises that motor-cars are thus entitled to be called the children of the Sun, or the coursers of Apollo, they may appeal more kindly not only to the poet, but to those old-fashioned gentlemen and scholars on the Bench who are a trifle inclined to treat their drivers on all occasions as the modern representative of the still more rapid tourist who troubled Job and Mr. Toobad.

It is just over six years since the use of motor-cars on English roads was legalised by the Light Locomotives Act of 1896, which removed the oppressive restrictions imposed on all such vehicles by the ill-advised legislation of 1861 and 1865. In these six years the new industry has gone ahead till the development of the motor-car as a practical means of locomotion, or as the instrument of the fascinating sport which Mr. Harmsworth has so happily called 'land-yachting,' has given rise to an altogether novel problem, which is thrusting itself with imperious demand for notice on the attention of legislators, and of the public in general. Such excellent books as Mr. Beaumont's technical treatise on the mechanical aspects of the modern motor-car, or the veritable

encyclopædia of automobilism which Mr. Alfred Harmsworth has so ably edited for the Badminton Library, afford a convenient text for its consideration, and furnish the outsider with ample material, lucidly arranged and expounded, for forming a sensible judgment on a subject which comes home to all men's 'business and bosoms.' We propose to take a rapid glance at the history of mechanical transport on common roads, so far as it applies to the motor-car as distinguished from the traction-engine or the self-propelled lorry; to consider the different systems of propulsion now available for such carriages; and to discuss the legislative problem raised by their use on the roads of this country.

The notion of a self-moving carriage seems to have presented itself to the fertile human imagination at a very early period. Every one will recall the wondrous tripods with which Vulcan furnished his heavenly palace—

> Χρύσεα δέ σφ' ὑπὸ κύκλα ἑκάστῳ πυθμένι θῆκεν,
> Ὄφρα οἱ αὐτόματοι θεῖον δυσαίατ' ἀγῶνα,
> Ἠδ' αὖτις πρὸς δῶμα νεοίατο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.

Probably a learned anthropologist could furnish variants of the myth from Maori, Zulu and Ojibbeway folklore. It is hardly possible, however, to enlist the wheel of Ixion and

> 'The wondrous horse of brass
> On which the Tartar king did ride,'

or the fiery chariot of Elijah, in the history of the motor-car. Mankind has always been prone to let fancy outrun fact, and the byways of science are full of similar instances in which some later discovery has been foreshadowed by the dreams of the early world.

Not quite a century has yet elapsed since the death of the first man who, so far as one knows, actually constructed a mechanical carriage, though a patent for drawing carts without horses was taken out in this country as early as 1619. France, which is still the head-quarters of the motor industry, has the honour of contributing the first motor-car to that great museum which will one day be organised to display the whole history of human inventiveness. Nicolas Joseph Cugnot, an engineer officer in the French army, constructed a three wheeled steam-carriage, for which the Duc de Choiseul provided the funds, in 1769. It is still to be seen in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, at Paris, a queer little ramshackle affair, which yet wins the visitor's respectful admiration as the precursor of both the express engines and the elegant motor-cars of to-day. This vehicle

actually ran—it ran so well, indeed, that the steersman lost his head, a fact not very surprising to the modern automobilist who recalls his first nervous attempt to manage a car, and drove it into the wall of the Arsenal enclosure, which it knocked over. Cugnot seems thereafter to have abandoned his invention: it had been intended for military use, as a self-moving gun-carriage—a curious anticipation of the latest theories on the utilisation of heavy guns in war—and this demonstration of its uncertainty probably condemned it in the eyes of practical artillerists. Thirty years later, Napoleon gave Cugnot a pension of 1,000 francs in requital of his good intentions. For a full century, France took no further part in the automobile campaign; before the Revolution she was too languid, after it too busy.

It will be news to most readers that motor-cars were almost as common on our roads in the reign of George IV. as they were in the year that followed the passing of the Light Locomotives Act. Yet the case is so, as any one may read in the very remarkable report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons, in 1831, 'to inquire into and 'report upon the tolls and prospects of land carriage by 'means of wheeled vehicles propelled by steam or gas on 'common roads.' When one thinks of it, it is quite natural that this should have been the case, and the really surprising thing is that motor-cars did not make as rapid advances as railways. The development of the steam-engine in the hands of Watt and his immediate successors, from a toy to an instrument of incalculable industrial utility, speedily led men to consider whether this powerful creature could not be put on wheels and allowed to transport itself about the country. Some of them, among whom the Stephensons won the leading place, hit on the happy idea of running such a locomotive along the tram-rails which had been used for many years to diminish the friction on the wheels of heavy wagons at mines. We know what success attended their efforts, in spite of tremendous obstruction from all the backward intelligences and vested interests in the country. But we are apt to forget that other men set themselves to solve the problem of running steam locomotives on the high-roads, with a momentary success no less conspicuous than that of the originators of our railway system. It is highly instructive, at the present day, to retrace the history of the way in which their efforts were gradually foiled and so completely forgotten that the motor-car dawned upon the present generation in 1896 as a new visitor to English roads.

That history is to be read at length in the reports of the Committee of 1831, and of the further Committee which sat in 1834 to consider the work of Goldsworthy Gurney. It would be worth the while of some enthusiast to reprint both these reports, that the public at large might see for themselves how promising an industry was killed by the short-sighted opposition culminating in the famous enactment that every mechanically propelled vehicle on our roads must be preceded by a man on foot with a red flag.

In 1801 the first automobile carriage travelled over an English road. This was the work of Richard Trevithick, a truly remarkable man whose inventive genius has only of late years received the applause which it deserves. Trevithick was a Cornish mining engineer, who was engaged in adapting Watt's steam-engine to the work of pumping when he hit upon the idea which would have immortalised him in a more appreciative age. He ultimately succeeded in building a steam locomotive, locally known from its noisy exhaust as 'the puffing devil,' which, about Christmas, 1801, 'conveyed for a short experimental trip the first load of 'passengers ever moved by the force of steam.' The genius of Trevithick was shown in the remarkable simplicity of the engines that he designed. But at first it seemed as if he had undertaken an impossible task. The locomotive ran fast downhill, but when it reached the bottom, its wheels slipped round without moving it. A boy who was looking on was so struck by the possibilities of such an invention, however, that he determined there and then to carry on the work; this was Goldsworthy Gurney, of whom we shall speak in a moment. Trevithick ultimately remedied the defects in his engine, and it made several journeys at an average speed of ten miles an hour. In the early months of 1803, a second locomotive of his construction was at work in London, where it made several successful trips in the suburbs. Why Trevithick abandoned his experiments is not very clear, but it seems that the force of public opinion was too strong for him, and he had not the firm temper which is only strengthened by opposition. 'It is more than probable,' says Mr. Beaumont, 'that his engine was an inconvenient, 'noisy, and uncomfortable substitute for the horse-hauled 'coaches of the time, and these objections, no doubt, lent 'considerable aid to those who opposed such coaches on other 'grounds.' Nevertheless, Trevithick was the founder of automobilism, and the first to convey people by mechanical traction on an English road.

Nearly a quarter of a century elapsed before further practical results were attained. For some reason or other, engineers had taken it into their heads that the mere friction of a wheel on the road could not afford the necessary grip for driving a vehicle, and they invented all kinds of absurd arrangements for propelling carriages with iron legs and feet—'steam men,' as some of them were called. Even Goldsworthy Gurney, who was the next to produce a practical steam carriage, began with one of these ludicrous devices, which the reader can picture by imagining a pair of horizontal steam cylinders with pistons prolonged backwards into grasshopper-like legs, which propelled the carriage by alternate kicks against the ground. He soon discarded this grotesque arrangement, and in 1823 he saw his first steam locomotive climb the steep hill at Kilburn. His great improvement was the invention of a satisfactory water-tube boiler, which allowed the necessary heating surface to be obtained without the extreme cumbrousness of the older types. In 1829 Gurney travelled from London to Bath and back at an average speed of at least ten miles an hour. On the level he found that he could safely run between twenty and thirty miles an hour. Gurney's steam carriage, in fact, though heavy and clumsy, was a perfectly successful motor-car, as is shown by the fact that Sir Charles Dance established a service of such carriages on the road between Gloucester and Cheltenham in 1831. In four months they ran almost four thousand miles without accidents, and nearly three thousand persons travelled by them.

In the meantime other inventors had entered the field, encouraged by the results of Gurney on the one hand and the fact that the first steam railway had been opened between Stockton and Darlington in 1825. Their successful achievements are recorded in the Report of 1831, otherwise it would be hard to believe that they had any real existence. A typical inventor, Ogle, stated—'That his experimental 'carriages went from London to Southampton in some 'places at a velocity of from thirty-two to thirty-five miles 'per hour; that they ascended a hill rising 1 in 6 at 'sixteen and a half miles per hour, and four miles of the 'London Road at the rate of twenty-four miles and a half 'per hour, loaded with people: that his engine was capable of 'carrying three tons weight in addition to its own.' This was before the pneumatic tyre was invented, and the possibility of such continued speed—which would look well in a modern trial of touring motor-cars—speaks volumes for

the excellence of the old coaching roads. Ogle's partner Summers added that the same carriage had travelled a hundred and thirty-five miles in four and a half hours, and that no difficulty was found in travelling over the worst and most hilly roads. Hancock, in some ways the most ingenious of all these inventors, who has left an account of his experiments in a most interesting little book, established a regular service of steam carriages between the City, Islington and Paddington, and between the City and Stratford, at an average speed of ten miles an hour. In fact, the nascent industry was in a thoroughly promising condition in 1831. The carriages were being steadily improved, and in 1843 Hills produced the most remarkable of all early motor-cars, a heavy and powerful steam coach, which carried nine passengers besides a driver, conductor and stoker. This vehicle performed the journey from London to Hastings and back in one day, a distance of a hundred and twenty-eight miles, including long hills with gradients of 1 in 13 and 1 in 12, with short pieces still steeper.

Without going tediously into details, which will be found at full length in Mr. Beaumont's excellent work, one may say that the problem of mechanical transport on the road was solved in the first half of last century. That was the conclusion expressed by the Committee of 1831 in their summary of the evidence, which had convinced them:—

'1. That carriages can be propelled by steam on common roads at an average rate of ten miles per hour.

'2. That at this rate they have conveyed upwards of fourteen passengers.

'3. That their weight, including engine, fuel, water, and attendants, may be under three tons.

'4. That they can ascend and descend hills of considerable inclination with facility and safety.

'5. That they are perfectly safe for passengers.

'6. That they are not (or need not be, if properly constructed) nuisances to the public.

'7. That they will become a speedier and cheaper mode of conveyance than carriages drawn by horses.

'8. That, as they admit of greater breadth of tyre than other carriages, and as the roads are not acted on so injuriously as by the feet of horses in common draught, such carriages will cause less wear of roads than coaches drawn by horses.

'9. That rates of toll have been imposed on steam carriages which would prohibit their being used on several lines of road, were such charges permitted to remain unaltered.'

There is nothing in this summary which might not—

mutatis mutandis—be stated in a similar document to-day. We hope that no future historian will have, like us, to record the fact that the steam carriages were gradually driven off our roads, surviving only in the form of traction-engines and steam-rollers. Several causes contributed to this regrettable conclusion. In the first place, there was the opposition of the whole 'country interest,' which used much the same arguments that one hears in many County Councils and on the magistrates' bench to-day. The same arguments were used against railways, but the indomitable perseverance of George Stephenson and his colleagues overcame them. Unfortunately the steam carriages had no George Stephenson, and their opponents had a deadly weapon to hand which did not exist in the case of the railways. Local Acts imposed heavy tolls on the self-propelled vehicles.

'Mr. Gurney,' say the Committee, 'has given the following specimens of the oppressive rates of tolls adopted in several of these Acts. On the Liverpool and Prescot Road Mr. Gurney's carriage would be charged 2*l.* 8*s.*, while a loaded stage-coach would pay only 4*s.* On the Bathgate Road the same carriage would be charged 1*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*, while a coach drawn by four horses would pay 5*s.* On the Ashburton and Totnes Road Mr. Gurney would have to pay 2*l.*, while a coach drawn by four horses would be charged only 3*s.* On the Teignmouth and Dawlish Roads the proportion is 12*s.* to 2*s.*'

On one road it was seriously proposed to charge 1*s.* 6*d.* per horse-power: everywhere the tolls were raised to a prohibitive amount. The Committee's proposal that Parliament should regulate these tolls had no effect. This was due partly to sentimental objections to the new-fangled device, closely akin to those still expressed in such a correspondence as that which lately 'thundered in and out the gloomy 'skirts' of the *Times*; partly to the strong opposition of all those who were financially interested in the great system of stage-coaches, a very powerful body; partly, one regrets to say, to the hostility of the railways themselves, whose promoters looked on the road steamers as dangerous rivals, instead of regarding them in their true light as most useful feeders and adjuncts. These conjoined foes triumphed over the new system of locomotion, being aided by occasional accidents to the steam carriages and by the imperfect state of their engines. Finally, as the railways grew more powerful, thanks to the convenience which they furnished for the investment of floating capital as well as to the usefulness of their monopoly, legislation stepped in to complete the work of the tolls, and the Locomotives Acts of

1861 and 1865 definitely restricted all self-propelled vehicles to a speed of four miles an hour in the country and two in town. The history of motor-cars in this country only recommences with the raising of that limit by the Act of 1896 to fourteen miles an hour, promptly reduced to twelve by the Local Government Board. This chapter of history affords a very instructive lesson as to the injury that we may do to posterity by ill-considered handling of the motor problem now looming in the near Parliamentary distance.

Before passing on to consider the present position, one may profitably glance at the later history of the motor-car. It will be noted that the chapter just closed led to nothing. The discoveries of the English pioneers fell into complete oblivion, and a large number of them, as Mr. Beaumont well shows, were rediscovered after costly experiments by the modern workers at the subject. Further experiment was impossible here after 1865, and French and German engineers come to the fore in the second chapter. We have no desire to minimise the originality of their work. Indeed, it is beyond question in the most numerically important of the three great divisions into which all modern motor-cars are grouped. The early English inventors had only known one motor, the steam-engine, although an allusion to the use of gas as the motor-power is made by the Committee of 1831. At present there are three main sources of power on the market, each of which has its peculiar advantages and drawbacks—steam, oil, and electricity. The steam motor-car is the oldest of the three types, and needs the least explanation. Every one has some notion of the working of a steam-engine, though the petrol-motor is still a noisy mystery to the man in the street. We may here express the hope that, with so admirable and lucid a book available as Mr. Harmsworth's Badminton volume, this state of ignorance will not long persist, and that cultivated people will soon think it as ignominious to be ignorant of the main features of a motor-car as they now do to confess a total lack of acquaintance with the points of a horse.

The steam motor-car, which never wholly vanished from the roads, although its use, except for purposes of slow traction, was forbidden in this country, was revived about 1873 by the French firm of M. Bollée, although it is only within the last ten years that really satisfactory steam cars have been placed on the market. For heavy work, indeed, they have long held the palm; but the production of a steam-engine sufficiently light and manageable to

furnish the motive power of a small and handy car took years of careful study. Now we know that it is possible to produce such an engine which will generate a horse-power for every seven or eight pounds of its weight, such as Sir Hiram Maxim constructed for use in his flying-machine. This extreme lightness, of course, is only possible in a large engine, and is not necessary for a motor-car. The steam-engines which are used in motor-cars differ from the ordinary type only in being reduced to the greatest possible simplicity. The first difference between the two leading types of steam car lies in the manner in which the steam is generated. One large class, of which the handy and well-known cars of the Locomobile Company may be taken as a familiar instance, is supplied with an ordinary tubular boiler. The other class is provided with the 'instantaneous generator,' invented about thirteen years ago by M. Serpollet. This was devised to obviate the objections which many people felt to sitting over a boiler working at a normal pressure of 200 lbs. to the square inch—though in the hands of a competent driver this objection is more apparent than real. A greater danger is that of letting the water run too low, in which case the tubes are likely to be fatally burnt, and the owner has a disagreeable bill for repairs. The Serpollet 'flash' boiler is not really a boiler at all, and so avoids both dangers. It consists essentially of a coil of flattened tubing, which is designed to stand great heat. It is placed in the fire and made red-hot, when a drop of water is admitted. This at once flashes into high-pressure steam, which is admitted to the cylinder, and the process is repeated *ad infinitum*. Clearly there can be no chance of explosion, and the tubes are intended to be burnt. There is also a notable distinction between the engines of these two typical steam cars. In the Locomobile type there is a vertical locomotive engine with Stephenson link-motion: the Serpollet engine resembles a petrol motor, in which the pressure is only exerted on one side of the piston. Practically all steam cars burn petroleum or some modification of it—chiefly the refined spirit known as 'petrol,' with a specific gravity of ·680, which is specially convenient because it vaporizes at ordinary temperatures, so that one is really burning gas, which is cleaner and easier to manage than paraffin. Nowadays petrol can be bought in almost all civilized countries at numerous depôts, and as an ordinary car carries enough to run one or two hundred miles, there is no fear of being stranded out of reach of it.

The second, and by far the most common, type of motor-car is that which derives its power from the explosion of this petrol in a specially constructed motor. Its principle is exactly the same as that of the familiar Otto gas-engine, for the petrol may be regarded as simply liquefied gas. It was about the time of the French Revolution—'in 'the wild fifth year of the change of things,' as Mr. Swinburne sings—that the notion of driving a piston by igniting an explosive mixture beneath it seems to have first occurred to an Englishman, one Street. But it was a Frenchman—Beau de Rochas—who gave the first clear theoretical exposition of the conditions under which a gas engine would work with economy and success. Such an engine as he described in 1862 was constructed—apparently from independent research—by the German Otto, in 1876, on similar lines to those of the petrol engine, which drives the great majority of modern motor-cars. The Rochas or Otto cycle, as it is called, is simple to understand, though even some owners of petrol cars appear to have vague ideas on the subject. It consists of four operations, always repeated in the same order for each driving impulse. An ordinary piston is connected by a crank with the driving axle, which also carries a heavy fly-wheel to help the engine through that part of the cycle in which it is doing no work. This piston moves in a cylinder which it exactly fits, and which contains two valves—the inlet and exhaust. Let us suppose that the piston is at rest at its highest point. If the fly-wheel is then turned by an external agent—as has always to be done in order to start a petrol car—the piston descends the cylinder, leaving a partial vacuum behind it. The inlet valve, which has the normal atmospheric pressure on the other side, at once opens automatically, connecting the cylinder with a reservoir of gas or petrol vapour, and also with the air. As the piston continues to descend, it sucks into the cylinder a mixture of air and inflammable vapour in such proportions—regulated by the driver—as form the best explosive mixture in the atmospheric and other conditions. When it has reached the end of the stroke, and begins to ascend again, the increasing pressure in the cylinder at once closes the inlet valve, and the contents of the cylinder are compressed into a small space left above the highest position of the piston. At this moment the explosive mixture is fired, either by an electric spark then caused to pass through it, or by a red-hot tube into which it is forced. The resulting explosion drives the

piston violently down, and this stroke provides the motive power of the engine. The fly-wheel, continuing to turn under this impulse, sends the piston home again; as it begins to rise, the exhaust valve is opened by a mechanical arrangement on the axle, and the waste products of the explosion are expelled. The cycle has now returned to the original position, the cylinder is again filled with the explosive mixture, and *da capo*. Thus it will be seen that four distinct operations make up the Rochas cycle—suction, compression, explosion, exhaustion—and that the piston receives one driving impulse for every two revolutions of the fly-wheel and the driving axle. This is the petrol engine in its simplest terms; a car of any size is provided with two or more cylinders, so that the impulses come more frequently, and the drive in consequence is more smooth and regular.

This motor was first applied to a vehicle in 1885, when Gottfried Daimler fixed one on a bicycle, in which he used the first of the numerous 'carburettors' for impregnating air with the vapour of petrol in order to form the explosive mixture. At the same time, or very near it, another German inventor, Karl Benz of Mannheim, equipped a tricycle with a petrol motor, similar in principle but widely differing in details. From these two motor-cycles the whole race of modern petrol motor-cars have sprung; few engineering industries have shown a more wonderful developement in seventeen years than that which, out of these slow and unhandy machines, has produced the great racing-cars, of forty to a hundred horse-power, in which sporting drivers undertake to beat the Orient express or to do eighty miles an hour on good roads, and the far more useful touring cars, of all shapes and sizes, in which doctors visit their patients, country gentlemen go to the meet, ladies take an airing in the Park, and the King travels between London and Windsor faster and more conveniently than he used to go by train.

The third type of motor-car is that which derives its power from stored electricity. There is little that need be said of these cars, which are the simplest of all in theory. An electric motor is geared to the driving wheels, and is run by current from the accumulators or storage batteries which the car contains. These cars require the least skill of all to drive, since all that one can do is to turn a handle, and it does not matter one jot whether the driver knows anything about the mechanism or not; whereas such ignor-

ance in a steam or petrol car is likely to be heavily fined in the way of repair bills. On the other hand, if anything goes wrong on the road, it is usually quite hopeless to attempt to interfere with the works. The first electric car was made by an American blacksmith in 1835, but, as Mr. Beaumont says, the history of this type of traction is less interesting than that of other motor-cars, because it is still only in its infancy.

It will be of interest here to consider the relative advantages and prospects of the three types, though we can only glance at them briefly, and he who would 'commence auto-'mobilist' must be referred to the volumes of Mr. Harmsworth and Mr. Beaumont. Of course, opinions vary a good deal about the merits of each type: every man swears by his own machine. But, on the whole, there is a consensus of opinion that steam is best for heavy work in a hilly district, electricity for town work, and petrol for general utility. Steam is the most elastic motor possible, and to the skilful driver there is a sort of human charm and response in a steam-engine that is not found in what an eminent novelist called a 'stink-puff.' A steam-engine is very interesting to the mechanically minded owner, and such a car as the Locomobile responds more thoroughly to the skilful driver than any petrol engine. But it needs a certain acquaintance with its idiosyncrasies, and there is the trouble of stopping to replenish the water-tank every twenty-five or thirty miles—though the addition of a super-heater in the Locomobile has nearly doubled its range. In the hands of a novice the steam motor has greater possibilities of accident than either of the other types.

The petrol car, in spite of a certain hardness of running, is nearly 'fool-proof'; at least, any accident caused by careless driving is less likely to have serious consequences than in a steam car. Its great convenience, from a tourist's point of view, is that it only needs petrol, and can carry enough of that for a run of 200 miles—in other words, it can go practically anywhere in the civilised world. Its great defects are noise, smell and vibration. All of these, indeed, are more apparent to the passer-by than to those who ride in it; but they exist even for the latter, as one who changes from a steam to a petrol car will quickly discover. Manufacturers are now turning their attention to curing these defects. The smell is partly due to imperfect combustion, or to the carbonisation of an excess of lubricating oil, but it is to some degree inseparable from the use of petrol. How

far it is offensive is a matter of habit; one well-known automobilist declares that he does not object to a moderate smell of petrol, but that entering a stable nearly makes him ill—so great is the force of habit. The noise can be almost abolished, in spite of the series of explosions which provide the power. These cause scarcely any sound, and the experience of such a car as the Oldsmobile shows that the noise of the exhaust can be practically extinguished. Vibration is largely cured by a well-balanced engine and good springs.

Still, with all its merits, there are many who hold that the petrol motor is only a transitional type, and that the future lies with the electric car. The beauty of this car is its simplicity in action. There is only one handle to deal with, and the electric motor is even more elastic than the steam-engine. All the gearing-up complications of the petrol car, where one is dealing with an engine that always runs at practically the same rate of speed, are abolished, and it is simply a matter of supplying more or less electricity to the motor to have any required gradation of power. In point of silence and smoothness, electricity leaves nothing to be desired, and of course there is no smell. The trouble here lies in the accumulator. At present no satisfactory accumulator has been made of any material but lead, and in consequence the weight that has to be carried is prohibitive of long runs without recharging in any ordinary car; such a run as that of M. Kriéger, who travelled 160 miles on a single charge, is quite exceptional, and needs a huge car specially built. For town work—for the work, that is, which can be got out of a brougham—electricity is ideal, but for touring its use is limited by the distribution of charging stations. There are continual rumours that Mr. Edison has invented a new and light accumulator, but hitherto nothing has come of them. Thus the electric car is restricted to stages of about thirty or forty miles. The Touring Club of France is endeavouring to get over this difficulty by covering the land with a network of charging stations—a *réseau électrique*, which has a curious correspondence with the old posting stations, so that it is hoped that the owner of an electric car will soon be able to run all over France, and find a new accumulator ready charged wherever he needs to stop for it. That is one way to make the electric car available for the tourist. Others dream of a time when power will be supplied through the ether, on the principle of Mr. Marconi's wireless telegraphy. Messrs.

Armstrong and Orling have already shown the feasibility of transmitting sufficient power to work the engines of a dirigible torpedo without wires, and the experiments of Mr. Tesla suggest that one day it may be possible to keep a motor-car running on the same principle. But at present this does not seem likely to be soon achieved, though it is always rash to fix a limit to the possibilities of science. A proposal has been made to line all our main roads with trolly-wires, such as those which are used by electric trams, from which a motor-car might pick up its current by a flexible connexion, reserving its accumulators for cross journeys from one high-road to another. All these speculations are very fascinating, but one must admit that in the meantime the electric car is not adapted for touring, though for short journeys within a radius of ten or fifteen miles round the owner's house it is admirable.

The really important fact is that the motor-car is now a perfectly practical invention, and has taken a permanent place among the conveniences of life. The types now on the market suit every purse, from the motor-bicycle which can be had for about 40*l.* to the racing car which costs from 2,000*l.* upwards. Improvements continue to be made in all the types, and it is conceivable that some new motor—such as liquid air—may one day supplant those now existing. But at the opening of the twentieth century we may say that the motor-car is firmly established as a 'going con-' cern,' and that its mechanical efficiency is proved.

Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that the advent of the motor-car may create a kind of social revolution in this country. At any rate, those who have adequately considered the influence which methods of transport exert on general life will be slow to deny this possibility. No such thorough-going change in these methods has been brought about since 'the first men led black horses by the mane' as the introduction of motor-cars is producing: even railways did not exert quite so far-reaching an effect, in spite of the immense change which they have produced in our ideas of speed and distance. The peculiarity of the motor-car is that it can go wherever there is a road at all, and literally makes rapid locomotion a house-to-house affair. That is to say, every one who can afford it—whether for purposes of business or pleasure—now has at his disposal a thoroughly trustworthy machine which will carry him wherever he likes, at half an hour's notice, and at an average speed which, were it not for legislative restrictions, might be

estimated at twenty miles an hour with entire safety on ordinary country roads. The motor does not tire, its liability to go wrong is now reduced to an almost negligible minimum in the case of a good car and a competent driver, and its up-keep costs considerably less than that of the number of horses which would be required to do its work.

In glancing at the advantages which the general use of motor-cars promises to confer on the world, one may naturally begin by considering the case of the urban resident. In the big towns, motor-cars seem at first sight to be a doubtful blessing. Locomotion is already sufficiently provided for by carriages and cabs, trams and omnibuses: there is little opportunity for the motor-car to show its great superiority in speed. Yet even here there is a strong reason for encouraging the use of motor-cars and motor omnibuses as far as possible. It is well explained by Sir Henry Thompson, in his pleasant eulogy of the new sport on which he has entered with even more intrepidity than Cato displayed in learning Greek at the same age. By the general use of motors instead of horses in towns, he says, 'the 'sanitary condition of our great city would be considerably 'improved, since the streets would no longer be, as they are 'now, the daily receptacles of many tons of manure, which 'become not merely offensive but prejudicial to health.' Other advantages which would be gained by the general abolition of horse drawn traffic in towns arise from the fact that the motor-car is more under control, moves at a higher speed, and is much shorter than the average horse-drawn vehicle, whereby the normal congestion of traffic which has become a distressing feature of the chief streets in London, and to a less degree in other large towns, would be sensibly diminished. Again, dust and mud are very largely caused by the abrasion which the iron-shod hooves of countless horses produce in the material with which the streets are paved. The motor-car, with its rubber-tyred wheels, would put an end to that, and would also allow a comparatively silent and smooth surface, such as asphalte or wood, to replace the macadam and the terribly noisy granite setts which are still thought necessary in many London streets and are almost universal in towns like Manchester and Glasgow. The constant din of busy streets might thus be abolished—for the motor-car is not essentially a noisy vehicle. But this is to look far ahead.

A marked benefit which the motor-car has already brought to its users is the possibility of swift and healthy transit

from town to country. At present it is chiefly the luxury of the rich in this respect: the City magnate is keenly alive to the convenience of being able to travel from his office to his country residence in half the time and with less than half the discomfort which a suburban railway journey causes. As soon as it is fairly recognised that the co-operative principle brings the motor-car within the reach of all classes, and motor omnibuses and *chars-à-bancs* are placed on our roads to supplement the less elastic service of the electric trams, it will be recognised that a beneficial revolution may thus be worked in the habits of the people who are compelled by their business to live within reach of a great city. The Prime Minister has observed, with his usual insight, that the motor-car bids fair to offer the best solution of the housing problem. The average man who is employed in London finds it necessary to live within an hour's journey of his work—an hour, that is, from door to door. Before aids to locomotion became general, the four miles' radius included the houses which were thus within the pedestrian reach of the clerk and artisan, while the carriage-owning employers were able to go a little farther afield. With the introduction of omnibuses, the limits of the wage-earner were expanded, whilst the suburban railways set them back still farther, until the greater London upon which the twentieth century has dawned occupies a circle some thirty miles in diameter. Still, as the area of available houses grows, the population becomes ever denser, and the housing problem grows more and more insistent. It is no idle dream that it may be solved, for many years to come, by the possibilities of the motor omnibus, which, while not running faster than a suburban train, will greatly minimise the time of journeys by picking up each traveller at the corner of his street, if not at his very door, and depositing him at the place where he does his day's work. There is nothing Utopian in such a dream, as we should recognise if we were not so accustomed to regard the hide-bound railway system as the last word of modern locomotion.

But we must pass on to consider the benefits which the motor-car brings to the rural districts. They are even more remarkable. First, at present, comes the usefulness of the new means of locomotion to the people who already keep carriages—notably the squire and the doctor. This has already been recognised, and the chief demand for motors in this country comes from such a source. One motor-car can do the work of half a dozen horses in half the time, and

usually at a smaller expense: that is an irrefragable fact which has made short work of the sentimental objection to 'tea-kettles on wheels.' It can also do work that horses cannot manage at all. Suppose one wishes to visit a friend who lives thirty miles away, and not on the same line of railway. By rail, the trip out and back would probably take a whole day, and exhaust the patience of the traveller; to a good motor-car it is an affair of three hours, more or less, and a pleasant excursion in good weather. The utility of a motor-car to a country doctor is even more marked: any of the light and trustworthy cars which can now be bought for 150*l.* to 200*l.* will do the work of a stud of horses such as no country doctor can afford to keep.

Perhaps the farmer will benefit most of all from the introduction of motor-cars, though as yet no class seems more strongly opposed to them. It is a commonplace of the economist that facilities for locomotion are of great importance to agriculture, which depends for its success, in the last resort, on the possibility of distributing its produce rapidly and cheaply at the places where it is in demand. But hitherto the railways—very foolishly—have made little or no effort to meet the needs of the great majority of British farmers. It is generally admitted that the rates which they impose make it practically impossible for the farmer, even within a hundred miles of London, to send up his dairy and other produce to the markets: the railways swallow up his profits. 'The worst enemies of the British 'farmer,' says the secretary of the Agricultural Organisation Society, 'are the railway companies, with their exorbi-'tant rates for farm produce, and their absolute disregard 'for time and damage done to the goods.' The motor-wagon, with the better roads which will accompany its general use, comes in the nick of time to rescue British agriculture from a state of decay that seriously alarms all who see us growing daily more dependent on doubtful friends and potential foes for the food that we eat. Mr. John Scott-Montagu, in the interesting chapter on the utility of motor vehicles which he contributes to the Badminton volume, shows how the trouble of transport may be surmounted if farmers will only combine to adapt the new locomotion to their needs.

'At Tunbridge Wells,' he says, 'a system has been started whereby the farmers of the district, tired—and no wonder—of the vagaries of the South-Eastern and Chatham, have organised a motor service to take their goods direct to Covent Garden and other markets in London.

. . . The use of motors for market and farm work is yet in its infancy, but I can see no reason why the distribution of perishable goods from a moving centre should not be one of the improvements of coming years.'

Lastly, one may just point out that the increasing use of motor-cars in the country promises to supply a remedy for rural depopulation. One great cause of the steady influx to the towns is the dulness of country life. That will be considerably diminished when the roads of England are again covered with vehicles, as they were in the old coaching days, and the inns are revived once more by a new generation of travellers. The closer relations between town and country that may be expected to result from the increasing use of rapid methods of transit by road are likely to kill more than one social evil with a single blow.

It may seem odd that, in view of all these noble prospects, one still has to speak of the popular objections to the use of motor-cars. But no one who has studied the recent correspondence in the *Times* can doubt that such objections have a real existence, both in ignorant and in influential quarters. Apart from the purely sentimental objection, which is not very strong, and usually yields at once to personal acquaintance with a motor-car, one may divide the objections to the growth of automobilism into two distinct groups, according as it is regarded as a nuisance or a danger. The most enthusiastic partisan of the motor-car cannot deny that there is a good deal of truth in both objections, although he will add that these are based, not on essential defects of the motor-car, but upon the remediable imperfections of existing types or the selfish recklessness of a minority of drivers. The real problem of the motor-car involves the clearing away of these objections. We fully believe that this can be done—partly by legislation, partly by the exercise of that great fund of sturdy good sense which is the inalienable property of the British people.

The motor-car, say some of its loudest opponents, is a nuisance on the roads, because of its noise, its smell, and the dust which it creates. This is 'dreadful true,' as the Americans say, at any rate in regard to some motor-cars and some roads. The feeling which is created in the country by the worst offenders may be gathered from the remarks of an old farmer, quoted by a correspondent of the *Times*:—

'I can't see, Sir, why we should be driven off the roads, which are maintained solely by county and district rates, by people who don't

pay a shilling to our rates or subscriptions, and who we don't know even by sight. Our wives can no longer go out driving alone, and when we go to market we have to take a man with us to hold the horse the moment we see one of these things. We don't like it, and we don't mean to stand it, and our member will have to do something to stop it.'

As another correspondent eloquently puts it, the ordinary user of the road who is passed by a certain type of motor-car feels 'anger and irritation at the shocking noises 'which so often accompany its passage, at the hoarse and 'grotesque hooting, at the deafening pulsations of the 'explosive engine, at the sickening stench of gas, at the 'clouds of dust raised by the broad wheels of a powerful 'car. . . . These are the things which, invading and 'polluting country solitudes, cause people to hate the very 'name of motor.' Such cars frighten horses and nervous passengers, besides annoying everyone whom they meet—other automobilists not the least. Though they are already in a minority, they naturally force themselves on the attention, and pass as the types of their kind. Fortunately there are obvious remedies for the evil. Manufacturers in the past have scarcely taken so much trouble as they might have done to diminish disagreeable effects of this kind. Their young industry has concentrated its attention on speed and trustworthiness rather than on the details which make for pleasant use. It is said that the fitting of an efficient 'silencer' to a petrol car means a certain loss of power, as the principle of silencing is that the waste gases from the exhaust are passed through a series of obstacles instead of bursting direct into the atmosphere. But there is no reason why all cars should not be as quiet as an ordinary horse-drawn carriage which is going at the same relative speed, and we should welcome some provision in the next Act which deals with motor-cars for the reasonable silencing of all cars placed on our roads. Such a provision would need to be applied with discretion, for there are unforeseen circumstances in which any car will make a noise; but it is certainly needed, in the interests of automobilists, and would be welcomed by the makers and owners of all properly designed cars. The dust nuisance, which is the other great offence of the motor-car, is less the fault of the vehicle than of the road on which it travels.

The second objection made to motor-cars, on the score of the danger which they cause to other users of the roads, not to speak of their own occupants, who are usually the first to

suffer from reckless driving, forces us to consider existing legislation on the matter, and the alterations which are probable or desirable therein. There is a strong and obvious case for restrictive legislation of some kind, furnished by the mere fact that some motor-cars are known to be able to travel at a speed of eighty miles an hour. It would be impossible to permit free use of such dangerous machines on public roads; one might as well give permission to the travelling circus to turn out its lions and tigers to live on the country. Mr. Harmsworth says, of the monsters of this kind which are now in England, that 'it is merely by 'chance that they happen to be in good hands.' One cannot contemplate with equanimity the thought of what would happen if one of them happened to pass for a day into the control of a party of 'beanfeasters.' The case for legislation, then, needs no argument. But it is not easy to decide the shape which such legislation ought to take in order to secure the safety of the public without unduly hampering an important industry. At present the existing law is so ill-constructed that it is frankly disobeyed by the most careful and conscientious motorists, and so loses its restraining influence on the reckless and impatient. No law can be so dangerous as one which is broken by everybody who comes under its operation, for it follows that even the influence of public opinion is removed from its side. But that is admittedly the case with the Locomotives Act of 1896, which imposes penalties on all persons who, in any circumstances, drive a motor-car faster than twelve miles an hour.

It is true that in 1896, when motor-cars were still in their infancy, twelve miles an hour was not so unreasonable a limit as it looks now. But the principle, as we pointed out shortly before the Act of 1896 became law, is a false one. 'It is not 'desirable,' we said, 'to fetter the new invention by any hard 'and fast rules as to speed which are not applied to other 'vehicles.' The truth of that proposition is now amply apparent. The Act of 1896 has given rise to a more or less veiled hostility between automobilists and authorities all over the country. The policeman, who ought to be the firm friend of every respectable citizen, is regarded with terror by the owners of motor-cars. A report has even got about—with what truth it is impossible to say—that the local authorities in many districts are deliberately using fines levied under the Act of 1896 exactly as the turnpike authorities of the Georgian era used their power of imposing tolls, to kill the new invention. No one defends the speed-limit. Lord Onslow and

Mr. Chaplin have openly confessed that they hardly ever go out in their motor-cars without deliberately breaking the law. The Prime Minister has been fined for doing so, and the King himself is only allowed to pass on sufferance. This will never do. If some change is not made in the law it will fall into contempt, and the reckless automobilist will be able to plead the example of his respectable fellows for endangering the lives of other users of the road.

The existing law fixes a speed-limit which is notoriously inadequate in both directions. Twelve miles an hour may be too much in one place, too little in another. Five miles an hour might be too much in Cheapside, or in the winding village street which babies are encouraged to use as a play-ground, thirty miles not excessive on Salisbury Plain. (The safety of the driver himself is a matter which can hardly be considered in legislation, until we agree to impose similar restrictions on the fox-hunter and the yachtsman.) Thus the position which commends itself to most reasonable people is that some restriction must be made on the free use of motor-cars on our roads, but that the present plan of a rigid speed-limit is not satisfactory. It has simply led to a war between the owners of motor-cars and the magistrates which, in certain counties, is producing the most alarming state of irritation. It is true that many magistrates administer the law in a conciliatory spirit: one rural bench has tacitly raised the speed-limit for conviction to eighteen miles an hour: the Sheriff of Forfar (where the roads are excellent) lately interpreted the law as meaning that a greater speed than twelve miles was not an offence in itself, but was evidence of negligence in case of an accident to the motor-car so proceeding. But other magistrates have spoken, both on and off the Bench, in a way that shows them to be actuated by an irreconcilable hostility to all motor-cars. At the same time, the members of many County Councils and highway authorities have threatened to discourage motor-cars by allowing the roads to fall out of repair, or blocking them with obstructions which may prevent the motor-car from travelling with comfort. In many respects this recalls the state of matters seventy years ago, when one of the obstacles with which the Gurneys and Hancocks had to contend was the coach-owners' trick of placing heaps of stones at awkward corners in order to upset the steam-carriages whose rivalry alarmed them. The coach-owners, however, had the tangible reason of direct trade rivalry as an incentive: the modern enemy of the motor-car is chiefly

actuated by prejudices which a little more comprehension on his part, a little more good feeling on the part of the automobilist, would speedily abolish.

There is serious disagreement among automobilists themselves as to the course which remedial legislation should take, though all admit that it is urgently needed. No one denies that there must be some drastic and effectual method of preventing the unskilful or reckless driver from endangering other users of the roads, whilst the prudent automobilist may be left free to run at any reasonable speed on country roads. Some think that this end will be best attained by abolishing all special legislation with regard to motor-cars, and leaving them, like other vehicles, under the operation of the old law which punishes 'driving to the common 'danger,' leaving its definition to be ruled by the facts in each case. In theory they are no doubt right: many hold that the most dangerous vehicle on the roads is not the motor-car, but the fast dog-cart which is driven on Sundays by a somewhat excited publican, or the brake in which drunken 'beanfeasters' rush home with the most utter disregard for the safety of other passengers: and the law against furious driving has always been considered strong enough to keep them in check. But in practice the motor-car must be differentiated from other traffic, since its high speed is obvious to many who ignore the thorough control given by powerful brakes and efficient steering-gear.

Recognising this, the executive body of the Automobile Club have given in their adhesion to the principle laid down in the Bill introduced last year by Mr. Scott-Montagu in order 'to provide for the registration of motor vehicles, and 'to amend the Locomotives on Highways Act, 1896.' This Bill is of the nature of a compromise. If, say its automobilist promoters to people in general, you will allow us to repeal the speed-limit in the Act of 1896, we will in return undertake to register and number all our motor-cars, so that the provisions of the common law with regard to furious driving may be more easily and certainly put in operation against offenders. 'After the commencement of this Act,' the first clause runs, 'any person driving or assisting to 'drive a vehicle as herein defined on a public highway shall, 'unless some person is registered as owner thereof, and 'unless such vehicle bears thereon a number or such other 'mark of identification as may be prescribed, be guilty of an 'offence punishable summarily.' The real *gravamen* of the public complaint against motor-cars is that the minority of

offenders who really are a danger and a nuisance to other users of the roads are just the ones who are never brought to book. If they are summoned to stop, they simply switch in their highest gear and rush off at forty miles an hour: if they are caught, they give false names and escape from justice. Nothing could do more to bring motor-cars into disrepute, and nothing is more earnestly repudiated by the great majority of automobilists. A system of registration, involving the use of legible numbers on each car—like the numbers of London cabs—would effectually stop such conduct, and would be much better than a speed-limit which inculcates disrespect of the law.

We should be in favour of adding a clause embodying Mr. Harmsworth's suggestion for the licensing of drivers of motor-cars. 'I contend,' says Mr. Harmsworth, with his usual good sense, 'that no man should be allowed to 'drive a motor-car unless he has shown his capacity to start 'it, stop it, take it through traffic, turn it round and about, 'and proved his *sang-froid* in dealing with the hundred and 'one emergencies which arise by reason of the twisting nature 'of our roads.' The Briton is not used to demands for certificates of capacity, and rather rebels against a regulation which works smoothly enough on the Continent. But this asks no more of the automobilist than is already asked of the yachtsman. The master of a yacht is restrained from taking many risks that his owner might cheerfully face by the thought of his certificate, which will be forfeited by recklessness or incapacity on his part. So a licence which is liable to be endorsed on any conviction of careless or dangerous driving, and to be forfeited by a serious offence or a series of minor ones, will do much to restrain the professional *chauffeurs* who, knowing that their employers will pay their fines, are at present among the worst offenders, whilst the need of a licence will give the authorities a strong hold on the high-spirited amateur. It must be remembered that high-powered motor-cars will soon be in the second-hand market, and will be hired by the day, when more stringent interference than has yet been seen will be needed to keep them in order. Surely it would be easy to devise a working scheme for the issue of licences, say by the police, on a plan analogous to that now employed in the case of cabmen. At the outset, a licence might be issued to every one who had regularly driven a motor-car for six months, whilst a future applicant would have to satisfy the authorities that he was competent to manage his car. These licences should

be renewable annually, and any convictions endorsed on them would be taken into account in considering the desirability of a reissue, which would be made as a matter of course to the holder of a licence without endorsement.

Public opinion, if such a Bill replaced the rigid speed-limit which has removed any feeling of disgrace from a conviction for transgressing the Act of 1896, would support the application of very severe penalties to all drivers of motor-cars whose incompetence or recklessness had endangered or injured others. It might be desirable to leave imprisonment without the option of a fine within the discretion of the magistrates, since it is believed—with or without reason—that some wealthy owners do not care how much they pay for the excitement of a wild rush. The prospect of a month's confinement would be an effectual bar to this form of 'sport.' But it can only be threatened if it is felt that the law is a fair one and fairly administered, which unfortunately is not the case at present. The Government are alive to the pressing need of legislation, and we sincerely trust that they will see their way to deal with the question in the forthcoming Session. Probably the appointment of a Committee or a Royal Commission to deal with the whole question and take evidence on both sides would be wise; but something must speedily be done, unless an industry which promises to bring so much good to the country is again to be nipped in the bud as it was in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In considering motor-car legislation, there is one closely allied subject which must not be allowed to drop out of sight. This is the question of our roads, their organisation and maintenance. The introduction of railways and their annexation of the great bulk of transport services in this country, with all its advantages, had the regrettable consequence of withdrawing attention from the roads, to which it has again been directed of late years by the increase of traffic due to the introduction of motor-cars. Many of the best-grounded protests against motor-cars are based not on any fault of the vehicles themselves, but on the condition of the roads over which they have to run. We cannot do more than touch the fringe of this large subject, which may be studied at length in the admirable and lucid chapter contributed to the Badminton volume by Mr. St. Loe Strachey, and in the excellent publications of the Roads Improvement Association, a body whose unassuming but very practical work deserves the support of all who are

interested in one of the most pressing social questions of the time. For more than half a century English roads have been allowed to take their chance in a happy-go-lucky system of up-keep, under the varying management of nearly two thousand separate and casual authorities. The best of these regard the road problem merely under the aspect of local requirements and local traffic; the worst have frankly refused to spend money on roads which are used, as they say, by people who do not contribute to the local rates. No attempt has been made to educate and unify these local bodies, or to place their work under the control of a central authority, as has been done in France, where the finest road-system in the world is one of the chief legacies of Napoleon.

The revival of long-distance road traffic, which is due mainly to the motor-car, makes it impossible to leave things much longer in their present unsatisfactory and amorphous condition. Mr. Arthur Stanley, M.P., who has devoted special attention to the road question, has given notice, in the House of Commons, to call attention to the growing difficulties of road transport, and to move that 'immediate 'steps should be taken to facilitate the construction of new 'trunk roads.' Mr. Scott-Montagu has an allied notice on the paper, calling for the establishment of a 'supreme road 'authority' in this country. In a letter which was lately handed to the Prime Minister by Mr. Stanley on behalf of the Roads Improvement Association the following reasons were given for the appointment of a Departmental Committee to inquire into the existing system of highway administration—a request to which it is now announced that the Government have given a favourable answer:—

'1. The suburban areas of the large towns are being built over without reference to any general design under which new main roads would be formed, with the result that these areas are little more than a chaos of short, mean streets which take no share of the through traffic, and serve only to feed the few main arteries which existed at the beginning of the last century. It is impossible to modify the resulting evils by building new trunk roads, for when the turnpike system was abolished no alternative machinery was provided for the construction, either by public or by private enterprise, of new arteries of traffic through and out of the great towns.

'2. Under the existing system of highway administration the care of the roads is divided up among so many authorities that it is impossible to obtain a uniform system of management, with the result that although large sums of money are spent upon the maintenance of our roads, their condition leaves, in some cases, much to be desired.

There are many instances in which a main trunk road in the course of twenty miles is administered by no less than ten or twelve different authorities. Some improvements were made by the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894. In particular, the County Councils in many districts have done much to improve the roads, but the usefulness of the County Councils would be increased largely by an extension of their powers in highway matters.

'The system of highway administration is closely bound up with the housing and transport questions, and a large number of members of the House of Commons are of opinion that the time is now ripe for a public enquiry into the existing system, with a view of ascertaining what legislative and administrative alterations economic changes have rendered necessary.'

It will be seen that the demand for an improvement in our highway administration deals alike with the up-keep of existing roads and the making of new ones. In the former case, every one who has had occasion to travel far by road is well aware of the need for reform. The whole system of road maintenance in this country is based on rule-of-thumb and unscientific methods. No effort is made, as in France, to adjust the quality, gradients, and width of a road to the average traffic that it has to bear. On the contrary, the main roads leading out of London are among the worst in the country—narrow, ill-surfaced bottle-necks, which would not be tolerated for a day in any Continental capital. The choice of flints for making roads that are largely used by vehicles with pneumatic tyres is a striking case of the utter lack of any effort to adjust means to ends in our road construction. Again, it is only within the last year that any attempt has been made to deal with the dust nuisance, which fast motor-cars have brought into such prominence through no fault of their own, otherwise than by the antiquated method of converting it into mud. A most interesting experiment, made at the cost of the *County Gentleman* newspaper, has shown that the judicious employment of heavy oil on a dusty road will entirely cure the dust, though unfortunately it appears that this treatment is not so well adapted to wet weather. But it is characteristic that no highway authority ever made such an experiment, which was left to the public spirit of Mr. Strachey. The widening and straightening of many country roads, which are at present dangerous to traverse in any vehicle faster than a hay-cart, are urgently required, but there is little prospect that they will be undertaken under the present system, which encourages a selfish spirit of parochialism to erect barriers against any improvement of transport which

might benefit outsiders as well as the ratepayers of the district. The obvious cure for all these defects is the introduction of some central supervising body, such as exists in France in the admirable Department of Roads and Bridges. Every other public service which is still performed by local bodies has been placed under such supervision: why should the roads be considered less important than the administration of the poor laws and the police?

The great difficulty in the way of a real reform of our road administration is that of expense. We cannot revive the turnpike system—which, with all its disadvantages, provided excellent roads—and it is probably impossible to attract private capital to construct new roads as it constructed railways. The proposed Committee or Royal Commission must devote part of its attention to this question of finance. But there is little doubt that the work will have to be done, however costly it may prove. It will be a saving in the long run. Mr. Beaumont calculates that 125,000,000*l.* thus expended would bring in a return to the country of 3 per cent. annually.

Without any wish to be unduly dogmatic, we may say that a careful study of the motor-car problem suggests the following conclusions.

1. The motor-car, on its second appearance in this country, has assumed a practical form, though still susceptible of much improvement. It has come to stay.

2. The objections to it which are heard on all sides, whilst based partly on prejudice and partly on generalisation from the conduct of a minority of automobilists, have a certain foundation in fact, but can be removed by improvements partly in the cars themselves and partly in the roads: there is no reason why the ideal motor-car should be either a nuisance or a danger.

3. The motor-car may bring about a social revolution by readjusting the relations between town and country, and may thus help to cure overcrowding in towns and rural depopulation.

4. Legislative interference is necessary to prevent the motor-car from endangering other users of the roads, but the existing legislation is based on a false principle, which must be abandoned if the law is to command the respect and obedience of automobilists.

5. It is desirable that an impartial inquiry should speedily be undertaken by a Departmental Committee or a Royal Commission, in order to provide the basis for such legislation.

6. In order to derive the full benefit from the motor-car, we must reform the existing system of highway administration, and bring all our roads under a uniform authority, as well as provide machinery for constructing new ones. Enquiry on this subject is also urgently needed, and might profitably be conducted at the same time as the investigation into the questions raised by the motor-car.

ART. IX.—*Letters of Dorothea, Princess Lieven, during her Residence in London,* 1812–1834. Edited by LIONEL G. ROBINSON. With two Photogravure Portraits. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1902.

THE springs which regulate the movement of history are occasionally concealed from contemporary observers, and elude the researches of later students. The character of a Minister or the private conversations of diplomatists may have much more influence on the progress of a negotiation than the formal documents which are periodically published for the information of either Parliaments or Peoples. Women, too, have played their part in the conduct of affairs, and the wife, or the mistress, of a monarch has affected, by her counsel or her caprice, the happiness of mankind. But the lady whose letters to her brother form the text of this article stands—so far as we know—in a niche alone. She is the only instance of which we are aware of a woman, the wife of an Ambassador, practically superseding her husband in his own duties, and, at the same time, actively interfering in the domestic politics of the country to which he was accredited. For no one who is familiar with English history in the reign of George IV., or who has read the letters in this book, or the correspondence which has been published elsewhere, can doubt that Madame de Lieven was the mainspring of the Russian Embassy in London during that reign, or that she exerted considerable influence on the domestic politics of England during the same time.

That influence she secured by the fascination which she exercised over some of the most commanding intellects of the nineteenth century. Prince Metternich, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Grey, Lord Aberdeen, Lord John Russell, and M. Guizot were among those who were either her closest friends or impassioned admirers. With Lord Grey, who had nearly reached his sixtieth year before he made her acquaintance, she was always 'dearest Princess;' in letter after letter he professed himself 'entirely yours.' Her letters to him are at least as warm as his to her. She said of them herself: 'Elles sont très intimes, plus intimes que les 'siennes;' and the feelings which she afterwards inspired in M. Guizot were even stronger than those with which Lord Grey regarded her. Yet we sometimes doubt whether, during the whole of her long residence in England, Madame de Lieven ever allowed her heart to influence her

head. She had, throughout those years, one dominating passion, which controlled and overpowered any lighter affection. Whether she was the friend of Prince Metternich, of the Duke of Wellington, or of Lord Grey, her heart from first to last was Russian to the core. She was devoted to the interests of her own country and its rulers. She could tolerate defects in a statesman who was disposed to be on good terms with Russia. She could not forgive a Minister who pursued an anti-Russian policy. She broke from Prince Metternich and the Duke of Wellington—just as she very nearly quarrelled with Lord Grey—because his and their opinions were not sufficiently Russian for her taste. She set no doubt a high value on the intimate relations which she established with the very eminent men whose names are so closely associated with her own. But she was always ready to sacrifice their friendship, their love, on the altar of her country.

If Madame de Lieven had been only remarkable for her friendships, her memory would have been full of interest. But, in addition, she was not only a very industrious, but a very accomplished letter-writer. Mr. Guy L'Estrange introduced us a dozen years ago to her correspondence with Lord Grey; M. Ernest Daudet has lately given us a few samples of her letters to Prince Metternich and M. Guizot: samples, we may add, which create an appetite for more. And Lord Stanmore has been good enough to lay before us a good deal of her correspondence with Lord Aberdeen, which has been privately printed with the other papers of that statesman. Other letters from her have been published in some or other of the memoirs of the times in which she lived. In all of them there is the same attractive style, the same clear reasoning, the same single-hearted devotion to the cause of her country and its ruling dynasty. She herself indeed modestly declared that her own letters were inferior to Lord Grey's; and that while 'les siennes 'appartiennent à l'histoire, les miennes peuvent servir à des 'éclaircissements.' But few who have read the correspondence will subscribe to this opinion. There is a passion and a power in Madame de Lieven's letters which is seldom met with in political correspondence; there is a keen desire to influence the conduct of persons and to regulate the course of events which imparts to them an historical importance. They are instinct with the life and breath of a strong and resolute personality.

The letters which Mr. Robinson has now edited are of a

different character. They are addressed to her own brother, who for many years held 'a post of confidence' at the Russian Court, which 'kept him in close relations with the 'Emperor.' They were obviously intended for other eyes than those of her brother, and they probably supplement the communications which the Princess was addressing at the same time to the Empress-Mother and to Count Nesselrode. They are a close and continuous record of the course of domestic politics in this country, and of the views of its leading statesmen on foreign policy. Addressed, as they are, to a brother in full sympathy with the writer's passionate attachment to Russia and its Emperor, they are necessarily devoid of the qualities which distinguish the letters to Lord Grey. In them she is the advocate pleading the cause of Russia; in these the critic reviewing the character and conduct of British statesmen.

In translating and in editing these letters Mr. Robinson has deserved well of his readers. His version, if not altogether free from the defects which are inevitable in the close rendering of any composition in a foreign language, is always clear. The 'historical threads' with which he has connected the letters, and the notes with which he has illustrated them, are concise and usually accurate; and the portraits of Madame de Lieven by Sir Thomas Lawrence in her youth and by Mr. Watts in her age, which he has reproduced, enable us to realise the appearance of a lady who occupied so high a place in the fashionable society of London, and exerted so strong a fascination on so many distinguished men.

Dorothea Benckendorff, who was born in December 1784 or 1785,* was the daughter of a general in the Russian service, who, at the time of her birth, was military commander at Riga. Her mother, Baroness Charlotte Schilling, was the intimate friend of Princess Marie of Würtemberg, the wife of the Emperor Paul I. She died in 1797, and commended her four children to the care of the Empress, whom Madame de Lieven afterwards described as 'a Sister of Charity upon the throne.' The Empress treated her from her earliest infancy with motherly kindness, and appointed her, when she left school, one of her maids of honour. Her Court life, however, was of short duration; for, in 1800 or 1801†, she married Count [afterwards

* Mr. Guy L'Estrange says in December 1784; M. Ernest Daudet, in 1784; Mr. Robinson, in December 1785.

† Mr. Guy L'Estrange says in 1801; Mr. Robinson, in 1800.

Lieutenant-General] Lieven, an officer who became Envoy at Berlin in 1809 or 1810,* and who was made Russian Ambassador in London in 1812. For the next twenty-two years, the period over which her letters to her brother extend, Madame de Lieven resided, with short intervals, in England.

During the first seven years of her life in London there is no evidence that Madame de Lieven concerned herself with the domestic politics or the foreign policy of the country to which her husband was accredited. She became a leader of fashion, the intimate friend of Lady Jersey and Lady Cowper, a patroness of Almack's, in which capacity she introduced, in 1816, the waltz to London society. 'Without 'any pretensions to beauty,' so wrote Mr. Greville, who, we believe, was one of her many lovers, and who became, in later years, one of her correspondents, 'she had so fine an 'air and manner, and a countenance so pretty and so full 'of intelligence, as to be on the whole a very striking and 'attractive person. She almost immediately took her place 'in the cream of the cream of English Society, forming close 'intimacies with the most conspicuous women in it, and 'assiduously cultivating relations with the most remarkable 'men of all parties.' Welcome everywhere, she was the guest of the Regent at Brighton; she 'made the round 'of all the country seats of the kingdom.' She told her brother that she was 'literally fought for,' and that it was not 'fashionable' where she was not.

Probably during these years she was extremely happy. England was 'beautiful,' and she passed much of her time at Richmond, 'the most beautiful spot in beautiful 'England.' But, while she delighted in English scenery, and in the splendour of English country seats, she did not, in the first half-dozen years of her exile in London, reconcile herself completely to her life. Her friends there were too silent; they were too *gauche*; 'the country itself was 'always the same—an endless chain of perfections, which 'appeal to the reason, but which leave the imagination 'untouched.' England was a country in which she might 'be content to live for a time, but in which she could never wish to die. And, after six years of it, she declared that she had seen 'enough of London fogs,' and that she would 'receive with delight the news of another appointment.' The time came, fifteen years later, when her husband's recall

* Mr. Robinson says in 1809; Mr. Guy L'Estrange, in 1810.

definitely removed her from London, but her feelings then were very different from her anticipations in 1819.

'Notre existence ici est honorable et brillante'—so she wrote to Lord Aberdeen. 'Je l'aimerais fort si je pouvais oublier l'Angleterre, et si je ne vivais dans un climat fait pour les ours. . . . Je me sens bien loin de l'Europe, dans ce beau château. . . . J'ai un fond de société agréable, mais le cercle d'idées et de conversation est bien loin de ce qui a fait ma nourriture journalière pendant vingt-deux années. C'est bien triste, my Lord, de quitter des habitudes si longues et des habitudes qui m'étaient si chères.'

Before a year was over she had fled from St. Petersburg and established herself at Paris.

The many friendships which she had contracted or cemented in England between 1819 and 1834 were no doubt sufficient to account for this alteration in her opinions. But, in addition, it seems probable that her life from 1819 had been much fuller and more interesting than her life before that date. In the first six years of her long sojourn in England she had played a great social part. She had mingled with all that was best and brightest in English society; she had enjoyed the acquaintance or the friendship of every one that was worth knowing. But, from 1819 downwards, the interest which she had previously taken in social matters was supplanted by the greater interest which she gradually acquired in politics. From 1819 to 1825, indeed, she was alternately attracted by private friendships and political affairs (the first allusion to English politics in the letters to her brother occurs in 1823). But from 1825 her absorption in politics gave her comparatively little leisure for society. Domestic politics and foreign policy form the chief staple of her correspondence, the chief interest of her life.

This change in Madame de Lieven's interests was probably, in the first instance, quickened by her intimacy with Prince Metternich. She met the Prince at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, and, to quote the strong words of M. Daudet, 'elle s'était prise de passion pour lui, comme 'lui pour elle.' M. Daudet's words are amply justified by the extracts which he gives from her correspondence with the Prince. 'À demain. Demain je t'aimerai comme tous 'les jours de ma vie! Mon ami, comme il m'est doux de 't'aimer. C'est une si ravissante chose.' She longed for his company; she deplored his absence as a penance. To the world at large she seemed a prey to *ennui*. But the *ennui* was mainly caused by her separation from her lover.

The intimate relations which Madame de Lieven established with the Prince at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 were renewed at Verona in 1822. M. Chateaubriand has described in bitter language Madame de Lieven's presence at this famous Congress. He did not forgive her for her neglect of Madame Récamier, who had accompanied him to Verona. But even he admits that

'les Ministres, et tous ceux qui désirent le devenir, sont fiers d'être protégés par une dame qui a l'honneur de voir M. de Metternich aux heures où le grand homme, pour se délasser du poids des affaires, s'amuse à effiloquer de la soie.'

It is quite clear that her *salon* became the centre of all that was best at the Congress. She said herself that there was not a single woman of distinction there,* and that she was the sole representative of her species. At any rate, in language which shows that she believed her brother had no conception of her relations with Prince Metternich, she wrote:—

'Every evening the Congress assembles *chez moi*. Both Count Nesselrode and Prince Metternich urged me to allow this as a resource for them, and I find every advantage in such an arrangement, because it brings me into daily contact with those who are most noteworthy, either by the part they play in Europe or by their personal attractions. I already knew Prince Metternich fairly well by meeting him on several occasions; but here I have associated with him on the most friendly terms. The Duke of Wellington, too, who is the best and firmest of my English friends, comes to me constantly.'

The society with which Madame de Lieven was surrounded, and her long absence from Russia, induced her own fellow-countrymen at Verona to look on her with suspicion. In her own words, 'the Russians, diplomats and others, all look 'upon me as a foreigner.' She evidently, therefore, at that time had not superseded her husband in his functions of ambassador. But there was one exception to the distrust with which other Russians regarded her. It was at Verona that she gained the friendship of Count Nesselrode, the most distinguished of them all. Her friendship with Count Nesselrode gave her a new interest in politics. The Count had probably the perspicacity to see that he could derive the most valuable information from a woman of his own race, whose singular qualities gave her supremacy in every

* The judgement is a hard one on the long list of Princesses whose names are preserved by M. Chateaubriand in the 'Congrès de Vérone,' p. 34; and on Madame Récamier.

society which she entered, and who was the most intimate friend of the first man in England and the first man in Austria. Thenceforward the Princess became the Count's correspondent. Their letters have, so far, not been published; but we suspect that they were both frequent and long. 'I have been writing a long letter to Count Nesselrode,' so she wrote on one occasion to her brother. 'A volume of writing for Count Nesselrode has exhausted all my strength,' she added on another. It does not seem too much to say, therefore, that, after Verona, Count Nesselrode began to rely on her reports rather than on those of her husband; and that, from this date, she gradually took the increasing interest in politics which has given an historical importance to her letters.

The Congress of Verona, whose most distinguished members were passing their evenings in Madame de Lieven's *salon*, marks a distinct epoch in the foreign policy of Europe. Before it assembled, Austria and Russia had acted together, and had desired to preserve the peace of the world by imposing their own decisions upon the people of the Continent. The British Foreign Office, moreover, under Lord Castlereagh's guidance, had sympathised with the policy which had inspired the Holy Alliance. But Lord Castlereagh's tragic death occurred on the eve of the assembly of the Congress. Russia and Austria drifted apart at its deliberations, the former country supporting, the latter disliking, the interference of France in Spain, which almost immediately resulted from it; and the Holy Alliance never recovered from the divergent attitudes of the two Empires. At Verona the Duke of Wellington, under the guidance of Mr. Canning, who had succeeded Lord Castlereagh, supported the Austrian view; and, if no other great question had agitated the council-chambers of Europe, Austria and Great Britain might have drawn closer together. In the East, however, the Greek War of Independence was raising issues which were attracting the attention and exciting the sympathy of Western Europe. Russia, the hereditary foe of Turkey, was naturally inclined to look with favour on the cause of the Greeks; Austria, jealous of Russia's progress towards Constantinople, was anxious, on the contrary, to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire. The brutal measures which the Turks adopted to stamp out insurrection ultimately produced an alliance between Russia, France, and England, which led to the Treaty of London, the most important arrangement of Mr.

Canning's life, and, after his death, to the battle of Navarino. The fall of Lord Goderich's short-lived Ministry and the accession of the Duke of Wellington to power led to another change of policy in the British Foreign Office. The battle of Navarino was formally declared to be an untoward event; the new British Ministry looked with cold disapproval on the proposals which were subsequently made for carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of London, and when the Russo-Turkish war of 1828 broke out the Prime Minister of England hardly attempted to conceal his distrust of Russia.

These events had a marked effect on Madame de Lieven's opinions. 'Russian to the core,' as she described herself, she could not brook an anti-Russian feeling in her most intimate friends. Her opinion of the Duke of Wellington rapidly changed. After the fatal illness of Lord Liverpool in the spring of 1827 she persuaded herself that the struggle in the Cabinet was one between 'Gothic ideas and modern 'tendencies,' and that in this contest it was the first duty 'of every good Russian to support Mr. Canning.'

'He is a man of extraordinary talent, and he is honest. He is not a Jacobin, and he is the only member of the English Cabinet who is well disposed, entirely well disposed, towards Russia. He is absolutely opposed to the Austrian policy, and as anti-Turk as it is possible to be. On the other hand, one cannot but deplore the imprudence of his speeches. A man whom vanity and success carry away to the extent of giving to his words a meaning at variance with his intentions is not a statesman. I regret it, but we have cause to love Canning, and, for that reason, the other considerations do not trouble me.'

Mr. Canning, indeed, surrounded by many difficulties, did not pursue the anti-Turkish policy with the impetuosity which she had expected.

'A man may be bold enough so long as he is in the second rank, and yet lose his courage in the first; and such has been Mr. Canning's case. At last, however, he is moving and with us, and to hold back is impossible. Once Mr. Canning embarks, the ship must start on her course; the difficulty has been to start, to induce him to go on board.'

The anchor was weighed: the Treaty of London was signed. But the ship had hardly started on her voyage before she lost her pilot.

'We have just lost Canning. I say "we," because his loss really touches us personally. I say "we" also as Russians, for he was the sincere friend and ally of Russia.'

It was not unnatural that Madame de Lieven should prefer 'the Minister friendly to the Greeks to the Minister friendly 'to the Turks;' her preference for Mr. Canning naturally affected her relations with the Duke of Wellington. We have already seen that she had described the Duke at Verona as the best and firmest of her English friends. Two years before she had said of him:

'He is charming, agreeable, and accommodating in the highest degree. He is a most excellent resource for us, and quite happy if one will pet him. The truth is that London bores him, and he is never so much at ease as in our house.'

And in 1826, when the Duke accepted a mission to convey George IV.'s congratulations to the Emperor Nicholas on his accession to the throne, she told her brother:

'I am delighted that he is going to see our country; and I am sure that his visit will be greeted with much satisfaction by the Emperor and our people. I rejoice in anticipation, both in his success and in the impressions of our country which he will bring back. He is the finest and noblest character of the day; and he is probably even more distinguished by his feelings than even by his high military reputation. The visit he is paying to our country is a genuine pleasure to him, and England could not send an Ambassador more worthy of the great occasion.'

Alas! *Varium et mutabile semper femina.* A few months afterwards she denounced the Duke's conduct in opposing Mr. Canning as 'bad, perfidious, and injurious to the country;' and in 1828 she wrote: 'The Duke of Wellington 'is Prime Minister; the Duke of Wellington is Austrian. 'He prefers the trickiness of M. de Metternich to the 'straightforwardness of the Emperor Nicholas.' His own friends in the Cabinet 'are overawed by that despot 'Wellington.' 'If only I could wring the neck of this 'Government, how pleased I should be!' The Duke has no principles; to do nothing is the ruling principle of his policy. Bad faith and impotency are the characteristics of his Government. He has not even the merit of courage. 'A greater coward at bottom than this great Captain could 'not be found.'

We have quoted these extravagant utterances of an angry woman to show how little value can be attached to Madame de Lieven's judgement of men. Her opinions of public men, of their character, and of their capacity almost entirely depended on their Russian policy. But it is only fair to admit that the Duke's conduct gave her some cause for annoyance. We are not now alluding so much to his

anti-Russian policy, though, if we may apply a modern phrase, we think that his Grace, in 1828, 'put his money 'on the wrong horse.' But we have Lord Palmerston's testimony that the Duke had allowed 'a great many little 'things to set him against the Lievens,' and that his dislike of Russia was founded 'on strong personal feeling.' He persuaded himself, too, that from the formation of his Government M. and Madame de Lieven had been engaged (as principals) in intrigues to deprive him of power; that they had misrepresented at St. Petersburg all that he had done; and that he would be amply justified in insisting on their recall. If, then, Madame de Lieven was guilty of using terms of exaggerated censure when she was writing of the Duke, the Duke, on his side, did not measure his language when he was writing of Madame de Lieven; and, if we think Madame de Lieven's abuse undignified and in bad taste, we fear that we must add that the Duke's language was not quite worthy of him.

Provocation, indeed, the Duke had. It may be difficult to show that he was right in supposing that the Lievens had been 'parties to all party intrigues against' his Administration. Madame de Lieven herself said that 'to know every-'thing and to meddle in nothing' were her two chief duties. But, if she managed to know most things, no one can read her correspondence without perceiving that she meddled in a great many. A personal friend of George IV., in constant intercourse with him, she certainly did her best to influence him against his Prime Minister. She probably did more. It is well known that, in the closing months of the reign, the Duke of Cumberland used his utmost influence with the King to induce him to dispense with the Duke of Wellington's services. The Duke of Cumberland was the least reputable of the many sons of George III. There were stories current about him in 1829 and 1830 which might have made any woman shrink from his society; yet there is no doubt that at this time Madame de Lieven was in daily communication with him. It may be an exaggeration to say—as Lord Ellenborough says—that 'Madame de Lieven '[was] endeavouring to form a Government with the Duke 'of Cumberland, the Ultra Tories, the Canningites, and some 'Whigs;' but there can be little doubt that she was acting in a manner unusual in a lady in her position, and which accounts for and explains the Duke's resentment.*

* Her quarrel with the Duke was only temporary. Partly, perhaps, because the settlement of the Greek question removed the chief

It probably cost Madame de Lieven only a slight pang to separate from the Duke. But the years in which she drifted from him were destined to witness the rupture of her relations with another statesman, who held a much warmer corner of her heart. The cause and even the date of her estrangement from Prince Metternich are, so far as we are aware, unknown. M. Daudet thinks that it had commenced in 1823, and that 'elle [la rupture] leur fut sans doute 'imposée par l'impossibilité de se voir et de vaincre les 'obstacles qui les séparaient.' The rupture was, at any rate, complete in 1827, when the Prince contracted a second marriage with another lady. But we doubt whether M. Daudet is right in thinking that absence alone could have caused the breach. Through long years of separation Madame de Lieven maintained unbroken her friendship for Lord Grey; and, fond as she was of the Prime Minister of England, she had never felt for him the passionate admiration with which Prince Metternich had inspired her. We suspect, though we cannot prove, that her rupture with the Prince, like her quarrel with the Duke, was due to political causes. In the years which succeeded the Congress of Verona the policy of Russia and Austria, both in Western and Eastern Europe, widely diverged, and Madame de Lieven was always ready to censure the course which Prince Metternich was pursuing. The old Metternich, with whom she had fallen so violently in love at Aix-la-Chapelle, had been replaced in her imagination by a new Metternich,* with whom she had no sympathy. She lived to regard her former lover as the greatest rascal on the face of the earth ('le plus 'grand coquin du monde'), and to record her pleasure on hearing the Duke of Wellington say that he had never shared the opinion of his being a great statesman.

---

cause of difference; and partly, we suspect, in consequence of hints from Russia (see p. 275), she managed to re-establish her old friendly relations with the Prime Minister. The Duke had the good sense to meet her advances. 'He went to see my children in the country during my absence. This called for a little politeness on my part, so I wrote to him. He came to see me yesterday, and we ended by saying quite tender things to each other' (p. 225). The reconciliation was so marked that Lord Grey told her that he must 'congratulate the Duke on having so thoroughly subjugated' her. (Letters to Lord Grey, vol. i. p. 211.)

* Lord Grey, in writing to her in 1827, said, 'Even the Nouveau Metternich has disappeared from the scene;' and he is evidently employing an epithet which Madame de Lieven had previously used. (Correspondence, vol. i. p. 68.)

It was at about the time at which she first met Prince Metternich that she commenced the remarkable correspondence with Lord Grey which Mr. Guy L'Estrange has given us.* During the first years the letters which passed between them were infrequent, and they only gradually assumed the appearance of extreme affection which they ultimately wore. Politics at one moment indeed seemed likely to separate her from Lord Grey, as they had already estranged her from Prince Metternich and the Duke of Wellington. She actually told him, in 1827, that she should consider 'as personal anything [he might] say having a 'tendency to embarrass the fulfilment of the Treaty [of 'London].'

Lord Grey had the good sense to reply:

'You threaten me, and it is to me a severe threat, that, if I take the part which I feel it is my duty to take on the affairs of Greece, you will consider it a personal offence. This, of course, precludes all discussion. I must submit to the penalty, if I should be so unfortunate as to incur it; but, in my turn, I must add not a threat, but the expression of a resolution, equally sincere and equally firm, that, if our friendship is broken off on this ground, it never can be renewed.'

This firm language had a good effect, and, though Lord Grey and she frequently differed in opinion during the succeeding years, their differences led to no interruption either of their friendship or of the correspondence to which the student of history in the reign of George IV. is so much indebted. Madame de Lieven seems instinctively to have realised that Lord Grey was the Duke of Wellington's only possible successor. 'Take office, my dear Lord,' so she wrote to him in October, 1828. 'Take office, my dear Lord,' she repeated a few days afterwards; 'but then you will not. 'And the last is the plain truth; for, if you only wished it, 'you could become Premier.' 'The evening papers of last 'night already named you as Privy Seal. This offends me, 'for I will hear of no half measures for you. As I have 'already told you, the place you have to take is the first 'place. I see in you the only man capable of governing 'England.' These expressions were not perhaps very discreet when they came from the pen of an Ambassador's

* The published correspondence with Lord Grey begins in September, 1824; and Mr. L'Estrange says that the earliest of Lord Grey's letters to her which has been preserved is dated October, 1823. She, herself, however—in arranging the Correspondence in 1834—told Lord Grey that 'it begins in the year 1819.' (Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 32, *note.*)

wife. But they were the not unnatural tribute of a clever woman to the prominent statesman who was her most intimate friend. They prepare us, at any rate, for the genuine joy with which she received the news that Lord Grey had been instructed to form a Ministry.*

'You can imagine how delighted I am, my dear Lord. Honour paid to you is as dear to me as if it were paid to myself, and you have the most sincere good wishes of my affectionate friendship. . . . Good night, my dear Lord; sleep well; husband your health and strength, and all will go well.'

But, amidst her personal pleasure at the accession of her most intimate friend to the first place in the Ministry, she did not allow herself to neglect the interests of her own country. She at once asked Lord Grey to leave Lord Heytesbury at St. Petersburg (a request intelligible enough to anyone who has had the advantage of seeing Lord Heytesbury's unpublished Diary, and who is consequently aware of the high opinion which he had formed of the Emperor Nicholas), and to entrust the Foreign Office to Lord Palmerston,† whom a year before she had described as 'an adherent,' and who she now told her brother was 'perfect in every way.'

At this moment Madame de Lieven must have thought that she had secured all that it was possible for her to obtain. After more than seventeen years of life in England she had lived to see her 'most affectionate' friend Prime Minister, and a man of her own preference, who thirteen years before had been her partner in the first waltz she had danced in London, Foreign Secretary. But even the most fascinating of women cannot control the conduct of statesmen; and Madame de Lieven, in the next few years, found herself almost as hopelessly opposed to the foreign policy of Lord Grey's Cabinet as she had been some years before at variance with the foreign policy of the Duke of Wellington.

It must be admitted that Russia was peculiarly unfortunate in the period which is covered by the Administrations of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Grey. In the time of the Duke she was pursuing a policy in the East with

* Lord Grey's first act, on returning from the King, was apparently to send her a short note informing her that he had been commissioned to form a new Administration.

† Lord Grey had intended to give the Foreign Office to Lord Lansdowne. (See p. 410 and compare an equally curious letter on p. 275.)

which English Liberals were sympathising, and a Tory Cabinet was in office. In the time of Lord Grey she was pursuing a policy towards Holland, she was forced into a policy towards Poland, which every English Liberal disliked, and she had to reckon with a Liberal Ministry in England.

The separation of Belgium from Holland, in which Lord Palmerston played so great a share, was naturally distasteful to the Emperor Nicholas. On the one hand, it was the first considerable modification of the arrangements which had been made in 1815; and, on the other, it was prejudicial to the interests of the King of Holland, whose eldest son was brother-in-law to the Emperor. It was not, therefore, altogether surprising that Russia should have hesitated to ratify the treaty of November, 1831, under which the separation was finally effected. There were, indeed, rumours that the Russian Ambassador and his wife were themselves opposed to the ratification of the treaty, and were encouraging the King of Holland to resist its acceptance. Lord Grey alluded to this rumour, in writing to Madame de Lieven, on December 15, 1831, and drew from her a reply which is too long to quote here, but which showed that the accusation had severely tried her temper. It so happened that another circumstance at the moment was sorely straining Madame de Lieven's patience. The insurrection of the Poles, which had been perhaps another consequence of the unrest which had almost universally followed 'the 'glorious days of July,' was practically suppressed, and Prince Czartoryski, who had been the head of the Revolutionary Government, had escaped to this country. He called on Lord Grey, and Lord Grey invited him to dinner to meet Lord Palmerston. The incident threw the Lievens into a fury. The husband called on Lord Palmerston and lodged a formal remonstrance. The wife wrote an indignant letter to Lord Grey, complaining of his receiving 'a State 'criminal, convicted of high treason against his Sovereign— 'a Sovereign who is the friend and the ally of England.' Lord Grey, after saying 'that to anyone else my answer would 'have been short: that it neither became a Foreign Minister 'to offer, nor me to receive such a communication,' proceeded to explain and justify his conduct. But the lady did not immediately recover her temper. In the angry correspondence which ensued, Madame de Lieven became for the first time for many years 'dear,' instead of 'dearest' Princess, and Lord Grey became only most 'sincerely' instead of most 'affectionately' hers. After a few days'

reflection, indeed, both parties to the quarrel resumed their old relations of intimate friendship. But the wound, we suspect, continued to rankle. In no part of the period covered by the long correspondence with Lord Grey are the letters on either side so short, so infrequent, and so full of reproaches, as in the months which immediately succeeded the quarrel. Before it she said: 'People would have to be 'very clever ever to know whether I am Whig or Tory. I 'only display one colour—that is yours, I am *Grey*.' After her quarrel she wrote to her brother, 'I shall continue to 'cultivate Lord Grey, though he bores me not a little.'

Happily, however, in May, 1832, one cause of difference was removed by the conditional ratification of the Belgian treaty by Russia, and the correspondence between Lord Grey and Madame de Lieven was resumed almost at its former length and on its previous terms of affectionate intimacy. At this point, however, the lady's letters to her brother were almost entirely discontinued, and we lose the advantage which they up to that time supply of a running commentary on her correspondence with Lord Grey. The loss is the more serious because the relations between this country and Russia again became strained. Both in the West and in the East of Europe the policy which Russia was adopting was opposed to the views of the British Foreign Office. In the West, Russia disapproved the active interference of France and England, which placed Leopold of Saxe-Coburg in security on the throne of Belgium. In the East, the intervention of Russia arrested the progress of Mehemet Ali towards Constantinople, and led to the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. Thenceforward Lord Palmerston was inspired by a jealous suspicion of all that Russia had done and was doing, and gradually drifted into the policy of hostility which was ultimately consummated in the Crimean war.

To Madame de Lieven Lord Palmerston's policy came as a cruel surprise. He was the Minister of her own selection, who owed his position at the Foreign Office, as she thought, to her own recommendation. In 1830 she had considered him 'perfect in every way;' in 1832 she described him as 'a poor small-minded creature, wounded in his vanity, who 'wants a great warlike demonstration behind which he 'hopes to conceal his blunders.' In 1833 she confessed to hating him, and she had fresh cause for her hatred. For Lord Palmerston had selected Sir Stratford Canning as Lord Heytesbury's successor at St. Petersburg, and had

insisted on his appointment, though Madame de Lieven had assured him that he was not a *persona grata* to the Emperor Nicholas. Madame de Lieven appealed to Lord Grey. But the Prime Minister, whom she described about this time 'as such a thorough old woman that it is scarcely worth 'while mentioning him,' declined to interfere. In the negotiations which attended this unfortunate appointment Madame de Lieven undoubtedly showed less tact than temper. But her interference, which irritated Lord Palmerston, in no way condones that Minister's conduct. There is, happily, hardly another instance in history in which an Ambassador has been appointed to a foreign Court against the known wishes of its sovereign; and diplomacy would become impossible if the course which Lord Palmerston pursued in this matter was ordinarily followed.

The appointment was the more unfortunate because it led to a breach in our diplomatic relations with Russia. The Emperor refused to receive Sir Stratford, and the British Ministry did not venture to send him to St. Petersburg. The Embassy remained vacant, and in the following year the De Lievens were recalled from London. Possibly Count Nesselrode may have thought that their influence at the Court of St. James's was no longer useful. There are some grounds for presuming that, even during the Duke of Wellington's Administration, he had thought Madame de Lieven too ready to break from the men, on whom she was mainly dependent for the information which she was instrumental in procuring. After Lord Grey's accession to office he must have been disappointed to find that the Prime Minister, who was so near her heart, and the Foreign Secretary, of her own choosing, were drifting into a policy of pronounced antagonism to Russia. He may, therefore, have thought it prudent to terminate, at any rate for a time, her husband's mission. She, indeed, herself attributed her recall to Lord Palmerston. A few months after her arrival in Russia she wrote to Lord Aberdeen, in one of the unpublished letters which have been opened to us by the courtesy of Lord Stanmore:

'Il m'est prouvé depuis mon arrivé en Russie que c'est à Lord Palmerston que je dois d'avoir quitté, pour toujours peut-être, cette Angleterre que j'aime tant. M. de Talleyrand me disait un jour, "Il dépendra toujours d'un Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, quelque médiocre qu'il soit, de chasser un ambassadeur," et voilà ce qu'il a voulu, et ce qui est arrivé.'

The Emperor Nicholas did his best to gild the pill which

the De Lievens had to swallow. The husband was placed in charge of the Czarevitch; the wife was made Lady-in-Waiting to the Empress. But the splendour of the Russian Court could not reconcile Madame de Lieven to the tedium of Russian society or the severity of a Russian climate. Her health broke down; the death of two of her sons increased her disinclination to remain in St. Petersburg; and in the summer of 1835 she fled to Berlin, to Baden-Baden, and to Paris.

It is not perhaps necessary to examine too closely the reasons which induced her to leave Russia. Her own health necessitated her doing so; and the rumours which were whispered about her flight, and to which M. Daudet refers, need not be repeated in these pages. It seems certain, however, that the Emperor, for some reason, resented her going. She herself said that he would never forgive her; and, in her later correspondence, there is none of the enthusiasm for Russia and the Emperor that breathes through her earlier letters. The Emperor, indeed, displayed his annoyance at her absence in a manner which was hardly worthy of him. He refused her husband leave to go and see her. He persuaded M. de Lieven to show his disapproval of her residence in Paris, and even to threaten to deprive her of the means of living out of Russia. Incredible as it may seem, he did not permit her husband to announce to her the death of a third son, which she only learned thrugh a letter addressed to him being returned to her through the post with the word 'dead' written on the envelope.* Though he received her surviving sons he never mentioned their mother's name to them. He treated her as though she were dead. These allusions will perhaps explain her cry of anguish to M. Guizot: 'Je frémissais 'd'avance en songeant de l'avenir de mes enfans. Quel 'pays! quel maître! quel père! hélas!' or her equally bitter saying to Lord Grey, 'You, at any rate, do not ask the 'Emperor Nicholas if you may dare to love me, and whether 'you may dare to tell me so.'

* This son, it is fair to say, had incurred his father's displeasure, and died in America ('Correspondence with Lord Grey,' see vol. i. p. xviii.). But the husband knew of his boy's death four months before Madame de Lieven heard of it. 'To me, the boy's mother, he does not write because I am out of favour at Court. Russia is, indeed, a horrible country, when a man must thus abdicate all natural sentiments, and shrink from fulfilling the most common and sacred duties of life.' (*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 282.)

The years, in fact, from 1835 to 1839—the year when her husband died—were the unhappiest in Madame de Lieven's life. She said of herself in 1835 that 'she was nothing but 'a waif in the world.' She added in 1836, 'Condemned, as 'I am condemned, by our terrible climate to live exiled 'from my native land, separated from my husband, and 'forbidden by a thousand social reasons to go and live in 'the country that I love best of all in the world after my 'own, my lot is, indeed, a sad one.' She had, however, already formed a *salon* at Paris, which all the foremost men in France were in the habit of frequenting. She was still continuing her correspondence with Lord Grey. She had of late commenced a new correspondence with Lord Aberdeen; and she was on the eve of forming relations of the closest intimacy with M. Guizot, which were destined to bring her, in her old age, an enduring happiness, which she had, perhaps, never previously known.

In former days she had conceived a poor opinion of Lord Aberdeen. She had regarded him as 'a wretched Minister' and 'a poor diplomatist'; and though, as far back as 1829, she had become great friends with him during a visit to Tunbridge Wells, and had received from him many confidences, she told her brother at that time that his thoughts were 'mean and cowardly.' Possibly her increasing dislike of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy drew her more closely to his predecessor at the Foreign Office; at any rate in the autumn of 1832 she commenced the correspondence with him which continued for many years. For some time these letters have only the interest which attaches to the communications of a lady who was exceptionally well informed and deeply interested in the foreign policy of the world. But from Lord Aberdeen's accession to office in 1841 they have a higher importance. For Madame de Lieven had then become the chosen friend of M. Guizot, and, in consequence, she had excellent opportunities of cementing the *entente cordiale* between her two friends, whom she regarded as 'la personnification de la paix, de l'honneur, de la bonne 'foi politique dans leur acceptation la plus large.' In that anxious moment, when the peace of the world was threatened by an obscure quarrel between French and English in the Sandwich Islands, she laboured, to the utmost of her power, to prevent war. Her intimacy with M. Guizot enabled her to place before Lord Aberdeen the exact views of the Government of France. She repeated to him all that M. Guizot had said in his praise; she made M. Guizot read

and reread Lord Aberdeen's warm appreciation of his policy; and in this way she played a prominent part in effecting and preserving the good understanding between France and England which these two Ministers established, and which has always seemed to us one of the happiest features in the foreign policy of the nineteenth century.

Her great intimacy with M. Guizot commenced in 1837. After dinner with the Countess of Boigne at Châtenay they rambled together into the park, 'et là, seul à seul, ils se sont 'confessés; l'un à l'autre, la tristesse dont leur âme est 'pleine;' and M. Guizot,

'touché par ces accens, remué jusqu'aux entrailles par la pensée d'une âme à consoler, à relever, à guérir, a pris l'engagement qu'à peu de temps de là il lui rappellera en ces termes, "Souvenez-vous que la première parole qui nous a vraiment unis, c'est: Vous ne serez plus seule."'

In the happiness of her new friendship Madame de Lieven definitely abandoned all idea of leaving Paris. 'Elle s'y 'fixera, uniquement préoccupé d'arranger sa vie pour 'Guizot.' When he was in Paris M. Guizot called on her twice every day; when he was absent from her he never passed a day without writing to her.

'Il est l'unique joie de sa vie, sa lumière et sa conscience. Elle n'a plus que lui. Il est le seul à qui elle se soit révélée telle qu'elle est, le seul qui la connaisse, le seul à qui elle dit tout, et le seul aussi dont la parole ait assez d'efficacité pour apporter quelque soulagement aux épreuves et aux soucis dont le fardeau l'accable.'

It may be asked why, after the death of her husband in 1839, this touching friendship did not lead to marriage. M. Guizot himself supplied the answer in writing to Lord Aberdeen immediately after her death:

'Il me revient que quelques personnes, en Angleterre comme en France, croyent et disent que nous étions mariés en secret. Si ce propos là vous arrive, je vous prie de le démentir absolument. Rien de secret ne nous eût convenu, ni à l'un, ni à l'autre. De plus, je n'aurais jamais épousé personne sans lui donner mon nom, et elle tenait au sien. Nous avions raison tous deux.'

In the same letter from which this extract is taken M. Guizot gave to Lord Aberdeen an account of her death.

'À l'approche du moment suprême, elle a voulu que nous sortissions de sa chambre. "Je veux dormir," m'a-t-elle dit. Deux heures après elle n'était plus, et son fils Paul me remettait, de sa part, une lettre écrite au crayon, la veille au soir, d'une main ferme, cachetée

par elle-même, et pleine d'affection *—les dernières lignes qu'elle ait écrite.'

We have in the last few pages travelled far beyond the text of this article; but, before we finally conclude it, we must endeavour, however imperfectly, to sum up the character of the remarkable woman on whose letters it is based. In her life many hard things were said of her. She was a spy; she was guilty of intrigue; she abused the advantages of her position to betray or to embarrass the men to whom she was mainly indebted for the information which it was her chief business to procure. And no doubt there is some foundation for all these charges. Madame de Lieven did actively interfere in English politics in a manner which, to say the least, is unusual in ladies of foreign birth. But then it is fair to recollect that, if her conduct was unusual, her position was unique. For all practical purposes she was Russian Ambassadress in England; and the fair way of judging her conduct is to consider whether she did more than an exceptionally able ambassador would be justified in doing. Tried in this way we are not disposed to condemn her.

Her leading characteristic was her intense admiration of her own country, and, till 1834, of its ruling dynasty. She was, as she said herself, Russian to the core; and though she could not reconcile herself to the dulness of a Russian court or the severity of a Russian climate her ambitions and her aspirations were all for Russia and its rulers. She judged the statesmen with whom she was thrown into contact by their policy towards Russia. She had no patience with those men who were opposed to the developement of the Russian Empire. She never measured her words in denouncing their policy. We do not for one moment believe that in her heart Madame de Lieven thought the Duke of Wellington cowardly in 1828, still less that she considered Lord Grey an old woman in 1833. These phrases are merely her strong way of expressing her disapproval of their opinions.

No other woman who ever lived was the intimate confidant of so many men of first-rate eminence. She inspired Lord

* Mr. Robinson says this note ran, 'Je vous remercie pour vingt années d'affection et de bonheur.' Mr. Greville quotes it, 'Merci pour vingt années d'am tié et de bonheur.' M. Daudet renders it, 'Je vous remercie des vingt années d'affection et de bonheur. Adieu, adieu! Ne m'oubliez pas. Ne refusez pas ma voiture de soir.' The concluding words were explained by a clause in her will in which she left him 8,000 francs a year to enable him to keep his carriage.

Grey with a passion which makes one smile. In the last twenty years of her life she was bound to M. Guizot by ties of the tenderest attachment, and these were only two of the many men of mark who hovered round the candle and were singed by the flame. We are far from endorsing all the scandal which was at one time busy with her name. She probably herself indeed held rather elastic views in an elastic age on certain subjects. She, at any rate, told William IV. that the Emperor Nicholas was given to gallantry, and that the Empress was not jealous because the Emperor always made her his confidante—a saying which recalls the relations of George II. with Queen Caroline. But we cannot suppose that the affectionate phrases which she used herself or which she inspired in others necessarily implied any irregular attachment. As we said some years ago in reviewing her correspondence with Lord Grey, 'It would be absurd to 'attribute what is called gallantry to these effusions between 'an elderly gentleman of sixty and a lady of forty whose 'personal charms were the least of her attractions.'

Her influence was very great. It is amazing to think, but it is apparently certain, that Lord Palmerston was made Foreign Minister at her suggestion. It is equally amazing to know that the Speech from the Throne in 1831 was modified on her remonstrance. The amendment made in the Speech—the substitution of the word 'contest' for the word 'war' in reference to the Polish Rebellion—was no doubt innocuous. But the surprising fact is that the wife of the Russian Ambassador should have been allowed the opportunity of seeing the Speech before it was delivered. She, at any rate, is not to blame in this matter. If censure is to be applied to anyone, it must fall on Lord Grey and not on Madame de Lieven. But we own, we confess, to a feeling which we have derived from perusing the correspondence that, if Prime Ministers will imitate other men, and lose their hearts, they had better, both for the sake of themselves and their country, avoid the charms of the wives of foreign ambassadors.

If her influence was great, it was, on the whole, wisely and beneficially employed. No Russian can deny that she strove from first to last to promote the interests of her own country. She may have been occasionally mistaken in her methods, but she was always constant in her aims. No fair Englishman will refuse to acknowledge that she laboured to promote and to maintain a good understanding between Russia and this country in the earlier part of her

life, and that she was instrumental in promoting the *entente cordiale* between France and England towards the close of it. In this way she rendered a real service to the world; and it is humiliating to think that British public men endeavoured to repay it by preventing her return to Paris after the Crimean War. Lord Palmerston might have had the generosity to reflect that, however much she might have opposed his policy, he owed his first appointment to the Foreign Office to her influence, and, if this consideration had not sufficed, he might surely have said, as the Duke of Wellington had said in 1828: 'I am too great to make her my victim.'*

In her life she had her full share of sorrow and disappointment. She had the misfortune to lose three of her sons. She had the disappointment to see her country defeated by France and England, and she had also the mortification to reflect that her own views of men had almost always been modified as time went on. The men in whom she put her chief faith, like Prince Metternich and Lord Palmerston, lived to pursue a policy which she abhorred. The man whom she had despised—Lord Aberdeen—she came to regard as the wisest and best of English statesmen. Even the Crimean War did not dissolve this friendship. 'Mauvaise année!' so she wrote to him early in 1855, 'que j'essaye vainement de vous souhaiter bonne. 'C'est un souhait bien personnel, et qui s'arrête devant les 'choses auxquelles vous touchez. Ah, mon Dieu! en être 'venu là entre nous, avec *vous* gouvernant l'Angleterre. . . . 'Adieu, mon très cher Lord Aberdeen, mon cher ennemi, 'mon cher ami. Toute à vous.' For two men alone—Lord Grey and M. Guizot—she retained an unbroken friendship. The first gave her twenty years of affectionate correspondence; the second brought her twenty years of happiness and love.

Such was Madame de Lieven. With the intellect of a man, and the sensibilities of a woman, she exerted her sway over monarchs and statesmen, and obtained, through their means, an influence which few women have enjoyed. That she had great faults—faults of judgement and temper—few even of her admirers would have denied. That she had

* The exact saying was, 'Je suis trop grand pour faire de ces gueux (mon mari et moi) mes victimes.' But we are not concerned with the Duke's not very gallant words, but with his action in refusing to demand her husband's recall.

great virtues of heart and head few even of her critics should forget. It is not perhaps for the interest of the human family that any of her successors should walk in her footsteps and follow her example. But perhaps some of our readers may feel fresh interest in receiving the gentleman who has just been appointed to represent the Russian Empire at the Court of St. James by recollecting that he bears the maiden name, and is, we understand, the near relative of the lady who played so great a part in the society and politics of London in the reign of George IV.

ART. X.—1. *Speech of the Right Hon. Arthur Balfour, M.P., First Lord of the Treasury, at the Guildhall, November* 10, 1902. (The 'Times.')

2. *The Enemies of England.* By the Hon. GEORGE PEEL. London: Edward Arnold. 1902.

3. *England and France in the Mediterranean,* 1660–1830. By WALTER FREWEN LORD. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1901.

4. *Imperialism: A Study.* By J. A. HOBSON. London: Nisbet & Co. 1902.

Is international policy to become the sport of angry passions and popular ill-temper, or to be guided by statesmen upon principles of prudent patriotism and an enlightened desire to further the interests of the nations for whom they act? The question thus broadly stated admits, of course, of only one answer from men of common-sense. Yet to-day, as often before in history, danger to the peace of the world is far more likely to arise out of the mere antipathies springing from national rivalries than as the result of the necessary clashing of deliberate policy.

We are told that the English are heartily disliked at the present time by almost every nation, great and small, on the continent of Europe. We are ourselves animated, we are conscious, by no national hostility whatever. When we are angry with Germans, or Frenchmen, or Russians, it is only because 'they began it.' Hot, or insulting, or unfair, language on their part imposes upon our self-respect the necessity of a suitably indignant reply. And so it goes on! It is the nature of a cheap press in all countries to be emotional, to exaggerate, whilst reflecting the popular feeling of the moment. It is chiefly between Germany and England at the present time that this sort of ill-feeling exists; but in the past the same miserable spirit has shown itself in our relations at different times with France, and Russia, and America. Under its influence everything is done to fan mutual animosity. The language of moderate men is left unlistened to and unreported; whilst that of the excited and the violent is circulated everywhere. To be violent is to be patriotic. No caricature is too low to remain unnoticed. Extraordinary ingenuity is brought to bear to torture history into presenting a detestable picture of the hated nation, of the dark designs that have always animated its

leading statesmen; and every sort of unsifted gossip is pressed into the service by prejudiced partisans as evidence to blacken still further the character and the motives of jealous and rival nations.

'Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,

are the words of our National Anthem, interpreting truly enough the sentiments of the English people towards their country's enemies. But till the foreigner is actually our enemy, it may be wiser to be a little more discriminating in our survey of the policy and designs of neighbour nations. It is wonderful how soon amongst ignorant men, and even amongst some who should know better, the theory of 'natural enemies' becomes accepted, upon which follows almost as a corollary the doctrine of 'inevitable war.'

In Germany surely, if not the newspapers, at least learned professors, might pause to reflect on what their country has to gain from the hostility of England before they have recourse to language of abuse and hate. It would be most unjust to suppose that there are not large numbers of educated Germans who greatly deplore the mischief that is thus wantonly done, and who resent the supposition that all this violent speaking and writing give a true picture of sober German feeling. In the same way in England much has been said and written that gives a most distorted impression of the condition of political opinion here, amongst moderate men of all classes, including, we believe, all our leading statesmen on both sides of politics. After all, Germany is not governed by excited professors, or anonymous journalists, and England is governed by responsible statesmen; and it is, therefore, not likely to be forgotten how enormously important it is to each nation to remain on friendly terms with the other. At a time when so much foolish and irresponsible language is habitually indulged in, it is a real relief to find the Prime Minister at the annual Guildhall banquet last November striking a different note. Between the Great Powers themselves no strained relations existed; but nevertheless the future, he said, was not free from anxiety.

'As geologists point to certain faults along the strata of the earth . . . so in the sphere of politics these weak places are to be found almost entirely at those points where the higher civilisation comes into contact with the less high civilisation, where order comes in contact with disorder, good government with bad government, Western ideas with Eastern ideas. There is the position of unstable equilibrium, there is

the point at which dangers have occurred and may occur, and it will be the great task of European and international statesmanship, that when these dangers occur, they do not menace the peace of the world, they do *not* bring into conflict those tremendous forces which would be called into play were two first-class civilised Powers again to join in mortal conflict.'

Mr. George Peel's book—'The Enemies of England'—is an able attempt to vindicate throughout the whole of English history the consistency of principle which he maintains has lain at the bottom of English foreign policy. The true key to that policy he finds in the fixed determination of Englishmen to resist any Continental Power mighty enough and ambitious enough to threaten the freedom of the rest of Europe. Our national sentiment for freedom abroad, combined with the national instinct of self-preservation, has made England the natural and inevitable foe of Continental dictatorship. It was this spirit which animated our forefathers to resist the spiritual pretensions of the Gregorys and the Innocents, and which in later days was to check the ambitions of Philip II. and Louis XIV., of Napoleon and the Czar Nicholas.

No Englishman would willingly dispute a proposition so congenial to his patriotic sentiment. England has indeed done great things on behalf of the liberties of Europe; and in so doing has at one time or another crossed the path of every one of the great nations of the world. Pitt's last speech on Lord Mayor's Day, 1805, declaring that 'England had 'saved herself by her exertions and would yet save Europe 'by her example,' was no more than the truth. But why should this love of liberty have entailed upon us the undying hatred of the whole world? In fighting Napoleon we freed Germany and protected Russia. When we fought Nicholas we helped France, and it seems somewhat hard that in the twentieth century the sum total of the 'enmities' so created should weigh against us, whilst there should be no 'friendships' to place against them in the other scale!

The object of Mr. Peel's book is to account for the present ill-feeling, to use no stronger term, manifested against this country abroad. The answer he finds in our love of freedom and in our determination to resist a European dictatorship. He is able historically to establish that this spirit has continuously animated English foreign policy, though it must be admitted that there have often been other causes influencing our conduct. He must, however, go a great deal further than this to establish the main thesis of his

book. Full of interest as it is, a careful reader will lay it down with a certain undefined sense that the arguments (perhaps here and there even the evidence), ably marshalled by a skilful advocate, have, in truth, resulted from the foregone conclusion of the author rather than the conclusion from the arguments.

The importance of the book is in its bearing on the politics of the present day, and we have therefore no intention of discussing old English controversies with Rome, the wars of the Plantagenets, or those of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. England herself was once, even if she is no longer, an ambitious as well as a freedom-loving Power. The Nation and the Empire were in course of building, and Englishmen then, as now, were not less ready than others to take strong methods with those who crossed their path. For our part, we do not believe that the sentiments of European nations towards each other, or their political relations towards each other, are appreciably affected by hereditary friendships and antagonisms dating from a period earlier than the final overthrow of Napoleon. There was formerly what struck our forefathers as a natural 'enmity' between France and England, whilst with Germany, with whose people we had many ties, we were for the most part good friends. Russia had in some great crises in our history been on our side, sometimes against us; whilst in the last terrible years of the Napoleonic wars the gigantic weight which she threw into the scale was a great element in our final triumph. Since those wars much has happened to give the national sympathies of European nations a new bent. Even the secular animosity between France and England has almost disappeared, and it would be strange indeed if the hereditary taint of the much milder antagonisms which in old days sometimes strained the relations between Englishmen and Germans, or Englishmen and Russians, poisoned in this twentieth century the maintenance of a happy understanding between Great Britain and the German Empire, or between Great Britain and the Czar. The nations of Europe are not yet, alas! a happy family, but without any boasting we may surely claim that in these latter days international relations are founded on something better than hereditary antipathies, recalling the death feuds of the Highland clans.

We are by no means convinced that our own long past history accounts for the maintenance to-day of the various 'enmities' which Mr. Peel recounts. After all, we are not

the only nation in Europe which is unwilling to 'lie at the 'proud foot of a conqueror;' and it is probable that the dislike that is felt to England on the Continent is due far less to our past record than to the view held—in great part a very mistaken one—of British conduct and British aims in the present. It is the duty of our statesmen and our diplomatists, and of the many less official but hardly less powerful persons who influence opinion at home and abroad, to do their best to convince other nations of the uprightness of our intentions and of our earnest wish to be good friends, if they will only let us, with Frenchmen notwithstanding Waterloo, with Russians notwithstanding Sebastopol, with Germans notwithstanding Frederick the Great.

British foreign policy ought not to be, and has not been for many a long year, directed by jealousy of the military fame or power of any Continental nation. Our statesmen have regard to our own safety and our own interests, and our national ambitions lie in a field where they need not disturb the susceptibilities of the Powers of Europe. No doubt in the process of building it, inasmuch as our Colonial Empire was largely won from France, and Holland, and Spain, those nations must have felt a keen resentment against us; but, as we have said, more recent events have largely wiped from European memories the recollection of those ancient days, and Mr. Peel is probably right in not attributing the cause of modern 'enmities' to England in any great degree to a rankling sense of wrong on the part of the nations who preceded us in the work of colonisation.

Where, then, do British interests really lie? In our safety at home and beyond the seas, in the security of our trade and commerce, and in preventing attempts to check their expansion. In the eyes of Englishmen the measures of precaution which we are bound to take in so safeguarding ourselves contain no element of threat whatsoever against any foreign Power. Our fortunate geographical position absolves us from every desire to add to British territory at the expense of our European neighbours. France, Germany, Russia, Austria are less happily placed, and the coveting and acquisition of provinces have been no small cause of the dissensions and heartburnings between them. During the last half century, indeed, we have set an example in the opposite direction. Neither Lord Palmerston nor Lord Salisbury were 'Little Englanders,' but the former voluntarily surrendered the Ionian Islands to Greece, and the latter Heligoland to Germany. As a

matter of fact, we greatly question whether either possession really added anything to the national strength. The acquisition of Cyprus by the treaty of Berlin was in form an arrangement with a friendly Power, and concerned the politics of Asia rather than of Europe; and it still remains to be proved that either in character or in strength our nation gained much by that transaction.

Great Britain has throughout the whole of last century given ample proof of her freedom from a spirit of aggression on the territory of her neighbours. The element where she claims pre-eminence is the sea. About the necessity of this pre-eminence Englishmen of every political party and variety of opinion are in absolute agreement. They hold that their safety requires a very great superiority of naval power over any probable combination of enemies. In this they have no thought of aggression, and not the slightest wish to provoke the jealous susceptibilities of rival nations. If this policy should give offence in any quarter, English statesmen may regret it; but neither they nor the people will on that account in the least degree relax their efforts to provide effectually for the national safety.

Great as has been the change during the last century in the distribution amongst the nations of political power, great as have been the changes produced by the railway system in the developement of Continental traffic and commerce, they have served only to accentuate for England the importance of her possessing overwhelming power at sea. In every ocean and in every sea we have greater interests at stake than in the days of Napoleon. We are more exclusively dependent on commerce; our very necessities of life come to us across the seas; we have dominions in every quarter of the globe that we must protect. Our responsibilities have greatly increased with our expansion; and we must make corresponding efforts to act up to them. In some men's eyes the position of England seems, strangely enough, to resemble that of a fortress whose main defence is the moat surrounding it; and accordingly they advise us to garrison it and to store it as we do Malta! As a matter of fact, our wars have never in the remotest degree resembled a siege. The centre of our strength lies, of course, in the United Kingdom; but our success has always depended and will always depend upon our ability to make that strength felt away from our own shores.

Early in 1797 the British fleet evacuated the Mediterranean, leaving not a single position east of Gibraltar in

British hands. Sir John Jervis won his great victory off Cape St. Vincent on February 14. In October, Camperdown defeated the Dutch off the Texel, and the severity of the strain and danger of that most trying year was lightened. During that year no British ship entered the Mediterranean, and when, in May, 1798, Nelson took his fleet into that sea in order to defeat Bonaparte's known intention of despatching a large army from Toulon, with the view (so Pitt surmised) of effecting a landing in Ireland, he was too late. Napoleon and his army landed safely in Egypt. Nelson, it is true, destroyed his fleet at the battle of the Nile; but the French army remained in possession of Egypt till three years afterwards, when the large expedition under Abercromby and Hutchinson, joined by Sir David Baird's troops from India, brought about the complete evacuation by the French of that country. It was a striking lesson for England of the all-importance of maintaining a hold on the Mediterranean in the event of war with France. Incidentally, perhaps, another lesson is to be learned from the successful landing of Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition. Nelson's fleet was 'a fleet in being,' if ever there was one. Though Nelson did not know it, he was actually between Bonaparte and his destination. Yet the invading army escaped him, and it was not till many weeks after the troops had landed that Nelson at last caught the enemy's fleet at Alexandria.

To these events Mr. Lord attributes the change that came over English opinion in regard to the Mediterranean.

'Prior to 1798 the Mediterranean had been regarded as one of the minor European complications, which every diplomatist must needs master, but which had no very vivid or peculiar interest for England more than for any other nation. . . . The idea that it led anywhere seems to have been hardly grasped, and authority was on the side of England cutting herself loose altogether from an embarrassing and unprofitable connection.'

And he goes on to quote the curious language of Pitt in the debate prior to the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens. 'The external trade of England,' said the Prime Minister, 'is with the East Indies and the Mediterranean. It fortu-'nately happens that the chief British conquests have been 'in the Mediterranean; they include Egypt, Malta, Porto 'Ferrajo, and Minorca. To give these up costs nothing; 'to retain them but serves to mortify the pride of France— 'a dangerous course.' We do not feel so sure as does Mr. Lord that this language, having regard to the then circumstances, does any discredit to Pitt's statesmanship. But

what is the state of things in the Mediterranean to-day, a century after Pitt used these words? He spoke of the importance of our trade with the East Indies. It did not then, but it does now, flow along the Mediterranean. The Suez Canal is our great route, not only to India and the Farther East, but to the Egyptian coast on the Red Sea, to Abyssinia, to Somaliland, to Aden, to the Persian Gulf, and the East Coast of Africa. Our occupation of Egypt has made any abandonment of the Mediterranean absolutely impossible, and our power in that sea is scarcely less important in case of a rupture with Russia than with France. The Black Sea, it is scarcely too much to say, has been abandoned, and not merely opened to Russia; and henceforth Russia may almost be considered a Mediterranean Power. A combination between the two nations against England, strong enough to dominate the Mediterranean, would place us in a position very different from that—bad as it was—which was our lot in 1797.

In the eyes of our sailors there is but one sea. Naval predominance is not confined by local limitations; and the Mediterranean is only adduced as an instance of what the loss of local supremacy would at once mean to us. But the loss of supremacy locally would be but the first step to its loss everywhere else. In 1798, our general supremacy having been restored by the battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown, we reappeared in the Mediterranean. In the present condition of the world, we should not easily recover the effects of a single year's enforced exclusion from the Mediterranean.

Mr. Lord comments severely on the various proposals made by British statesmen since the capture of Gibraltar, in 1704, to surrender that key of the Mediterranean.

'British Ministers are not to be blamed for the fact that England still holds Gibraltar, for they made six resolute attempts to get rid of the place. They were only baffled by the determination of the people that the Rock should not be abandoned. In this the people may have been right or may have been wrong. Their feeling on the subject may have been what Lord Townshend called it, "a violent and superstitious zeal," or it may have been a sound political instinct. The fact remains that from the first Gibraltar and all that sprang from our hold of Gibraltar was essentially a popular question, and nothing else. The key of the Mediterranean remained English because no Cabinet ventured to approach the House of Commons with the proposal that it should be handed over to any other nation.'

France, in going to Algeria and to Tunis, England, in

going to Egypt, protested that the last thing either of them contemplated was the permanent acquisition of territory. Each viewed the proceedings of the other with no little jealousy. It certainly was not the intention of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, in 1882, to do more than restore order in a country which our own interests would not suffer either to lapse into anarchy or to fall under the control of another European nation. We have to deal now with accomplished facts. West of Tripoli France is established along the Mediterranean to the frontiers of Morocco. Eastward lies England. So great has been the modification in the conditions of the Mediterranean problem.

If we wish to be quite fair towards the 'less civilised 'nations,' of whom Mr. Balfour speaks, we must admit that 'where Eastern and Western ideas meet' the danger to the peace of the world sometimes springs less from the want of civilisation of these peoples than from the rival ambitions of their civilised friends. Look once more at the Mediterranean—essentially the sea of ancient civilisations. In modern history, till within the memory of living men, almost the whole south coast of the Mediterranean was given up to barbarism. There is to-day a wide region left—the State of Morocco—far larger than France, stretching from the boundaries of Algeria, on the Mediterranean, to the Atlantic Ocean, opposite the Canary Islands. Here, it must be admitted, barbarism of a pronounced type still reigns. On Morocco French and British and Russians are keeping watchful eyes. It is not that civilisation takes one view, and barbarism another. Eastern and Western ideas are not ranged against each other in two great camps. No! the only chance of a prolonged life to barbarism arises from divergence of view, caused by the rival ambitions of the Great Powers of Europe. We have said something already of the growth of British interests in the great central sea. France thinks, perhaps not unnaturally, that with Corsica, and Algeria, and Tunis in her permanent possession she also stands to lose more in that sea than at the beginning of the revolutionary wars.

Ordinary French sentiment, we are convinced, enormously exaggerates British jealousy of their young colonial Empire; and it does great credit to many French statesmen that they are able to take a less suspicious and more true view of the aims of our policy. To French newspapers a few years ago the acquisition of Madagascar gave special delight, since it was regarded by them as a blow to English power

and ambitions in the Indian Ocean! Frenchmen boast, as they are well entitled to do, of the enormous territory that has been added to France in the last twenty years. They have become the friend of all little nations, they say. 'Seule l'Angleterre surveillait avec inquiétude les progrès 'de notre empire colonial.'* The Fashoda incident has left behind it a rankling sense of injury. The enforced withdrawal of Captain Marchand, 'sous une injonction 'brutale, sans réserve et sans compensation,' has not been forgotten. In Siam England has been intriguing against them. In Morocco the same thing is coming to pass. Everywhere England is endeavouring successfully to push them aside.

'Le Maroc,' continues the writer already quoted, 'est une de ces questions vitales sur lesquelles il est impossible de céder. La situation est absolument la même qu'à Tunis, avant 1881. Nous ne pourrions sans abdiquer souffrir une puissance rivale sur le flanc très vulnérable de notre colonie algérienne. Il faudrait renoncer à l'Algérie elle-même, c'est-à-dire à notre rang de grande-puissance. Non seulement le Maroc libre ou soumis à notre influence représente pour nous la sécurité de la frontière terrestre, mais il détient la clé de notre situation maritime dans l'Afrique du Nord. Le jour où nos vaisseaux pourront mouiller à Mogador nous aurons une sortie sur l'Atlantique, et nous ne passerons plus nécessairement sous les canons de Gibraltar. Nous pourrons alors nous désintéresser du sort de Tanger.'

Mr. Lord holds that Tunis is but a poor compensation to France for the loss of Egypt. In spite of all that has happened to her disadvantage in the last quarter of a century, she is still the second Power in the Mediterranean,

'but she counts as a Power which can damage England rather than as one likely herself to attain to a dominating position; whereas in 1868 men asked, and asked reasonably, what limits can be set to the reach of France, it is now of England that the same question is asked. The answer is not far to seek; the limits are set firstly by the power and will of France to revenge herself, and secondly by the attitude of Russia when she becomes a Mediterranean Power.'†

That Germany, in 1870–71, became the first military Power in Europe effected an immediate change in the conditions of stable equilibrium throughout the world; and, though Germany is not a Mediterranean Power, her triumph of a generation ago, and its consequences, have had not a little to

* 'Quatre Ans de Politique Extérieure' (extrait de la 'Revue Politique et Parlementaire,' Oct. 1902, Paris).

† England and France in the Mediterranean, p. 69.

say to the relative positions held by France and England at the present day in the Midland Sea.

Those best acquainted with the language of hostility towards England common in France and Germany will give most credit to the Governments of those countries for the success with which during our time of trial they maintained a 'correct' attitude. This is made a great complaint against them by their angry critics at home. Why, it is asked in France, did M. Delcassé miss the opportunity of the Boer war to press upon England such questions as those of Morocco, Siam, and Indo-China? Then was the time to exact compensations for French concessions on the Nile. Why, ask the Germans, should their Emperor on more than one occasion flout popular opinion by his visits to England, even decorating with Imperial Orders a British general for distinction won in a wicked war? It has been rare in any war for neutrals to gain the respect of either combatant. The sympathy of foreign nations during our war with the Boers was certain, from the nature of the case, to be with the smaller nation—the one which was being conquered. There is surely nothing recondite about the causes which during the last three years have brought down upon our heads such a heavy torrent of invective. But these causes are not permanent ones. Heated animosities will die out, if Governments are strong enough to tide over temporary storms of popular opinion, and to keep their eyes fixed on the real interests and welfare of the people they govern.

It is not our intention to examine on this occasion in any detail the particular questions where divergence may arise between our own interests and those of other nations, but rather to consider the general spirit in which we should contemplate them. In the last few years there have been changes of great political importance in every quarter of the globe. In the Pacific but a few years ago Great Britain was practically the only naval power. How little that is true in the reign of King Edward VII. we discussed in our article of last July.* It is our duty, and it should be our wisdom, to accommodate ourselves to changing conditions as best we may, not to endeavour vainly to bar the way against the world's progress. We have neither the right nor the power to hinder the Russians from spanning with their railways the vast tracts of Northern Asia, though their doing so inevitably gives them a great increase of

* The Mastery of the Pacific, 'Edinburgh Review,' July, 1902.

political power at Paris. If the new conditions appear to threaten British interests, we must search for some method of safeguarding them consistent with the recognition of existing facts. Lord Salisbury, at all events, saw clearly where our interests lay, and what were the best means of protecting them. Hence the Commercial Treaty with China, and the formal alliance with Japan.

France, Germany, Russia, and the United States have all in recent years greatly extended their territorial possessions and consequently their interest in remote parts of the world; and it certainly does not become a Power like Great Britain to thwart other nations in their attempts to follow her example, so long as her own position is not endangered by their advance. The United States have taken the whole of the Western Hemisphere, save British America, under their protection, and have warned off the rest of the world. It is not our business either to promote or to hinder such ambitions as these unless they directly affect our own position. We should, however, avoid a tone of gushing complaisance no less steadily than a tone of carping complaint to be immediately followed by grudging acquiescence. There is no particular reason why we should *encourage* Germany to establish a dominion in China, *invite* Russia to advance to a warm-water port the property of another nation, or pat the United States on the back for her adherence to the Monroe Doctrine. These great nations are quite able to extend their own influence without being incited thereto by British statesmanship.

It has become almost a natural instinct with Englishmen to keep out of 'entangling alliances' with continental nations; and on the whole it is hardly possible to doubt that in general our independent position best serves our own interest and the preservation of the peace of the world. But an attitude of this kind surely need not bring upon us the almost universal popular hostility with which it is said that we are regarded abroad. When, however, all is said on this subject, is it quite certain that the *depth* of these national antipathies is not greatly exaggerated? Some striking event brings now and then suddenly to the surface a good deal of popular emotion. In all countries, especially in democratic countries, statesmen are sorely tempted to ride on the crest of the wave, and to fan rather than to calm the passions of the times. Orators, authors, journalists, even poets, vie with each other in supplying the 'ar demands of the moment. If, under circumstances so

trying, any Government (at home or abroad) can maintain an attitude which is regarded by other Governments as 'correct,' it is not a little to their credit and it is something to be thankful for.

A few years ago the message of President Cleveland to Congress suddenly strained the relations between the two great Anglo-Saxon nations. Lord Salisbury has several times asserted that in modern times the danger to peace springs less from the ambitions and plans of statesmen than from the passions of the people. Here, at all events, the danger was, in the first instance, entirely due to the rash and ill-considered act of the American President. Lord Salisbury is a strong man, and he showed himself able to keep his temper and to keep his head. Because on the other side of the Atlantic there had been an utter want of all dignity and decorum, there was the more occasion that on our side there should be found the qualities of a statesmanship of a higher order. For the United States and the British Empire to quarrel over the delimitation of Venezuela would have disgraced the intelligence and discredited the character of both nations. Lord Salisbury's patience and wisdom—his true patriotism—had their reward. And an infinitely better feeling between Englishmen and Americans has resulted out of a state of affairs which less well managed would have almost certainly ended in discord. We call attention here to these things because of the many reckless and mischievous assertions made during the Venezuelan crisis that such was the antagonism between the people of America and the people of Great Britain that rupture was only a question of time and opportunity. 'War 'was bound to come.' Foolish speeches, letters to newspapers, leading articles in irresponsible and sensational journals, were paraded to show that the people of the United States had been long preparing to eject Great Britain from the continent of America! That the Americans hated the English was a fact, regretted by the better class of American citizens, but declared in America to be natural enough considering the mean and selfish part which Great Britain had always played.*

President Cleveland's message 'revealed,' according to Professor Adams, 'like a flood of light, the existence of a 'widespread popular dislike—it would hardly be too strong

* 'Why Americans Dislike England,' by Professor George Burton Adams, Professor of History in Yale University. Philadelphia, 1896.

'to say hatred—of England in this country. There is no 'other country in the world against which there could have 'been excited by a similar message on a similar issue so 'sudden and apparently universal a passion.' Reaction, Professor Adams continues, soon followed, and there was then revealed 'a feeling of love for England and a recog- 'nition of the essential unity between us.' Which feeling was the stronger in different classes it might be difficult to say; but 'it was an undeniable fact that the mass of 'Americans look upon England alone among all the nations 'of the world as the one which is naturally unfriendly to 'us, and which we must always regard with suspicion.' It would be sheer folly, he says, to deny the existence and strength of this feeling, which was mainly due to the British 'attitude' during the American Civil War. What this 'attitude' really was seems hardly to be understood across the Atlantic, and history certainly does not bear out the truth of the bitter accusations levelled at our conduct.

'Thousands of men who can forgive everything else cannot forgive that. The feeling towards the rebels has practically disappeared, even that towards the "copperheads" has ceased to show itself; but one can hear on every hand still, and from the best of men, expression of the old feeling in regard to England; many who felt it strongly at the time hold it almost or quite as strongly now, and it has become the traditional feeling with the second generation.'

Much as he regretted it, Professor Adams could not help declaring that American sentiment looked upon the Russian Empire as likely to prove the best friend of the United States in the complications of international rivalry, and upon Great Britain as their probable foe.

Truly the attitude of a neutral, however correct, is seldom such as to earn the gratitude of a successful belligerent. It has been our fate to stand neutral during all save one of the great wars of the last half-century; and we do not hesitate to affirm that our neutrality is quite as responsible as our belligerency for the bitter feelings that are to-day indulged against us.

It is as well to recognise facts, however painful they may be; but surely in times of national excitement the facts are viewed through a distorted atmosphere, and it is unnecessary to believe in the intensity and permanency of those national dislikes which angry passions in seasons of trial or rivalry bring to the surface. There is no nation with which at the present time we are better friends than with the American people. Statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic

have been doing their best to promote good feeling and to avoid controversy; and we can find no historical ground for believing that our present enmities with continental Powers will not be allayed by the exercise of a similar common-sense.

Since 1815, with the exception of the Crimean war, English statesmanship has been successful in maintaining British interests without having recourse to war with any European Power. It is impossible on any broad view of international politics during the last 100 years to establish that on the whole British interests have not been efficiently maintained. Though our military and naval establishments till recent years were kept comparatively low, our voice was very potent in the affairs of Europe. The prestige which the great Napoleonic struggle had brought us had given the world a belief in British strength not to be estimated by the number of men we kept in the ranks or the number of ships in commission. On several occasions our relations with one or other of the Great Powers of the world were severely strained, but statesmanship succeeded in every case except in 1853–54 in averting actual rupture. In the years ahead of us is there any good reason for thinking that our statesmen will be less able to protect British interests, and at the same time to insure a long continuance of peace? That at the present day those interests are under the guardianship of a negligent and 'absent-minded' Government may be believed by ill-informed persons at home, but is assuredly not the view held by the statesmen of any foreign nation.

We are told, however, that everything is changed, and that the great nations of the world have become the victims of the fell disease of 'Imperialism.' In the earlier nineteenth century Mr. Hobson* tells us that the sympathy for nationalism and the belief in the effects of Free Trade did offer some prospect of the realisation of

'effective Imperial internationalism by peaceful, profitable intercommunication of goods and ideas amongst nations recognising a just harmony of interests in free peoples. The overflow of nationalism into Imperial channels quenched all such hopes. While co-existent nationalities are capable of mutual aid involving no direct antagonism of interests, co-existent empires, following each its own Imperial career of territorial and industrial aggrandisement, are natural necessary enemies. The full nature of this antagonism on its economic side is not intelligible without a close analysis of those conditions of modern capitalist production which compel an ever keener fight for markets, but the political antagonism is obvious.

* Imperialism: a study, p. 10.

'The scramble for Africa and Asia has virtually recast the policy of all European nations, has evoked alliances which cross all natural lines of sympathy and historical associations, has driven every continental nation to consume an ever-growing share of its material and human resources upon military and naval equipment, has drawn the great new power of the United States from its isolation into the full tide of competition, and by the multitude, the magnitude, and the suddenness of the issues it throws on to the stage of politics has become a constant agent of menace and perturbation to the peace and progress of mankind. The new policy has exercised the most notable and formidable influence upon the conscious statecraft of the nations which indulge in it. While producing for popular consumption doctrines of national destiny and Imperial missions of civilisation, contradictory in their true import but subsidiary to one another as supports of popular Imperialism, it has evolved a calculating greedy type of Machiavellianism, entitled *real-politik* in Germany, where it was made, which has remodelled the whole art of diplomacy and has created national aggrandisement without pity or scruple as the conscious motive force of foreign policy. Earth-hunger and the scramble for markets are responsible for the openly avowed repudiation of treaty obligations which Germany, Russia, and England have not scrupled to defend. The sliding scale of diplomatic language, hinterland, sphere of interest, sphere of influence, paramountcy, suzerainty, protectorate, veiled or open, leading up to acts of forcible seizure or annexation which sometimes continue to be hidden under "lease," "rectification of frontier," "concession," and the like, is the invention and expression of this cynical spirit of Imperialism. While Germany and Russia have perhaps been more open in their professed adoption of the material gain of their country as the sole criterion of public conduct, other nations have not been slow to accept the standard. Though the conduct of nations in dealing with one another has commonly been determined at all times by selfish and short-sighted considerations, the conscious deliberate adoption of this standard at an age when the intercourse of nations and their interdependence for all essentials of human life grow ever closer is a retrograde step, fraught with grave perils in the cause of civilisation.'

If Mr. Hobson's book is a true diagnosis of the disease with which statesmen and nations have become infected, we are afraid there is but little ground to hope that considerations of ordinary common-sense will have any effect in saving the world from the red ruin which the 'spirit of 'Imperialism' is preparing for it. It is unfortunate that much palpable exaggeration will certainly conceal from many readers the real importance of some of the author's arguments. His warnings against a policy of national recklessness deserve to be weighed, and his book contains much reasoning and many facts which at the present time the public is too apt to lose sight of. In short, this 'study

'of Imperialism' is not a book to dismiss with ridicule or contempt because, in the eyes of most men, the author seems absurdly to overstate his case.

It is preposterous to argue, as Mr. Hobson seems to do, that British policy is *dictated* by self-interested groups and classes who fatten on the expenditure and extravagance which impoverish the nation. Financiers and millionaires undoubtedly in various ways exercise great political influence. Wars and rumours of wars (especially the latter) are the source of much profit to those who manipulate stocks. Englishmen with investments abroad may (though we are not convinced of this) lean to an 'Imperialistic' policy: but for all this we greatly doubt whether in this country our statesmen are more exposed than formerly to pressure rendering them unable to act upon their own independent judgement in guarding the real interests of the nation. The charge that political action is closely allied with the financial interests of a few is common in some countries. Mr. Hobson is not, of course, suggesting the possibility of financial considerations personally influencing our statesmen. But he asserts that so powerful are the classes and individuals to whom an imperialist or militarily aggressive policy is financially advantageous that their influence overpowers the interest of the general public in a more modest and peaceful policy. He urges with force that recent extensions of British territory have added dependencies to the Crown governed absolutely and from home, rather than colonies properly so called, where our surplus population can found new communities destined to grow up into self-governing States. We are following, in short, the precedent set for us by our ancestors in India, not that which they set us in North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

The desire for territorial expansion, whether it is wise or unwise, for the time being undoubtedly possesses the great nations of Europe. Statesmen have to pay regard to facts, whether they welcome them or not. A mistaken 'Imperialism' may lie at the bottom of much international discontent and ill-will; but however much Mr. Hobson and others may prefer the more peace-loving, more prudent, and more economical ideas which prevailed a generation or two ago, our statesmen would be blind indeed to the necessities of the case if they did not take account of the fact that the Europe of to-day is a huge armed camp, that navies are being built and increased by continental Powers at a rate never before known, and that ill-will towards ourselves—be it passing or

permanent—finds vehement expression in every foreign Press. Our responsibilities have increased, and few will think that the Government or the nation is doing too much to meet them. That the naval and military services, which in 1875 cost less than 25,000,000*l.*, cost us double that amount in 1903 is no doubt a very impressive fact which may well make us cautious in the future. But with the world in its present condition British common-sense will certainly not tolerate any large reduction in the defensive forces of the Empire. Past policy may have been right or wrong. It is the present and the future that our statesmen have to consider and to provide for, remembering always the incalculable importance of those interests which are at stake.

British foreign policy is not seldom criticised at home as if it were entirely within the power of our statesmen to keep the nation on amicable terms with the whole world, while obtaining, nevertheless, for this country every object which it has at heart. Now the modern theory of international relations between civilised and independent States rests on the basis of an equality of rights. Differences and disputes can rarely be settled without a certain amount of give-and-take on both sides; and a wise settlement will sometimes depend on considerations a good deal wider than present themselves to those who are absorbed in a local controversy. The same critics who will at one moment denounce a Ministry for a base surrender of British rights and interests will almost in the same breath attack the same Ministry for maintaining an unnecessarily hostile attitude to foreign powers. In the extremely difficult circumstances of the last few years the able conduct of our foreign affairs deserves far more recognition than it has received from a public which seems hardly to have realised the great dangers that might easily have developed out of the extremely critical situation in which we found ourselves.

If we are to believe what is said of him, the 'man in the 'street' treats foreign politics on a basis of national antipathy. To-day, we are told, he hates the Germans, and the Germans hate him. Therefore let us say what we can and do what we can to annoy and thwart the Germans! Is this common-sense? We do not for a moment believe that sober British opinion has gone so far astray; or that Englishmen, naturally irritated by a persistent display of German ill-will, are going to shut their eyes to their own permanent interests. We see no sign whatever that Lord

Lansdowne and the Government in the matter of Venezuela or elsewhere are allowing Great Britain 'to become the tool 'of Germany'; and we should despair of their common-sense if they did not feel the importance to the British nation of maintaining friendly relations with the great Power of Central Europe. It is not for us to take part in dual alliances or triple alliances. Our position enables us to remain outside such hampering engagements. We need sue to no nation for its alliance or for its friendship. Our goodwill towards any European nation is worth fully as much to that nation as is its goodwill to us. In an especial degree, however, is a good understanding between Germany and Great Britain of the highest importance. A greater folly than a quarrel between these two powers, from the point of view of the interest of either of them, when we consider the present condition of 'world-politics,' can hardly be conceived. It cannot be doubted that the serious weakening of either would injuriously affect the position of the other. It is difficult, as indeed Mr. George Peel has shown, for Englishmen not to regard with great suspicion the policy of any Power which holds the military primacy of Europe. But would it have been better or worse for British interests had that primacy for the last thirty years been French or Russian? Of course no sane man in England or Germany would profess a desire to see a rupture between the two nations. But the continuance of a feeling of mutual hostility between nations is full of danger. Some unlucky incident occurs, and the heated state of the popular mind makes it impossible amicably to settle a dispute which at a different time and with a different temper would have been easily arranged. Wars have far more often been due to national passion than to national policy. But Englishmen and Germans are, we should hope, the last nations of the world to let ill-temper completely triumph over common-sense.

We have purposely avoided on the present occasion discussing in any detail the special points at which British interests may seem to be threatened by foreign nations. In our last number* we considered at length the more permanent aspects of the causes which for a century have made Russia and England regard each other with jealous eyes in Asia. In 1817 Russia claimed a right to protest against

* England and Russia during the Nineteenth Century, 'Edinburgh Review,' October, 1902.

any other European nation entering into relations with Persia. This claim was, of course, never admitted on our side. How great are our interests at the present day in the ultimate destinies of Southern Persia, and how they can best be protected has lately been very fully discussed in these pages.* The still more recent and very able letters of the 'Times' correspondent from Persia must have gone far to dispel the illusion that a Russian naval station on the Persian Gulf would be a matter of little moment to England. The project of prolonging the German-Turkish railway through Asia Minor to the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf gives rise to all sorts of new possibilities. It is regarded in St. Petersburg with much suspicion and dislike. And it is clear that future railway developements in that region, which are certain ultimately to come, will be attended with great diplomatic difficulties. Afghanistan, placed between two great empires, is hardly likely to prove a source of less anxiety in the future than in the past. European rivalries in China constitute a comparatively new difficulty. All over Asia, in short, are to be found those 'faults in the strata' of which the Prime Minister speaks. In the Nearer East, the Middle East, and the Farther East existing conditions give rise to very troublesome problems, and troublesome problems are not confined to Asia. Mr. Balfour hopes and believes that the statesmanship of Europe will be found equal to their satisfactory solution. It will greatly assist the efforts of statesmen if the public of the rival countries can manage to retain a sense of proportion in discussing foreign politics. The real questions of the future are of the deepest importance; why, then, should every trumpery vexatious incident that may make discord between nations be employed to exasperate against each other those whose friendly dispositions are essential to the future peace of the world?

* British Policy in Asiatic Turkey and Persia, 'Edinburgh Review,' April, 1902.

No. CCCCIV. will be published in April.

COSMOS PICTURES

Sir Galahad	Size, 9 x 15 .	Watts
The Wave	Size, 9 x 15 .	James
"O Mistress Mine" .	Size, 10 x 13 .	Abbey
Vittoria Colonna . .	Size, 10 x 13 .	Lefebvre

These four beautiful a unusual pictures in lar size, reproduced in s olive-brown tones, will sent for 25 cents, postpa

THE ART OF THE WORLD—ONE THOUSAND SUBJECTS

Large pictures measure 9 x 15 or 10 x 13 inches, according to shape of origi painting—admirable for home decoration. Four for 25 cents or twenty of your o selection for $1.00.

Small pictures, size 6 x 8⅝ inches, ten for 25 cents or fifty for $1.00—also suita for decorative purposes but specially adapted for portfolios and educational purposes account of their uniform size. Cosmos Pictures in "Series," in portfolios, each co taining ten related subjects (standard size). 25 cents.

Send two 2-cent stamps for Catalog 9, containing nearly 1000 miniature illustratio

Cosmos Pictures Company, 296 Broadway, New Yo

rovident Life and Trust Co.

OF PHILADELPHIA.

rance in Force, -	$137,000,000.
ts, - - - -	46,000,000.

idence of the skillful and faithful agement of this company is found s exceedingly low expense rate and emarkably favorable rate of mor-y. The rate of mortality is less that of any other company in this try, and the dividends arising from source will be correspondingly r.

Provident has been conducted in dance with the idea that Life In-ce is a sacred trust, and the best gement that which secures per-nce, unquestioned safety, moder-st of Insurance and fair and liberal ent of its members. That the ny has not been excelled in ac-ishing these results, is matter of l.

If You Are Pruden

Why not be insured, and save money at the same time? Our new policy on the endowment plan is the best insurance contract is-sued, and is meeting with great favor. Our booklet, "How and Why," sent free on request, you will find interesting and perhaps instructive.

Penn Mutual Life Insurance C

921-5 CHESTNUT ST.,

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

A $1.50 BOOK FREE

Year Book of the Art Societies of New York, 1898-1899

THE only complete and authenticated book on the Art Societies of New Yo handsomely illustrated, cloth. **Only issue printed.**

A copy of this book will be given FREE to any library or institution 25 cents for packing and postage.

By Sydney George Fisher

The True History of the American Revolution

These are the real facts of the days of 1776. Mr. Fisher has some things to tell about the conduct of the War of the Revolution, its chief figures, and the reasons for its outcome, which will startle every reader of American history.

24 illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth, decorated. *Net* . $2.00
Postage, 14 c. extra.

By Clara E. Laughlin

Stories of Authors' Loves

Charlotte Brontë

Nothing in fiction excels the fascination of these romances of real men and women whom we all know by their writings. The volumes are a chronicle of fact, but hold all the charm of a novel. They have photogravure frontispieces and 45 duogravure portraits and views.

Two volumes. Illustrated. Handsomely bound, in box, *Net* . $3.00
Three-quarters morocco, *Net*. $6.00
Postage, 29 c. extra.

By Rufus Rockwell Wilson

New York—Old and New

Its story as told by its landmarks. The writer is the author of "Rambles in Colonial Byways," and "Washington: The Capital City," etc., and this is the first authoritative, comprehensive and at the same time readable book yet put out on New York City itself. The work is handsomely illustrated with many reproductions from photographs, old prints, etc., and contains a wealth of new material.

Two Volumes. Illustrated. Extra buckram, *Net* . $3.50
Postage, 30 c. extra.

By Anne H. Wharton

Social Life in *the* Early Republic

Miss Wharton's wide knowledge of the practically untouched period following on Colonial and Revolutionary years, and her ability to make us see the men and women of past times as they really were, are here given the most interesting expression. The volume promises to rival in popularity her "Salons Colonial and Republican," and "Through Colonial Doorways."

Colored frontispiece. Profusely illustrated. Crown 8vo. Decorated cloth, gilt top, *Net*. . . . $3.00
Half levant, *Net*. . . . $6.00
Postage, 17 c. extra

SCHOOLS.

ALIFORNIA, BERKELEY,
Head's School for Girls. Special for health of girls. Gymnasium outdoor games. Cheerful family e. Certificates admit to University California and Vassar College.

PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY.

ear Book of Contemporary History and Patriotism.
for the State of Pennsylvania.
BLISHED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.
143 pages. 58 illustrations.
a new idea"—Philadelphia Public Ledger.
an entirely new line of patriotic work"—iladelphia Press.
Other State Societies ought to adopt this ex-ent idea"—Town Topics.
PRICE, POSTPAID, $1.00.
LY TO BARR FERREE, SECRETARY,
7 WARREN STREET, NEW YORK.

r. Neil Munro's
w Story

The new story by Mr. Neil Munro, entitled "Children of Lempent; a Tale of the Outer Isles" is now appearing in monthly installments in BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE

The fiction of "Maya" has long been famous, and this new novel is a worthy successor to many worthy predecessors . .

BLACKWOOD'S is re-issued in America under exclusive arrangements with the Scotch publishers

$3.00 per year

"U. S. Fast Mail Route"

Southern Railwa

TO ALL THE PRINCIPAL WINTER RESORTS.

SOUTH. SOUTHEAST.
SOUTHWEST. FLORID
CALIFORNIA. CUBA.
MEXICO and CENTRAL AMERIC

OFFERS MANY INDUCEMENTS TO THE TOURIST.

Some Prominent Resorts

are St. Augustine, Palm Beach, Mia Jacksonville, Tampa, Port Tampa, Bru wick, Savannah, Thomasville, Charles Columbia, Aiken, Augusta, Pinehurst, C den, Summerville, Asheville, Hot Spri

"THE LAND OF THE SKY," A "SAPPHIRE COUNTRY."

PULLMAN, DRAWING and STAT ROOM, SLEEPING CARS: DIN ING, LIBRARY & OBSERVATIO CARS of the HIGHEST STANDARI

The Route of the
Southern's Palm Limited
New York and St. Augustine.

Washington & Southwestern Limi
AND
Sunset Limited
New York and Los Angeles and S Francisco.

Write for Descriptive Matter.

NEW YORK OFFICES: 271 and 1185 Broad
ALEX. S. THWEATT, Eastern Pas
W. A. TURK, - - Passenger
S. H. HARDWICK, - Gen

WASHINGTO

HE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

DECEMBER, 1902.

ERICA'S BID FOR NAVAL SUPREMACY,
By Archibald S. Hurd
E WEAK SPOT IN THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC,
By J. Weston
E REAL OBJECT OF CORN LAWS,
By Sir G. L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E.
E TANGLE OF LONDON LOCOMOTION,
By Sidney Low, L.C.C.
E PUBLIC SCHOOLS AS A PUBLIC PERIL,
By Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R S
LIGION AND PHYSICAL SCIENCE,
By the Duke of Northumberland
E JESUITS AND THE LAW IN ENGLAND,
By the Rev. Father Gerard, S.J.
E DRAMA OF THE FUTURE,
By Oswald Crawfurd
E WOMAN-HEADED SERPENT IN ART,
By Mrs. W. Kemp-Welch
ANGES IN THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH
By Charles L. Eastlake
NOBLE USE OF THE CLASSICS,
By the Hon. Boyd Winchester
E GEORGICS OF VIRGIL: Book III., lines 440–566, By the Rt. Hon. Lord Burghclere
POSSIBLE ADDITION TO THE DUAL ALLIANCE
By Demetrius C. Boulger
IE STORY OF "THE FOURTH PARTY,"
By Harold E. Gorst
ST MONTH, - By Sir Wemyss Reid

HE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1902.

. FRANCIS AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY,
By M. Paul Sabatier
ATHOLICISM *Versus* ULTRAMONTANISM,
By Voces Catholicæ
IUS FAR, - - - By J. A. Spender
FARM IN THE CANTAL,
By Mme. Mary Duclaux
NGLAND, RUSSIA AND TIBET,
By Alexander Ular
HE LYNN OF DREAMS, - By Fiona Macleod
IE RUSSIAN TEMPERANCE COMMITTEES,
By Edith Sellers
OREIGN AFFAIRS, - By Dr. E. J. Dillon
OME RECENT BOOKS, - By "A Reader"
IVISECTION EXPERIMENTS AND THE MOR-

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1902.

"THE GREATEST COLONIAL MINISTER,"
By Diplomatic
RACE AND RELIGION,
By Sir A. C. Lyall, K.C
THE YOUTH OF TAINE, - By Mary Ducla
SOCIALISM SUB ROSA, - By J. A. R. Marri
ON PREACHING AND READING THE GOSPE
By Sir Squire Bance
ARE THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS A FAILURE?
By Baron Pierre de Coube
THE NEW ARMY TRAINING AND THE AU
ILIARY FORCES, - By Robert A. J
THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION
By Dr. Beattie Cro
WHY IRELAND IS DISLOYAL,
By M. McD. Bodkin,
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND MORTAL MIND;
By Mrs. St
IDEALISM, - - - By Walter L
AN UNCOMMERCIAL THEATRE,
By Stephen Gw
THE FOREIGN INVASION OF CANADA,
By Archibald S. H
THE SPORTSMAN'S LIBRARY, By F. G A
"MANKIND IN THE MAKING" (III.)
By H. G. W

THE WESTMINSTER REVI

DECEMBER, 1902.

A LIBERAL DEBACLE, - By Jno. Geo. G
A SOUTH AFRICAN ETON, - By Hubert
THE EDUCATION QUESTION,
By A Nomadic School
THE "TRENT" AFFAIR,
By Archibald Co
THE CHEMICAL BASIS OF LIFE, III.
SHOULD PARLIAMENT SNUB THE SA
BANKS, - - By Geo. Wm.
THE APPLICATION OF SCIENCE TO CRI
REFORM, - - By W. H. Cham
THE NEGLECTED CENTENARY OF HA
MARTINEAU, - - - C. E. Pl
MODERN PAGANISM, - - - - -
THE MYSTERY OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEA
By G. G. Gree
CONTEM ITERATURE.
S phy and Theology.—

Character of Queen Victoria.

...ted from the Quarterly Review.

...p. 75 WITH PORTRAIT. CLOTH.

This valuable study of Queen ...toria attributed to Edmund Gosse, ...t published anonymously, is one of ...e most intimate sketches of the great ...ueen that has appeared in print. It ...ntains details of her life not before ...ted and is a most careful and ...holarly estimate of her character.

PRICE POSTPAID, 50 CENTS.

...EONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.,

7 & 9 Warren Street.

Try them All

You'll go back to

Huyler

Best for PURITY, STR...
QUALITY AND FLAV...

SOLD BY ALL UP TO DATE ...

If not handled by yours send us ...
and we will send free sample.

Huyler...

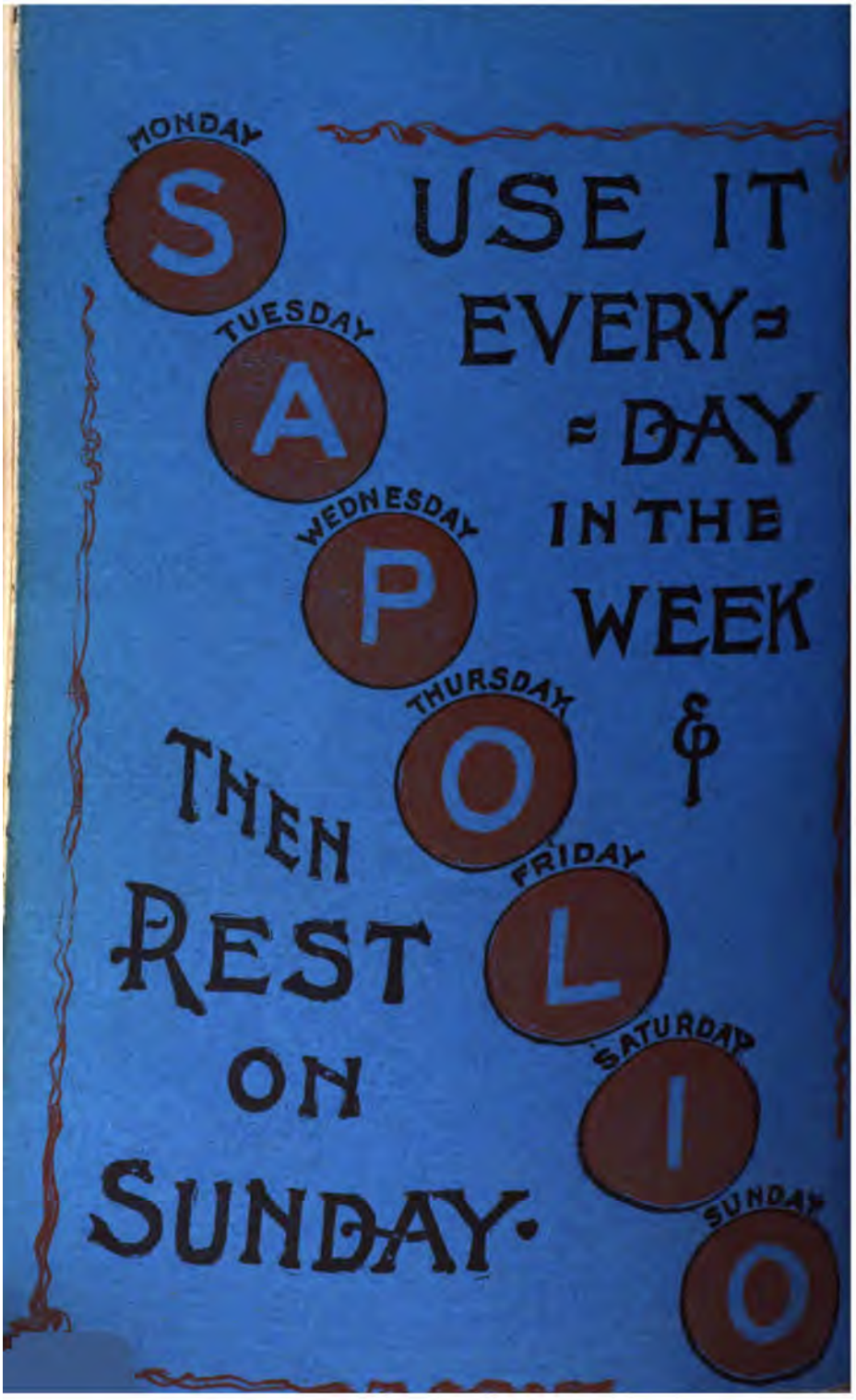
If not handled by your grocer send his nam...
at 863 Broadway, N. Y., asking for free sam...

Mothers! MRS. WINSLOW'S For Children While Teething SOOTHING SYRUP Mothe...

Are you disturbed at night and broken of your rest by a sick child suffe...
crying with the excruciating pain of Cutting Teeth? If so, go...
at once and get a bottle of

MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYR...

It will relieve the poor little sufferer immediately—depend upon it; there i...
Take about it. There is not a mother on earth who has ever used it who wi...
you at once that it will regulate the bowels, and give rest to the mother a...
and health to the child, operating like magic. Pleasant to the taste, a...
prescription of one of the oldest and best female physicians and nurs...
Sold everywhere.


MONDAY
S
TUESDAY
A
WEDNESDAY
P
THURSDAY
O
FRIDAY
L
SATURDAY
I
SUNDAY
O
USE IT
EVERY
DAY
IN THE
WEEK
&
THEN
REST
ON
SUNDAY.

+ pin

.00 a Year. AUTHORIZED EDITION. Single Number, $1.25

CCCCIV. VOL. CXCVII.

Stanford University Library MAY 1903

APRIL, 1903.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW OR CRITICAL JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY.

CONTENTS:

I. Armstrong's Charles V.
II. Ballad Poetry.
III. Human Flight.
IV. Expansion and Expenditure.
V. An Elizabethan Traveller: Fynes Moryson.
VI. The Supernatural in Nineteenth-Century Fiction.
VII. Buckinghamshire.
VIII. Art History in the Netherlands.
IX. English Agriculture.
X. The Late Lord Acton.
XI. National Security.

NEW YORK:
LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY,
7 and 9 WARREN STREET.

PUBLISHERS OF
CONTEMPORARY REVIEW NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER
FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE
EDINBURGH, QUARTERLY AND WESTMINSTER REVIEWS.

LONDON: LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
Registered at New York Post Office as Second Class Matter.

A SAVING OF 50%

The leading English Reviews at nearly half price. T
most conspicuous living writers; the most h ful subj
the most notable discussions of current ever and tho
the most timely publication; the most sk ilful ed

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

NINETEENTH CENTURY AFTER:

Edited by James

"For amplitude, variety, and strength of contents it may fairly be called foremo garded as a model in its way." — *Literary World.*

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW:

Edited by William

"Full of readable articles." — *Living Church.* "Cosmopolitan in its view and *Herald.*

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

Edited by Percy W. H

"The names of many of its contributors form a constellation of eminence." — *Review of*

WESTMINSTER REVIEW:

The leading radical or

"Discusses questions of world-interest in a liberal and instructive manner." — *Weekly W*

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE:

The English family maga

"Still survives in undiminished vigor after a career of unexampled splendor." — *The Book*

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

QUARTERLY REVIEW:

"The bulwark of conservative opinio

"Veritably a condensed library, with varied and attractive articles." — *Philadelphia Press.*

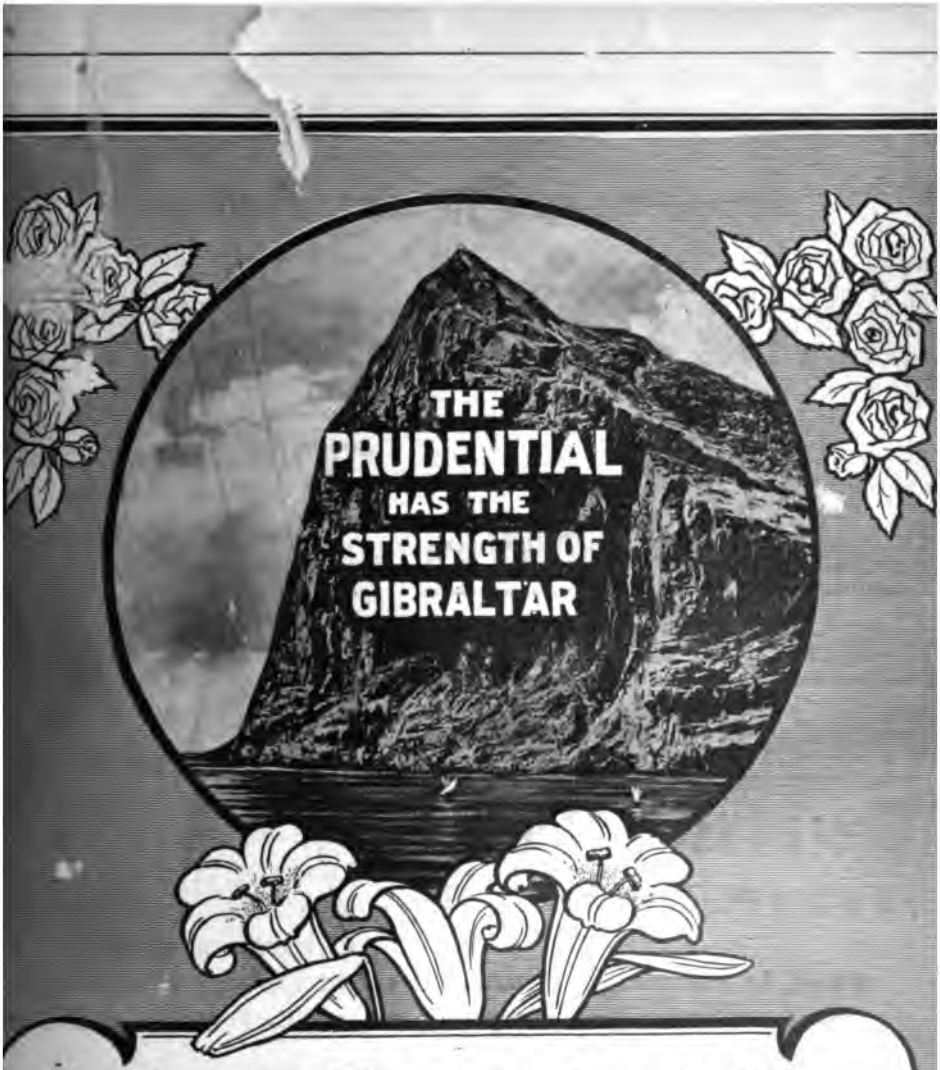
EDINBURGH REVIEW:

The rival of "The Quarterly

"It is refreshing when magazines are changing to turn again to the old 'Quarterly.'" — *Co Presbyterian.*

NINETEENTH CENTURY, CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, WESTMINSTER REVIEW, each, $4.50 per year; any two, $8.50; any three, $12.00; all four, $16.00; ... ents. EDINBURGH REVIEW, QUARTERLY REVIEW, each $4.00 per year; the ... copies, $1.25. BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, $3.00 per year; single copies, 30 ... erly, $6.50; with two, $10.00.

RD SCOTT PUB



Every Productive Life

is capital in itself and has a definite money value to those dependent upon it. Life Insurance in

THE PRUDENTIAL

protects that capital and renders that value permanent and certain.

Policies All Ages, 1 to 70. Both Sexes. Amounts, $100,000 to $15.

Write for Information. Dept. 35

THE PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE CO. OF AMERICA

JOHN F. DRYDEN, President. HOME OFFICE, Newark, N. J.

The World's Leading Reviews

Nineteenth Century
Contemporary Review
Fortnightly Review
Westminster Review

THE foremost writers of the world regularly contribute to the pages of these great Reviews. They present each month the best articles by the best living authors; and in every sense of the word are up with the times. The current events of the day, the world's progress in culture, in science, in art, in finance, in economics, in literature, in study, in travel, in knowledge, is summed up in convenient and accessible form by the most competent authorities.

"These Reviews contain more articles by more noted writers on important subjects than any other series. No reader who hopes to keep in touch with the best thought of the day can afford to ignore them".—*Philadelphia Press.*

We supply the original English editions at nearly 50 per cent. less than they cost in England.

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION:—Any one Review, $4.50; any two, $8.50; any three, $12.00; any four, $16.00. Postage prepaid in the United States, Canada and Mexico.

[illegible] Publication Company [illegible] New York

The January Quarterlies

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

330 PAGES

I. **Ireland from Within**
A new article on a new and important aspect of Irish development in the last few years

II. **South American Animals and their Origin** By Prof. R. LYDEKKE
With Illustrations. A study of curious forms of animal life, by one of the ables living specialists.

III. ***The* Queen of the 'Blue-Stockings'**
Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, her life and correspondence—a charming picture of literary life

IV. ***The* Game of Speculation**
A plain statement of the art of speculation; its methods, abuses, results.

V. **Emile Zola; His Life and Work**
A sketch of the famous French writer, and a careful study of his life and the result gained by his work.

VI. **A Conspectus of Science** By M. FOSTE
Some modern helps to science and what is being done in diffusing scientific knowledge.

VII. **Recent Sport and Travel**
The wanderings of modern travellers; a picture of out-door life in many parts of the world

VIII. **Diarists *of* the Last Century**
Celebrities of a hundred years ago; what they saw, did and recorded

IX. ***The* Early Art of the Netherlands**
A brief study of the beginnings of art in the Netherlands, summarizing the results c latest investigation.

X. **University Reform in India**
The educational problem in India, and some of the efforts being made to solve it.

XI. ***The* Port of London**
A comprehensive review of the port of London, the greatest in the world. Wha it is and what it is hoped it will be.

XII. **New Testament Criticism**
An unbiased summary of the points of view of the various schools of Ne Testament criticism.

XIII. ***The* Political Life *of* Queen Victoria**
The politics of the Victorian reign and the part the Queen took in them.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW

272 PAGES

I. ***The* Blockade of Brest**
A curious chapter of French and English history a hundred years ago.

II. **On the Progress *of* Medicine since 1803**
One hundred years of medicine and some of the more notable results accomplishe in that time.

III. ***The* Novels of Mr. Henry James**
A careful study and estimate of Mr. James' novels and their place in contemporary literature

IV. **Panslavism in the Near East**
A notable study of European activity in the near East; what has been done, and th significance of recent movements.

V. **Double Stars**
Recent astronomical research; an important scientific study of notable work i current astronomy.

VI. **Emile Zola: Les Trois Villes**
The last novels of Zola and their rank in modern fiction. A carefully prepare summary of the French writer's works.

VII. ***The* Past and Future of Factory Legislation**
A notable economic paper dealing with one of the most important problems of the time

VIII. **Modern Motor-Cars**
The rapid advances in motor-cars; what is expected of them, and what it is hoped the will accomplish; automobiling as a sport and a science.

IX. **Madame de Lieven**
A character sketch of the Princess Lieven and the part she took in the li

X. **Public Politics and Common Sense**
The political article of the quarter.

inest in the World

BAKER'S
COCOA

LOOK
AT
THE
LABEL

TAKE
NO
OTHER

DICE RECIPES, 80 PAGES, SENT FREE
ALTER BAKER & CO. Ltd.
ABLISHED 1780. DORCHESTER, MASS.
Highest Awards in Europe and America

Exhaustion

When you are all tired out, feel nervous, sleep does not rest, and your appetite is poor, take

Horsford's Acid Phosphate

It will revive your strength, induce natural sleep, improve appetite, and restore nerve power. It strengthens the entire system, curing the causes of **Headache, Indigestion and Debility.**

Pamphlet with full information free.
Rumford Chemical Works, Providence, R. I.

A SPRING and SUMMER TONIC

GO TO THE Glorious Mountains of Western North Carolina

THE "LAND OF THE SKY" AND SAPPHIRE COUNTRY

A NATURAL PARADISE. At all times of the year a pleasant spot, full of life, of color and enjoyment, rich with possibilities for health and recreation. For temperature and climate it is unexcelled. Reached by the

SOUTHERN RAILWAY

in most superbly equipped train in less than 24 hours' ride from New York.

Write for descriptive book of the "Land of the Sky" free upon application to any agent of the Southern

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1903.

No. CCCCIV.

ART. I.—*The Emperor Charles V.* By EDWARD ARMSTRONG, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902.

THERE is a familiar story of a man who wished to go to a fancy ball in a dress of the time of Henry IV. of England. 'Excuse me, sir,' said the *costumier*, 'Henry IV. 'of France; it is Henry VIII. of England.' Some such idea is probably lurking in the minds of many of us, and it may be extended; for, deep as was the impress made on English history by Charles V. of France, there are few, if any, who would not understand a mention of 'Charles V.' as referring to the great Emperor, who was also Charles I. of Spain, and, by hereditary or elective right, sovereign or suzerain lord of all the western continent of Europe, France only excepted. And yet, notwithstanding the vastness of his dominions and the greatness of his fame, the life and character of the Emperor are to-day as shadows to most readers, and even the story of his reign is lost in cloud, although—or, perhaps, because—it was very fully written 130 years ago in a work that at once became an English classic. Our language and literature are the richer for its possession; but Robertson's 'History of the Reign of the 'Emperor Charles V.,' like Milton's 'Paradise Lost,' is more talked about than read, and its stately—or, as some would say, stilted—periods are avoided except by the professed student, and to him it is disappointing and unsatisfactory. The mere facts, indeed, as they appeared to every observer, are recorded with fair accuracy; but the inner history of the time, the conditions which led to the great events and conduced to the result, the characters of men who worked in them and the motives which guided or

impelled them, are either vaguely described or absolutely misrepresented. In the eighteenth century, research—as the term is now understood—was difficult, or often impossible; and all that the most painstaking historians could do was to compare and paraphrase the older chroniclers, who wrote under a due sense of the possibilities of penalty or promotion, and not infrequently under the influence of malice or gratitude, hate or affection. So that now, when the public and private archives of civilised Europe have been made accessible, and monographs innumerable on nearly every person and every event of the sixteenth century have been specially written, it was time that the unwieldy accumulation should be sifted, and a story at once comprehensive and readable should be framed out of the vast store of material.

It is therefore fitting cause for congratulation that the work should have been undertaken by so capable a writer as Mr. Armstrong, who had already shown himself familiar with Spanish and sixteenth-century history, and who now, in his 'Biography' of Charles V., brings out many of the secret causes of motion, and, in his presentment of the personages that crowd the scene, does more than any previous writer to make the century live for his readers. Writing of such a time, there are several traps for the unwary, pitfalls set for those who are only historians as an afterthought, and especially for such as are primarily Papists or Protestants,* to whom the temptation to exaggerate or minimise the religious element in the German wars is irresistible. Mr. Armstrong has avoided these with a care or tact that savours of genius, so that after a close scrutiny we have no further knowledge of his religious opinions or beliefs than we had at the beginning. There was, indubitably, much to condemn in the conduct of both factions; and Mr. Armstrong is equally severe on the greed, selfishness, falsehood, political dishonesty, and personal immorality of pope or cardinal or Protestant prince; on the papal father of numerous hungry bastards, or on the reforming bigamist, and the evangelical preachers who sanctioned the crime. One thing, however, will strike the reader—that the author has a distinct leaning towards lawful authority. His political maxim may almost be read as 'Whoever rules is right'—or, at any rate, as 'Whoever

* We use these terms mainly in their political senses, as denoting those who accept or reject the authority of the Pope.

'rebels against the ruler is wrong'; and, though this may very often be true, there are instances, even in the reign of Charles, in which rebellion may have been justified.

But perhaps the most striking discussion in the volumes is that in which the extreme subdivision of the territories ruled over by Charles is examined. Looking at and considering them as scheduled on the map of Europe, the geographer's first idea would be that the sovereign lord of Germany, Spain, and Italy might, and, in the continuous wars of his reign, ought easily to have added France to his dominions, and to have rendered himself absolute master of all the western continent. It needs more than the geographer—it calls for some effort on the part of the historian—to have a real appreciation of the fact that, in the sixteenth century, Germany, Spain, and Italy were merely geographical expressions, with no political unity and little political meaning except discord. The memory of what Italy and Germany were before 1870 will render it easier to realise this important fact, as far as they are concerned, though the subdivisions of Germany in the time of Charles V. were more minute, and, politically, were more sharply pronounced than ever they were in the nineteenth century; and the *Italia irredenta* of the time of Pius IX. was almost *unita* in comparison with what it was under Clement VII. or Paul III. Whether these countries, so lately unified after a long and stormy youth, are even now to be counted as one, is a problem for the future to solve. It is for Germans, not for Englishmen, to say whether Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony are one in sentiment and interests; whether even the memories of Gravelotte and Sedan have blotted out the secular quarrels and welded the several states firmly and indissolubly together.

But Spain, it may be thought, was surely one. The marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand had joined Castile and Aragon, Granada had been conquered and annexed, and—for the rest—to most of us a Spaniard is a Spaniard. Not to the Spaniards, however. For them, even now, the provincial differences are more strongly marked than among ourselves are those of Scotch, Irish, and English; and just as many a Scotchman would object to being called an Englishman, so, though more strongly, would a Biscayan or Catalonian object to being lumped with a Castilian as a Spaniard. The four centuries that have passed since the death of Ferdinand left Spain one kingdom have not been sufficient to unify either sentiment or interests—a divergence which, in the middle

distance, was clearly marked in the face of all Europe during the War of the Spanish Succession. In the time of Charles V. this divergence was still stronger; the several provinces had each their own customs, their own laws, privileges, and constitutions; and Castile, Aragon, Biscay, and Valencia united only in their detestation of and opposition to the Flemings who accompanied Charles in his first coming to Spain, and in their general hatred of foreign influence.

It was mainly this that, in the very beginning of the reign, stirred up the Castilian revolt, which was at first, openly or secretly, supported by the nobles as against the King's Flemish ministers, and by the bishops as against papal assertion. The actual leaders of the communal army were 'gentlemen of high standing,' and the very soul of the insurrection was Antonio de Acuña, Bishop of Zamora, who—a republican in theory—proposed to break up Castile and all Spain into city-states, such as had been the political ruin of Italy; enrolled the friars and lower clergy in regiments, pillaged churches and monasteries to support the holy cause, and 'stimulated the war fever in his diocese by 'torchlight processions, with chant and crucifix, drum and 'harquebus.' Throughout the northern and central part of the kingdom the popular cause was triumphant. The rebel leaders organised a government under the name of the Santa Junta, and drew up a memorial demanding a native-born sovereign, and setting forth the evils inflicted on the country by the presence and privileges of foreigners—merchants and traders as well as officials. They demanded that 'all offices 'and benefices, all service in the army and household, should 'be closed to foreigners,' and to secure the reality of their exclusion they protested 'against the royal power of 'granting letters of naturalisation'—a touch of nature which marks the kinship of Spaniards and the Englishmen who, a hundred years later, were, by their representatives in Parliament, protesting against the naturalisation of Scots. They 'complained that Castile was being drained of her precious 'metals; that the price of meat, candles, and shoes was 'trebled by the export of cattle, sheep, and pigs;' they 'claimed that native manufacturers should have the first 'refusal of all Spanish wool, and that foreign woollens 'should be subjected to the same strict supervision as 'home-made goods.' They especially deprecated the opening of the American trade to other than Spaniards, fearing that Antwerp might draw much of it to itself;

and they prayed that the monopoly of Seville should be maintained.

'The ecclesiastical grievances of the Communes were merely another form of the dislike to foreign influence. Catholic as Spain was, no country more repeatedly resented ultramontane influence. Crown, clergy, and people had usually been united in resistance to Papal encroachments, except indeed where the latter were to the pecuniary advantage of the Crown. . . . The outspoken objection of the Junta was only the war against indulgences in a slightly different form. The Communes protested not only against the abuses of the Inquisition, but against those of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in general. Against Rome mainly was aimed the insistence upon the residence of the clergy. . . . Had the Papacy at this moment been in closer union with the Crown than in fact it was, it would not have been so far a cry to schism, if not, indeed, to heresy.'

As long as the nobles were active or passive allies of the Communes the Crown was helpless, but when the towns began to fancy that this was their opportunity to free themselves from the control of the great landowners, and to break down the aristocratic monopoly of municipal power—above all, when Charles, then in the Netherlands, had the happy thought to join two Castilian grandees to the Flemish Regent, the nobles conceived that the royal cause was now theirs, and took up arms to crush the revolt. For a moment it threatened to become a 'social war,' a 'war of classes;' but the fighting power of the nobles was far superior to that of their democratic opponents, and the war was ended before it had time to develope itself. In the straggling skirmish of Villalar, at the cost of one royalist killed, the rebels were put to headlong flight, and their leaders, taken prisoners, were promptly put to death. The Bishop of Zamora, who was not with them only because he had been busy preaching sedition somewhere else, was apprehended and thrown into prison. There was perhaps some hesitation about bringing a clerical dignitary to trial, the more so as the Pope had granted him a pardon, but the bishop himself found a way out of the difficulty.

'The fierce old man, despairing of liberty, enticed the governor of the prison to his cell and brought him to the ground with a large pebble concealed in the leather bag which professedly contained his breviary. He completed the murder with a knife, tied the body by the leg to his bed, and then summoned the victim's son, who only escaped his father's fate by precipitate retreat. Acuña was for this crime incontinently hanged by secular authority, without respect for pope or bishop, and it was not at once that Charles received absolution for this breach of clerical privilege. The Bishop's end was

a dramatic *dénouement* to the tragedy of the communal revolt. The king's severity in the punishment of the rebels and in Acuña's execution has been commonly stigmatised as a blot upon his fame, but no Valois, and certainly no Tudor, would have so lightly chastised so dangerous a rebellion.'

The revolt which broke out in Valencia at almost the same time as that in Castile was mainly social, fought by the democracy against the nobles and landed gentry; but it took the form of a sanguinary attack on the Moriscos, who were preferred by the gentry as tenants because they were tied to the soil, and paid twice as much as Christians did. Thus the Moorish peasantry, in their own defence, fought for their masters, and, wherever the democracy got the 'upper hand, they were either slaughtered or forcibly con-'verted—sometimes, indeed, converted first and slaughtered 'afterwards.' Of those that were left alive many, after the pacification, reverted to their former faith, and were so brought within the clutches of the Inquisition. This led to long-continued trouble, and Charles, in a spirit of intolerance, to which, during his long reign, there was no parallel, issued a decree for all the Moors to become Christian; they must either become Christian or leave the country. Mr. Armstrong thinks that this was the outcome of 'a fit of religious 'exaltation consequent on the unexpected mercy which God 'had vouchsafed in the capture of Francis I.' It may have been so; but Charles was certainly not subject to fits of religious exaltation, and it is perhaps more probable that this severe measure seemed to him necessary to pacify the country, which the continued presence of unbelievers kept in a state of irritation and unrest. It is unfair to place the whole burden of the religious persecution on the shoulders of the Spanish monarchs; it was more commonly a forced concession to the intolerant spirit which was a marked national characteristic even in an age when toleration, in its modern sense, was nowhere to be found.

But Charles, however intolerant of an alien creed, had no wish to drive hard-working and industrious subjects out of the country. They were only permitted to embark at Corunna, the journey to which, from Valencia or Catalonia, was, in most cases, ruinous or impossible. The alternative drove the Moriscos into armed revolt. They took to the hills and became dangerous banditti; they beat back the troops that invaded their mountain fastnesses and retaliated on the villages and churches of the plains; nor were they crushed till Charles sent against them the German soldiers that he

had brought to Spain. 'It is,' says Mr. Armstrong, 'an 'illustration of the poor quality of Spanish soldiery when 'fighting in their own country, that the Germans at once 'brought to a successful issue this little mountain war, in 'which, hitherto, half-armed peasantry had carried off the 'honours.' It would, we think, be more correct to describe it as an illustration of the superiority of trained soldiers over raw militia such as the Spanish troops in Spain were. It was in Italy or Germany that they were drilled and fashioned into the world-renowned *tercios*.

We have dwelt on these rebellions, not on account of their historical importance, which is not great, but as showing the elements of discord in Spain, which from the very beginning of Charles's reign went far to neutralise the military power of the kingdom. This was the more important, as the war with France was, in the main, of Spanish origin, embittered, no doubt, by a feeling of personal repulsion, and by the rivalry engendered in the competition for the Empire. There were, too, German elements of antagonism arising out of the French policy, which endured even to our own times, of preventing the unification of Germany. But this developed itself later, and the first war between Charles V. and Francis I. was altogether on a Spanish quarrel, an inheritance from Ferdinand, the Catholic king.

'Throughout the long reign of Ferdinand and Isabella and the regency of Ferdinand in Castile, friendship between France and Spain had only been intermittent. France, by favouring a rival claimant* to the crown of Castile, had wished to prevent its union with Aragon. She had forestalled the scheme of Isabella for a further union with Navarre. Spain, in retaliation, had done her utmost to prevent the absorption of Brittany by the French Crown, while Catalan corsairs endangered its annexation of Provence.'

To secure himself from interruption in his campaign against Naples, Charles VIII. had restored to Aragon the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which his father had snapped up; but 'no sooner did his success seem assured 'than the Catholic kings manufactured the League of Venice, 'which entailed withdrawal from his newly-won kingdom.' And later, Ferdinand had first divided Naples with Louis XII., and had then 'ejected him from his moiety;' he had contributed to the expulsion of Louis from Milan, and, taking advantage of French weakness, he had seized the Spanish

* Juana, known as La Beltraneja—the daughter of Isabella's brother's wife.

portion of Navarre and 'had invited the English to revive 'their old claims on Gascony.' As Duke of Burgundy, Charles had inherited from his father a policy of friendliness towards France, and this was followed by the minister of his minority, the Lord of Chièvres, whose first act on the accession of his young master to the throne of Spain was to put an end to the war already raging. This was by the Treaty of Noyon, concluded in August 1516, and to be secured by the marriage of Charles, then just sixteen, to Louise, the infant daughter of Francis I. In December the Emperor Maximilian became a party to the treaty, and in October 1518 Wolsey, in the interests of lasting peace, brought about a general agreement between the three kings, by which Henry was pledged to make common cause against either one who should attack the other.

The causes of quarrel were, however, too thoroughly ingrained in the two nations. Francis, aflame with the brilliant memories of Marignano, was eager to win fresh glories and new conquests, and the bitter feeling which the unsuccessful struggle for the imperial crown left with him rendered a renewal of the war certain. Of this Charles had no doubt, and, on his part, wished to prepare for the contest by winning the alliance of the Pope. And thus it was that the question of ever-living interest to Europe and mankind turned, at the critical moment, not on its own merits, but on the petty quarrels of two sovereigns. It was in April, 1521, at the Diet of Worms, that Charles delivered his celebrated declaration against Luther and Luther's teaching which, followed a few days later by the Edict of Worms, virtually tore Christendom in twain and let loose the dogs of war, not to be again chained up till the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648. Mr. Armstrong represents Charles's conduct at this crisis as dictated by a truly religious feeling, and it is possible that, for the moment, Charles persuaded himself that this was so. We should have greater confidence in the reality if we did not know that he was exceedingly anxious to secure the alliance of the Pope, that he had been warned from Rome that the Pope required the silencing of Luther, and that on the day after the declaration he despatched to the Pope 'the draft of a treaty which became the 'basis of an offensive and defensive league.' It was clearly an object with each of the intending belligerents to secure the alliance of Leo X. Not only would it be advantageous to be supported by the power of the Church, the prestige of which was still very great, but the temporal power of the

Pope, as a mundane sovereign, was considerable, and planted, as it was, in the centre of Italy, was important.

'To the side which he might join he gave the opportunity of the offensive; he could bring the French to the Neapolitan frontiers, or could let the Imperialists loose on Lombardy. The Swiss were believed to be the determining military factor in the coming wars, and the Cantons were expected to act in concert with the Pope. Leo, moreover, had the power of the purse. Francis, indeed, could bleed his clergy almost at will, but for Charles it was impossible to raise ecclesiastical subsidies save by Papal consent, and without such subsidies he could not fight.'

That to secure the assistance of Leo Charles should be willing even to make some sacrifice of principle would not appear strange; but if—as Mr. Armstrong believes and as is, indeed, most probable—the condemnation of Luther was entirely consonant with Charles's own sentiments, which only required to be hurried to action, the Edict of Worms was the natural outcome of the situation. But the really curious aspect of the affair is that Leo had already come to the conclusion that he must join Charles, and was at this time as keenly bent on the alliance as Charles himself. To dictate the terms was a triumph of papal diplomacy.

'Leo X. accepted and exaggerated Machiavelli's principle of the danger of neutrality to a weak State. He must not only side with one or other of two combatants, but he must drive them into war, that he might take a side. To Leo, as to some preceding and succeeding Popes, the danger, territorial and ecclesiastical, was an accord of the great Powers. He knew, perhaps, of the conference of Cambrai in March 1517, where the partition of Northern and Central Italy between Habsburg and Valois had been discussed. The temporal power could only exist by stimulating war. . . . It was his policy to provoke a war in order to gain territorial accessions which would make him independent of either foreign Power.'

To attain this end he must join the weaker of the belligerents, and the question before him was, Which was the weaker? At first, frightened by the election of Charles to the imperial crown, and influenced by the maxim current at Rome, that the King of Naples must not be Emperor, he had proposed to Francis to form, in concert with Venice, England, and the Swiss Cantons, a quintuple alliance against him; but afterwards, he convinced himself that it was more to his interest to take part with Charles. He had come to the conclusion that, in the event of war, Charles would be the weaker. 'This may seem at first sight sur-
'prising, in view of the enormous territories which the

'Emperor directly or indirectly ruled, and the wealth which 'he could ostensibly derive from Netherland looms or 'fisheries and the mines of the Indies.' But the apparent advantage was rendered nugatory by the provincial subdivision and divergence already spoken of and by the fact that—

'notwithstanding the apparent wealth of the Emperor, Francis usually had larger available supplies. This was not only due to the recuperative powers of France, but to the absence of a parliamentary system. "How much can you raise from your subjects?" asked Charles of Francis in a moment of confidence. "As much as I please," was the reply. Very different was the case of Charles. In none of his possessions was there supply without consent; in each of his Spanish kingdoms, in each of his Netherland provinces, in each of his hereditary Austrian States, in Naples, and in Sicily there was a system of estates in full working order, and all were jealous of their privilege of supply. The consequence would clearly be that even if supply were granted, it would never be in time, and hence the necessity of loans from the German banking-houses at a ruinous rate of interest, or in return for concessions which deprived the Crown of the few sources of independent income which it possessed.'

From the more purely military point of view, too, Francis had the great advantage of moving on interior lines and being able to concentrate in any direction, whether for attack or defence, with greater ease and at much less cost. With Savoy friendly, and Genoa controlled, to move his troops into Lombardy was easy, while for Charles the only route was from Naples, through the length of Italy, supposing that the Pope allowed their passing by land, and the French, or rather the Genoese, galleys permitted their passage by sea. Military communication with the Netherlands was closed, at least without the active alliance of England, which had to be gained, and the enormous fighting power of Germany was, to a very great extent, neutralised by the intestine divisions. The landsknechts* were considered nearly as good as the Swiss pikemen, and were far more numerous. If only they would recognise the cause of their Emperor as their own, Charles would be able to take the field—either in the Low Countries or in Lombardy, or in both—with an overwhelming force. But this involved the unity of Germany, which, as yet, was scarcely even a dream; and failing that, the German landsknechts were soldiers of fortune, ready to take the pay and the

* Misled by a false etymology, Mr. Armstrong has everywhere spelt word 'lanzknechts.'

service of either party. From the first, Francis could levy as many of them as the Emperor, and throughout the long wars raised as many as he could feed and pay.

All these questions of relative advantage were examined by Leo X. with the keenness and the resource which were the distinct possessions of the Curia, and he had concluded that it was his interest to support Charles, and also that Charles, so supported, should begin at once to drive the French out of Lombardy. In the treaty signed by the imperial ambassador in May, 1521, the Pope stipulated that Charles should begin the attack within two months; and though this was quite contrary to the Emperor's intention, and, indeed, to his wish, other circumstances practically determined it in the Pope's favour. For besides the papal alliance, that of England was eagerly desired by both parties. Many historians have systematically belittled the power of England at this time, looking merely to the fact that there was no English army ready to land on the continent, or to meet a French or German army landed in England. We have seen * that, fatally for himself, Napoleon held some such opinion in the beginning of the nineteenth century; there is nothing to show that Charles V., even at the height of his greatness, ever made a similar mistake.

For the fact is that, whether our kings knew it or not, ever since 1213, when the Earl of Salisbury destroyed the French fleet at Damme, the power of England has been based on her navy; and, as a party to a war between France and Spain, it was by her navy that she could make her interference effective. She could, if necessary, harry the coasts of France; she could convoy Spanish troops passing between Spain and the Low Countries, or she could absolutely prevent them from passing. It is, indeed, true that during the reign of Francis I. there was not that extreme difference between the naval power of France and England that Europe has since seen; but for the purposes of interference the geographical position of England and of England's harbours gave her an overwhelming advantage; and to writers who, like Mr. Friedmann,† have represented Henry, when the divorce was mooted, as wavering between the impulses of lust and terror, trembling before the appalling might of the Empire and the impending threat of invasion, the simple answer is that at no time did Charles

* Edinburgh Review, January 1903, p. 29.

† Anne Boleyn, vol. i. p. 152.

entertain the idea of attacking England, but, on the contrary, was always most anxious for the English alliance.

But in 1521 the convention of 1518 was in force; England, as represented by Wolsey, was bound to take part against the aggressor; and thus, whilst preparing to fight, both Francis and Charles were eager to show that the fault lay entirely with the other. The true causes of war were studiously concealed, while Francis, by a policy of 'pin-'pricks'—which could be denied—endeavoured to goad his rival into acts of open hostility. On the side of the Netherlands, discontented vassals of the Empire were subsidised or encouraged to make predatory raids into Charles's hereditary dominions, while in the south Henri d'Albret, who had been driven out of Navarre by Charles's grandfather, levied an army of Frenchmen, crossed the Pyrenees, and reoccupied his kingdom. 'The disavowals of Francis 'were made only to be disbelieved,' and Charles did not pretend to believe them. 'When the French crossed the 'Pyrenees war was declared.'

At first the advantage was entirely with the French. In Flanders, in Italy, even in the north of Spain, success attended the French arms; and before Wolsey and his master had made up their minds, the Emperor's cause seemed hopeless. They pressed on him the necessity of coming to terms; but Charles, irritated by Wolsey's 'auto-'cratic bearing,' refused to acknowledge himself beaten, and the proposals were still in the balance when things in Italy took a sudden turn which completely altered the position. Favoured by a popular rising, the papal-imperial troops obtained possession of Milan, and, within a fortnight, of almost all the towns in Lombardy.

Good fortune, like bad, comes often 'in battalions,' and the news came that Tournai had surrendered, and that 'the 'cantons had ordered the Swiss in the French army not to 'fight against their compatriots in the papal service.' But the brilliant prospect was dimmed by the sudden death of Leo on December 1. The imperial alliance was Leo's work, and it had to be seen how far his successor might be disposed to continue the same policy. Leaving out of consideration the Emperor's complimentary promises to Wolsey, the candidate he really supported was Leo's cousin, Giulio de' Medici; but Giulio, as he was not able to secure his own election, 'surprised his wearied colleagues into the choice of 'Adrian of Utrecht,' Charles's old tutor, a good, well-'ing, narrow-minded man, but an incapable politician,

who, as Regent of Spain, had already signally failed in public life. Charles must have supposed that a man of Adrian's gentle nature, and bound to him by the ties of early affection, would be as wax in his hands, and put it plainly to him that, as he owed his election entirely to imperial influence, it was incumbent on him to support imperial interests. Adrian, good and pious man that he was, preferred to attribute his election to the purity and piety of the conclave; he conceived that, as head of the Church, it was his first duty to labour in the interests of Christianity; he avoided an interview with his former pupil, hurried his departure, and, once at Rome, refused material aid. 'He had no 'interest in terrestrial politics, no sons or nephews for 'whom to beg Italian fiefs; it mattered not to him who 'ruled at Naples or at Milan; his conscience pointed to the 'restoration of the faith and the union of the Christian 'powers against the Moslem.' Such purity of idea, supported only by a child-like belief in the purity of those about him, did not win their approval then, any more than it does Mr. Armstrong's now. 'The sixteenth century,' he says, 'disliked dull men with chronic good intentions. 'Adrian had been despised in Spain; in Rome he was 'detested. Simplicity was no virtue in a society so com-'plex.'

The defection of the Pope might easily have been more serious than it was; but the turn which the war had taken in favour of Charles was sufficiently decided; the advantage continued with him, and the victory of Bicocca, on April 27, 1522, was followed by other successes, which made the Emperor for the time master of Lombardy. Henry VIII., too, was prepared to assist the winning side. So much has been written about Henry's desire to maintain 'the balance 'of power,' or, indeed, about his discovery of the doctrine, that it is as well to point out that a desire for material gain or a personal disgust had very much more to do with the project of Henry's several alliances than any political theories; and that the maintenance of 'the balance of 'power' had nothing whatever to do with his now joining the Emperor to crush the King of France, but simply the condition of receiving, in the settlement of affairs, the old English province of Aquitaine, if, indeed, he was not made king of a reduced France. The idea seems now, and, for three hundred years or so, has seemed so preposterous, that our later historians have not always been able to realise that, in the England of the early sixteenth century, there

was still much regret, and indeed indignation, for the loss of the French provinces; that in 1522 there were still plenty of men in active life whose fathers had known of the English occupation, whose grandfathers had fought at Agincourt, and had carried Henry V. in triumph to Paris. In July an English army invaded Picardy, and an English fleet raided the coasts of Normandy and Brittany. The direct damage done by either was not very great; but the necessity of allotting troops to oppose them told on the resources of France, already strained—how strained is shown by the infamous murder of Semblançay, perhaps also by the better known sequestration of the Constable's property, and his consequent going over to the side of the Emperor.

Between Bourbon, Charles, and Henry VIII. an agreement was now come to which might be called a triple alliance, and was actually a partition treaty. As his share, Charles was to have the Duchy of Burgundy in its fullest extent, including Champagne, Picardy, and all the north-east of France; Bourbon was to receive all the recently annexed territories in the south-east, together with his hereditary domains in the centre of France—Auvergne and the Bourbonnais; Henry was to have the old English possessions in west and south, in something like their extent under Henry II. This was, of course, largely based on the hypothesis that Bourbon, on joining the Emperor, would not only split up the French power, but would bring to the alliance all the resources and influence of his great name. In this they were disappointed. Unlike the Germans of the sixteenth century, the French had already attained a right notion of the meaning of 'patrie,' and looked on a traitor to his country with scorn and loathing. When he fled to join the Emperor, the enemy of France, Bourbon took with him nothing but his military skill and his genius for command; and although he was permitted to use these in the Imperial interests, they could have done very well without him. Such as it was, however, the coalition, supported by Giulio de' Medici—who, on the death of Adrian in 1523, became pope under the style of Clement VII.—pressed very heavily on Francis, and during the years 1523–4, while the English armies devastated the north of France almost to the gates of Paris, the French were driven completely out of Italy. It was only then, when the Imperial armies had invaded their own country, that they were able to make effective resistance. The English were forced to retire from Picardy; the defence of Marseilles was obstinate, and

when Doria relieved it by sea the Imperialists withdrew, pursued and roughly handled by the French.

Clement, who, with much of the ability of his cousin, Leo X., wanted the courage and audacity, began to tremble for Florence and for Rome, and endeavoured to hedge, so as to secure himself against another French conquest. And, with the instinct of the gambler, without the guidance of the soldier, Francis determined to follow up his good success and recover what he had lost. He himself took the command, but was completely defeated at Pavia on February 24, 1525. His army was broken up, and destroyed; he himself taken prisoner, and with him very many of the French nobility—vast numbers of whom were also slain in the fight. Many historians, writing under French inspiration, have described Charles's conduct at this time as grasping and ungenerous. In reality, from his point of view, his demands were scrupulously modest. From the beginning of the negotiations, the English claims were practically shelved, and when

'the English envoys pressed for resolute action, for the dethronement of Francis I. in favour of Henry VIII., or at least for the cession of the old English provinces, Charles offered to continue the war if Henry would pay the costs and if Mary were at once sent to Spain. Neither side was serious. . . . English operations during the war had been half-hearted and ineffective. . . . Charles felt little obligation to consider the extravagant English claims, but Bourbon's reward was a less easy question. He now, perhaps, really wished to add the old Imperial provinces, Dauphiné and Provence, to the Constable's own possessions, and to convert them into a kingdom that Bourbon might be a fitting husband for [his sister] Queen Eleanor. Yet this desire was subordinate to more immediate wants.'

It was his own claims that were, to him, the object of first importance; and, even as to these, nothing was said of the share allotted to him by the partition treaty between the three allies.

'The kernel of the negotiations was the claim for the duchy of Burgundy with its annexes Mâcon, Auxerre, Auxonne, and Bar-sur-Seine. This was no mere antiquarian pretension. Burgundy was the cradle of the Emperor's forefathers, the home of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Charles was still rather a Burgundian than a Spaniard, and his paternal inheritance was still nearest to his heart. . . . He regarded the duchy as his lawful heritage, filched from a defenceless girl on the tragic death of Charles the Bold. Legally he was probably in the right, and he had an eminently legal mind. . . . He was entirely honest in his repeated statement that he was only utilising his victory to demand his own.'

And when Francis, having obtained his liberty under false

pretences, repudiated his solemn promise, on his honour as a gentleman; when Henry, enraged at the contemptuous neglect of his interests, cast off the alliance, the advantage which Charles reaped from the victory of Pavia was singularly small. Money, too, was as usual, very scarce, and great numbers of the landsknechts gave themselves leave of absence and, with their plunder, returned to Germany, where, in the service of the Suabian League, they found a more profitable sphere for their industry. Those who remained were only kept faithful to their colours by the magnetic influence of Bourbon, who spent the whole of his remaining fortune in appeasing their claims, and when he could do no more, lent a not unwilling ear to their demands to be led to Rome. Clement, in endeavouring to play off the French against the Imperialists, had incurred the enmity of these latter without winning the support of the others, and Charles was not unwilling to punish the Pope for his ingratitude by the threat of his army marching on the capital. Possibly Charles meant nothing more, but the hungry and mutinous soldiers did, and Bourbon, ruined and discredited, was at one with them. What followed is described by Mr. Armstrong in his best manner.

'The whole force of 20,000 men or more, mad with hunger and suffering, staggered blindly down through Italy. Florence was too strongly held to be attacked; the peril of Rome became immediate. In vain Lannoy pleaded his convention with the Pope; too late Clement sold Cardinals' hats to provide for the defence. . . . The Imperialists had abandoned their artillery at Siena; they had neither food nor transport; a single check, and the whole force must be extinguished. In a thick mist on the morning of May 6, 1527, the attacking force flung itself upon the western walls of Rome. Bourbon, seeing his men waver, sprang upon a ladder to scale the wall; with his foot upon the second rung he was shot down, but his example saved the day. The mutineers poured into the Borgo. The Pope with the more fortunate of his Cardinals narrowly escaped to the castle of St. Angelo. . . . The long-drawn agony of the ensuing weeks needs no fresh description. Rome, after all, only endured what a hundred towns and villages less holy had more undeservedly suffered. . . . The horrors of the sack of Rome were but the concentrated essence of the sufferings of Italy.'

It was just at this time that the question of the English divorce entered on the acute stage. Just as naturalists trace the connection between the number of cats in a district and the luxuriance of the crops of trefoil, so an historical enquirer may trace the English schism to the battle of Pavia. It was this that practically shattered the Anglo-Imperial

alliance, that threw Henry into a position of antagonism to his wife's nephew, and suggested to Catherine the advisability of advocating her nephew's cause in a manner which her husband resented, and which accentuated the dislike personal or dynastic reasons had engendered. It was again, as we have seen, the battle of Pavia which led, not very indirectly, to the sack of Rome and to that abject terror which wonderfully quickened Clement's sense of the monstrosity of Henry's request, and confirmed his refusal to grant it.

Still more direct was the influence of the battle of Pavia on the religious and social movement in Germany. We have already pointed out how the landsknechts, withdrawing from the army in Italy, took service with the nobles and suppressed the revolt of the Suabian peasants, which Charles believed to be mainly Lutheran. Mr. Armstrong, writing here as always with a pleasant freedom from sectarian bias, shows that it was almost entirely social and economic, though there can be no doubt that the Lutheran teaching acted as the match to the well-prepared combustibles. Students of history are, in fact, well aware that every popular movement in the direction of religious reform has been accompanied, or closely followed by, economic revolt striving towards socialism and anarchy; that the same turn of mind which led men to reject ecclesiastical authority inclined them also to revolt against civil government, and that the preaching of ignorant or greedy disciples invariably led in the direction of communism. It was so in England in the days of Wycliffe, it was so in Bohemia in the evil days following the death of Hus, and most distinctly so in Germany during the century of the Reformation. In 1524, though religion was put forward as a pretext, the causes were largely economic; but the discontent and revolution spread till they became a very serious danger. In explaining the causes of these, Mr. Armstrong writes:—

'Serious peasant revolts are seldom due to great distress; they are more often the result of economic grievances arising from an enhanced standard of comfort. . . . In such cases burdens which have survived or have been reimposed appear the more intolerable. The rise in prices, which had partly caused the economic distress of the landed gentry, exercised its pressure through them upon the peasantry, among whom complete freehold tenure was very rare. The distinctions of tenure were numerous, and the lawyers were striving to eliminate these, to the benefit, perhaps, of the serf, but to the disadvantage of the upper strata of peasantry. There was in places a tendency for hereditary holdings to sink to life-holdings, and life-holdings to tenancy at will; there was arbitrary raising of rents to

meet the rise in prices; there were attempts to enforce labour services long since commuted. The mania for hunting had caused greater severity in the game laws, the deprivation of many privileges in wood and water, and damage to crops which now had a higher market value than of old. The rapid enclosure of the waste also added to popular indignation, even though the waste may have lain unused. . . . The increased standard of comfort had led to a habit of borrowing, and the mortgage interest was eating up the annual livelihood to be derived from the peasant holding.'

Whilst the revolt was being crushed by the nobles, aided by the returning landsknechts and by the collapse of France, which had been supporting the insurgents, Charles was happily absent. It was his good fortune, both in Castile and now in Germany, to escape the odium which must have attached to the defeat of popular aspirations, to the massacres in hot blood and the judicial penalties which followed. Believing, however, as he did, that the trouble was entirely the result of the Lutheran schism, it is small wonder that it became the object of his policy to root this out. But the princes of Germany, who had made common cause against the peasants, were by no means willing to act as one against the heresy or in behalf of the Church. The quarrel with England, the alliance of England with France, and the threatening aspect of European affairs confined the emperor to Spain, whilst in Germany a Catholic league on the one hand and a Protestant league on the other seemed not unlikely to clash in civil war; and taking advantage of the absolute weakness of the central authority, Albert of Hohenzollern, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, 'abjured his 'religious vows and converted his religious office into an 'hereditary duchy * under Polish suzerainty.' In this, and in the adhesion of other princes, Lutheranism found new life; so that just as Charles was entering on a new war in Italy, against an Italian league, against France and possibly against England, 'the enormous fighting power of Germany 'was neutralised by leagues and counter-leagues;' and whilst he was fully occupied in holding his own in Italy against the Pope and the French king, the Lutherans in Germany were gathering a strength which threatened to be overwhelming. Luther had been seriously alarmed at the socialism which had betrayed itself in the Peasants' revolt,

* This was East Prussia, which, in 1618, on the failure of Albert's direct line, fell to his kinsman, the Elector of Brandenburg, and gave the title to the monarchy established in 1701.

and had an uneasy consciousness that his teaching, loosely interpreted, was largely answerable; and now—

'shrewd and versatile as he was passionate and stubborn, he saw his opportunity, and threw his whole energy into the service of the princes. . . . He had, once for all, had his fright; he was by nature too conservative, and also too sensible, to be logical or consistent. He had done with the priesthood of the individual, the absolute liberty of conscience, the entire freedom of religion from the State, the election of the ministry by the congregation. Obedience to authority was now to him the first and great commandment. Henceforth the territorial prince must be the guardian of doctrine, the chastiser of dissent, the fount of ecclesiastical justice, the steward of church revenues, the patron of church benefices. To ecclesiastics might be left the definition of doctrine and the organisation of discipline, but both must be so distinct that the secular power could know what it was to punish or protect. Hence Luther was forced to formulate his doctrine and his ritual. The vague and limitless possibilities which had appealed to the imaginative German intellect had passed into dreamland or Anabaptism.'

This change in the political attitude of Lutheranism gave it a cohesion and a strength which it had not previously possessed. But meantime Charles was also growing stronger; he had triumphed in Italy; and in 1529 he ordered a diet to be held at Speyer and the privileges claimed by the Lutherans to be curtailed. Even the Catholics had no eagerness to accept this mark of imperial authority, and the Lutheran princes, with many of the free towns, replied by 'the celebrated Protest, which for all time 'has given its name to the party, and to many others who 'have not deserved or have not desired it.' And yet, notwithstanding this unity of action in the presence of the common foe, the religious differences among the Protestants threatened a new trouble, mainly due to the influence which the teaching of Zwingli had in South Germany, and to the fact that that teaching was largely political and republican.

'It asserted the autonomy of the congregation, and was thus well suited to an urban political system. . . . For Zwingli the political aspect was, perhaps, the most important. He was essentially radical and logical, drawing his conclusions unsparingly from his premises, sweeping away mediæval ruins as cumbering the ground, breaking with all tradition, treating Emperor with as scant respect as Pope.'

A house divided against itself cannot stand, and this dissension greatly weakened the Protestant cause when, in 1530, Charles, coming north, held a diet at Augsburg. But though too weak to gain their end, the Lutherans, by their uncompromising obstinacy, equal to that of the Catholics,

rendered any effort at conciliation utterly futile, and, indeed, impossible. The only result obtained was the establishment in Charles's mind of the conviction that the whole matter ought to be referred to a General Council. We can see now the absurdity of such a proposal; the idea of a council held by parties who could not or would not agree on any common basis involved a contradiction of language; but the sovereigns of that day were unable to realise this; and till the end of the century, an independent Council was held to be the panacea for the quarrels and dissensions which were racking the Church. But the immediate outcome of the Diet of Augsburg was the resolution of the Protestants to resist—by force of arms, if necessary—any attempt to limit the free exercise of their religion. And this, although—

'the Emperor's adoption of a suspensory attitude should have convinced the keen-sighted that the danger to the Lutherans was infinitesimal. Charles had intended to bring some 3,000 reliable troops to Germany, but he had not possessed the wherewithal to pay them. The Lutherans, at the most, were more frightened than hurt by the resolution of the Diet. [With one unimportant exception] the Catholic princes assured their Lutheran colleagues that religious dissidence in no way lessened their determination that there should be peace in Germany. Political peace had been the remedy which Luther had prescribed from Coburg; political peace was the specific enjoined by the more sane or less earnest of the Catholics; political peace Charles above all others was forced to accept as a palliative for the disease which would not bear the knife.'

If Charles, who, though not a genius, was an able, hard-working man, had been Emperor and nothing else, he might, in a time of great confusion of political and religious thought, have been able to establish himself as sovereign of a united Germany. Politically independent of the Pope, who would have been, to him, merely the head of the Church, he could have adopted a clear and steadfast policy towards the Lutherans, whether of repression, conciliation, or support. As it was, he was trammelled and constrained.

'Lutheranism owed its political existence as much to Clement VII. as to the French and the Turks. His weak and crooked policy, strong and consistent only in opposition to ecclesiastical reform, had given it time, and time is the requisite of revolution. . . . Clement had lamed the enterprise and, perhaps, injured the character of the most honourable champion of the Church. Charles had been at first straightforward in his attitude towards the religious revolution. He had given Luther a hearing, and then frankly declared war in defence of the Church. But the later hostility of Clement, combining with

that of Francis I., had driven him into subterfuge and concession—into an attitude of toleration inconsistent with his real convictions.'

But Clement was not the only, nor indeed the principal, hindrance in his way. The Spanish and Italian claims on his time and his consideration tore him from Germany—in itself a jealous problem which brooked no divided attention; and thus, in the tangle of European affairs and the lasting tangle of German, his long reign passed without any definite accomplishment. In 1534 Clement VII. died, and was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, who took the style of Paul III. His accession seemed full of promise for the Empire and for Christendom.

'As Cardinal, he had been scrupulously neutral; he came to the throne committed to neither political party. His pontificate forms a moment of transition between the papacy of the renaissance and that of the counter-reformation. There was already a party in the Curia zealous for reform of abuses and definition of doctrine, and this in no illiberal spirit. . . . The Pope himself had given evidence of desire for reform, and of willingness to compass this by a council. On the other hand, he was linked to the bad old times . . . his own life had been far from stainless; he had bastards whom he recognised. He was to follow a policy of advancement almost as unscrupulously as the Borgia, and with more permanent success; until forty years ago his descendants reigned in the State in which he established his *nipoti*.'

It was now, for the first time, that Charles found himself at liberty to attempt an enterprise which we are permitted to believe was nearer his heart than ever the war with France. This was the conquest of Northern Africa, along the coast of which Spain held a few isolated ports, but which was effectively in the possession of the Moors, who were intensely hostile to the Spaniards, and were now fast developing the piratical instincts, which were to make them, within a few years, the terror of civilised Europe—the 'scourge of Christendom.' Algiers especially, fortified by Barbarossa but a few years before, was already winning an evil reputation. The enterprise of Charles, if it could have had a successful issue, would have singularly modified the history of European commerce. After its ultimate failure, Algiers perfected its military and naval organisation till it possessed perhaps 'the most mobile fighting force that the 'world has seen.' Mr. Armstrong describes it as 'offering 'a refuge to the adventurers, the criminals, the renegades 'of the Mediterranean basin, from the Straits of Gibraltar 'to the mainland of Asia Minor, and acting as a rallying-'point for the undisciplined fanaticism of North Africa.'

He might have made this sentence more comprehensive. It was not to the outcasts of the Mediterranean alone that Algiers opened its arms. Several of the most noted of the pirate chiefs were English renegades, and there can be little doubt that France and the Low Countries were proportionately as well represented.

The Emperor's first attempt on Africa was crowned with success. In May, 1535, he sailed from Barcelona; at Cagliari he was joined by Doria with the galleys from Genoa; by the galleys from Naples and Sicily on which, more especially, the African pirates pressed very heavily; by a party of Knights Hospitallers, newly established at Malta and panting for vengeance, and by a squadron of caravels from Portugal, making common cause against the infidel and the enemy of trade. The army landed at Port Farina, and attacked Goletta, which, after a stout defence, was taken by storm, when 'the whole fleet of eighty-two 'galleys fell into the victors' hands.' As the great object of the expedition—the breaking the pirates' power of offence—had been thus happily accomplished, it was resolved to return. The attack on Tunis itself seemed dangerous and—in comparison—unimportant. Charles himself was anxious to go on and put a permanent bar on the recrudescence of Tunisian sea-power; but it was his first campaign, and, in the presence of many able men of long experience, he did not venture to command. Eventually, however, they yielded to his wishes and began the march on Tunis, twelve miles distant. The wells were eight miles, and Barbarossa, in command of the defence, moved out to harass the advance. It was a terrible march for the imperial troops, a forecast of that more celebrated march from Alexandria to El Rahmanieh in 1798, which has been loudly vaunted as a magnificent feat of endurance and discipline.

As they moved from Goletta, 'the Spaniards had no 'transport, and the very guns were all dragged by hand.... 'The heat was terrific, and when the wells were reached 'some preferred to die by them rather than rejoin the ranks; 'others steeped their shirts in the trampled mud and 'sucked them.' Compared with the heat and thirst, the enemy in arms was a trifle—as Bonaparte found in Egypt—and the clouds of horsemen, led by Barbarossa himself, could make no impression on the Spaniards' serried ranks. On the defeat of the admiral the Christian slaves in Tunis rose and made themselves masters of the town, which Charles

entered without opposition. There he was stopped; for the army, victorious over the enemy, was perishing by sickness. Charles was eager to push on to Algiers, whither Barbarossa had retired with the few remaining galleys; but it was decided that nothing further could be done, and the fleet returned to Spain and Italy.

As it happened—though Charles does not seem to have known it till afterwards—the blow struck at Tunis caused serious embarrassment to his old enemy, the King of France, who was at the time negotiating an alliance with Solyman, by the terms of which a combined fleet, mostly Turk, was to sweep the western basin of the Mediterranean. The Turkish fleet was no longer in existence, and though the alliance went forward, Solyman's efforts had to be made on the old familiar lines through Hungary, where they had no practical influence on the struggle between Charles and the King of France. Several years passed away. War with France alternated with a period of apparent reconciliation and friendship. An active alliance against England was suggested, directly or indirectly, by Cardinal Pole, whose zeal for his Church was but a factor in his hatred of the murderer of his kinsfolk. But Charles would none of it. To the Venetian ambassador, who seems to have had the most of his confidence at that time, he said:—

'I have no intention at present of making war on any one except the Turk: the King of France would very much like me to make war on England; his reason I do not know, but I, for my own part, do not wish it.'

And again:—

'The Cardinal wishes me, on the one hand, to forbid trade with the King of England as a sort of warning, and, on the other, to make war on him. My answer is that I know full well what war means—that it is easy to begin and not so easy to end. I am quite aware that at the beginning I should have plenty of companions, but not how long they would stay by me. If his Holiness is counselling such enterprises, it is because he is far distant from the said king; were he as near him as I am, his advice might be very different.'

Through all, Charles, who had realised the danger from which the capture of Tunis had delivered him, remained constant to the idea that he must put an end to, or must control, the Moorish pirates, whom Barbarossa, at Algiers, was again raising to a power. Pending freedom from the many entanglements which held him, the control seemed the easier objective, and with reasonable hope of success he opened negotiations with Barbarossa. Mr. Armstrong does

not think much of the morality of these, though 'their 'interest,' he says, 'is undoubted.' But into such a question morality scarcely enters. Barbarossa was, as Mr. Armstrong calls him, a 'naval *condottiere*,' who had accepted the suzerainty of the Porte in a moment of extreme peril. He had established himself at Algiers, and claimed the Sultan's protection. But he was as free to leave the Sultan's service as any other soldier of fortune. Doria, a Genoese, had quitted the service of the French king to accept that of the Emperor. It was equally open to Barbarossa, a Greek renegade, to do likewise.

But the value that Barbarossa might be to the Emperor's cause was very clear. All practical danger from a Franco-Turkish alliance would be done away with. The united squadrons of Genoa and Algiers would give Charles the undisputed command of the western basin; the coasts of Spain, Italy, and Sicily would be relieved from the raids of pirates, and the Spanish Moors would be deprived of the succour of their African relations. From 1538 to 1541 these negotiations went on, and were, to Barbarossa, merely a question of self-interest. It was proposed that, as a vassal of the Emperor, he should be king of Tunis and its province; that he was to release all Spanish captives, and, in command of the Algerine galleys, to serve the Emperor against France or Venice. It was on the actual possession of Tunis that the negotiations hung fire and ultimately failed. Barbarossa insisted on its being handed over at once. The Knights, now of Malta, protested against this; it is possible that they were not convinced of the loyalty and good faith of the renegade, and were uneasy at the prospect of having him as a near neighbour. Charles also felt bound to provide for the friendly Bey, who had been appointed by him after the capture of the town; and Barbarossa, becoming impatient, refused longer dalliance and went to Constantinople to convince the Sultan of the falsehood of all reports of his contemplated treason.

So, negotiation having failed him, Charles reverted to his purpose of war, and in October, 1541, he sailed for Algiers with a powerful fleet and army, determined to put an end at once to the piracy and the Turkish sea-power in the western basin. Of his success there seemed no doubt. His force was, at least, equal to that with which he had taken Tunis, and Algiers, in the absence of Barbarossa, was known to be but weakly garrisoned. Doria, indeed, warned him of the danger of undertaking such an ex-

pedition so late in the season, when bad weather might be expected; but Charles had now more confidence in himself and probably thought his veteran adviser either a croaker or something worse. So, on October 23—which, before the reform of the calendar, was really ten days later—the troops, to the number of 20,000, were put on shore a few miles to the east of Algiers. They had but few guns, few horses, and took not more than three days' provisions. On the 24th they occupied the high ground to the south of the town, and the assault was ordered for the next morning.

'But during the night a tempest, with torrents of cold rain, struck the Spanish army. Tents were blown down, the fuses of the arquebuses wetted, the ammunition soaked. . . . The whole of the 25th the storm raged, and ships and galleys were dashed upon the coast under the eyes of the Emperor, who had now marched down his whole force from the higher ground.'

Many of the men were killed in a sortie by the garrison, many more in the retreat along the coast to Cape Matifu, under which Doria sought to preserve a remnant of the fleet; others were lost at sea on the return voyage in a succeeding gale, and the expedition ended in loss of prestige and material power. The blame of the disaster was, of course, laid on the shoulders of the Emperor; unjustly, in Mr. Armstrong's opinion, for

'the expedition was postponed by avoidable delay on the part of his subordinates, and Doria's unreadiness was not entirely unintentional. If Charles had deferred the campaign till the following year, the expenses of preparation would have been sacrificed, and could scarcely have been provided a second time.'

He does not seem to recognise that it is the duty of a commander-in-chief, and especially when that commander-in-chief is also Emperor, to see that his subordinates do not make avoidable delays. That Charles gained in personal reputation may be admitted, and that the salvation of the force from total annihilation was due to his calm courage and cheerfulness; but without altering the fact that neither fleet nor army had any business to be where it was on what was, virtually, November 4.

It was simply human nature that Solyman and Barbarossa should wish to retaliate on the Emperor, and an alliance with Francis, in which the Pope also joined, gave them the opportunity. In 1543 the Sultan in person marched on Vienna, and Barbarossa brought an enormous fleet into the Tyrrhene Sea, ravaged the coasts of Naples and Tuscany,

joined the French at Marseilles, and laid siege to Nice. This the allies took and burnt, but, on the approach of the Imperial army, they retired to Toulon which, 'throughout 'the winter was the unhallowed market for the sale of the 'population of Nice whom Barbarossa had carried off as 'slaves. In the early spring the corsair sailed homewards, 'stripping the Italian coasts of their inhabitants.' He is said to have carried off 14,000 of them; how many were slain, how many more—women and children—died of want consequent on the desolation of their country by the ally of the Pope and the Most Christian King, was not even estimated.

Of the conquest of America, Mr. Armstrong says but little, though he enumerates the provinces that, at the time of Charles's abdication, 'were established and organised 'possessions of the Castilian Crown.' The subject is quite too vast to be treated as a mere episode, and at the same time it hangs on the reign by the mere concurrence of dates.* But what does belong to Charles, what Mr. Armstrong lays due stress on, is the part which he took in settling the administration of the conquered provinces and the organisation of their government. More especially does he commend the commercial policy which Charles desired to have followed.

'It is surprising,' he says, 'that one who never learnt mathematics till he was over thirty should have possessed a clearer and more modern view of the monetary conditions of colonial trade than the expert representatives of Spanish commerce. If the whole trade of Spanish America were forced to converge upon a single Spanish port; if the indolence of the colonists were artificially fostered, to preserve the agricultural and manufacturing monopolies of the mother country; if the cupidity of all maritime powers were attracted to ill-defended ports and galleons lumbering along familiar ocean roads; if wholesale smuggling was to prove the only vent to save colonial disaffection from explosion—all this was at least no fault of Charles. Had he been the absolute monarch that he is often represented, America would have been thrown open at least to his empire, if not to Europe.'

This is, indeed, claiming for Charles a high position among political economists, for no one else, either in his lifetime or for near two centuries after his death, realised that freedom of trade is the well-head of commercial prosperity and national wealth.

* It has, too, been very ably and fully treated in Sir Arthur Helps's great—though not popular—work, a new edition of which, annotated, in accordance with modern accessions of knowledge, by Oppenheim, is now in course of publication.

The perpetually recurring French wars, with their alternating periods of victory and defeat, and the frequent recrudescence of brawls and unquiet in Germany, which fill up such a large part of Charles's reign, have a wearisome resemblance to the march round of the armies of a theatre; it is not always easy to say where they begin or where they end, what they spring from, what they tend to. This excessive never-ending turmoil might easily be supposed, and in fact has been very generally supposed, to explain the fact that at a little over fifty Charles was a worn-out old man, praying for rest, and actually abdicating his throne to retire to a monastery. It has been a stock instance of the vanity of human wishes, of the unsatisfying character of earthly greatness. Mr. Armstrong does not find it in his province to affirm or deny any of these abstract reflexions, but he shows in a way which any one can understand, that Charles's early breakdown was due to perfectly natural causes, causes which would have acted perhaps even more markedly had the great emperor been leading a life of ideal ease and comfort. He had an enormous appetite, and no self-restraint at table. He was not, indeed, a drunkard, but this would seem to have been due to the strength of his head, for his potations were practically unlimited. He is described as 'emptying five times during 'dinner a flagon containing nearly a quart of Rhine wine.' And for the rest, Mr. Armstrong says:—

'His self-indulgence at table marks a curious contradiction in his character. His general power of self-control was from the first notorious, yet over his appetite he had no more command than has a greedy child. To this he deliberately sacrificed his life. When tortured by gout he would obey his doctors and do everything to get well. When once recovered he lived as though he could never be ill again, returning to the highly spiced dishes, the disgusting sausages, the forbidden fish, the early morning draughts of ale which had been placed outside the window for the frosty night to cool. The five-o'clock beer was followed by a bowl of chicken broth, improved by milk, sugar, and spices. At midday he ate a heavy dinner—roast mutton, for instance, succeeding large slices of beef, followed in turn by braised hare and that by chicken—all, as writes a Venetian envoy, being bolted, for he could not chew. After vespers he would take a hasty snack, while midnight closed upon a substantial supper.'

It was thus not only the quantity he ate, but the manner of eating, which was prejudicial to health. He was not able to chew his food by reason of the protrusion of the lower jaw, a malformation which has been the inheritance of many generations of his family, and attained, perhaps, its

extreme developement in the second Charles, the last of the Habsburg kings of Spain. It does not call for medical science to foretell the result. Given the facts that he avoided exercise, that he was in the habit of shovelling huge slabs of beef, mutton, and other flesh meat into his stomach two or three times a day, and of diluting the gastric juices with several gallons of wine or beer, the wonder is that his constitution was not worn out long before he was fifty, not that, before he was fifty-five, he had determined to make over his responsibilities to his successors.

But having so determined, he prepared for it with the care and exactitude that had long been habitual to him. The succession to the Austrian territories had been settled many years before on his brother Ferdinand, who, in 1531, had been elected king of the Romans, and thus recognised as the future emperor. Fifteen or twenty years later, the relations between the brothers were not so cordial, and Charles was anxious to revert to the dynastic principle 'that the whole power of the Habsburgs should be primarily 'in one hand.' He proposed that his son Philip should be nominated as Ferdinand's successor instead of Ferdinand's son Maximilian. From the point of view of Habsburg policy this would probably have been the best. He could foresee that the Empire, descending in the junior branch of the family, must necessarily lose its European significance and become more purely German than ever; that the two lines of Habsburgs would inevitably drift apart, and leave France at liberty to strike at either. But by 1551 the proposed change was quite impossible. Ferdinand was not willing to make it, Maximilian was not willing, and above all the Germans—who hated the Spaniards and detested Philip—were not willing. So the permanent division of the family had to be accepted. The rest of his wide-spreading territories—Spain, Italy, Burgundy with the Netherlands—descended to Philip. On the settlement of these last Mr. Armstrong has much to say, and his chapter on their administration and the causes leading to their later revolt is one of the most careful and interesting in these interesting volumes:—

'The rule of Charles in the Netherlands,' he says, 'is the brightest feature in his troubled reign. . . . He left them a nation, or nearly a nation. . . . When the provinces first resisted Philip, they appealed to the institutions of his father; they claimed due influence for the Council of State which was his creation; they pressed the summons of the Estates-General which owed their maturity to him, and which

under him had become the recognised expression of popular desires. If they demanded the withdrawal of Philip's foreign soldiery, they could rely for their defence on the gendarmerie which he had organised. . . . The very noble who was to lead the national revolt was he whom, above all others, Charles had delighted to honour.'

He goes on to show that there were, nevertheless, breakers ahead, rocks on which the ship of state, wanting careful pilotage, might very well be endangered. At one time Charles contemplated establishing his Burgundian inheritance as a middle kingdom between France and Germany under a separate government; but Mr. Armstrong shows that, independent of the difficulty of setting aside the natural order of succession, the Netherlanders themselves would have objected to it, as depriving them of the commercial advantages they were likely to derive from being subjects of the King of Spain who was also King of England. And after all—

'It was, perhaps, rather personality than policy that was at fault. Had Philip been Charles, or Mary been Elizabeth, or Margaret of Parma Mary of Hungary, history might have been very different. It was not Charles and Mary, but Philip and Alba, who, even before the Emperor's abdication, proposed to import the *alcabala* into the Netherlands and permanently establish a Spanish garrison. The religious edicts of Philip might be identical with those of Charles, but in the reign of the latter religious parity had not yet been recognised by the peace of Augsburg, nor had the legislation of the early years of Charles IX. in France made at least the idea of toleration a commonplace.'

And so Charles went to his retirement at Yuste, bequeathing to his son, in addition to the vast dominions, letters of advice as a guide to his future conduct. Are we to suppose that these letters, now patent, embody all that the experience of the father had to teach the son? When we consider how the diplomacy of Charles's successor kept France for forty years involved in that sanguinary civil war which has no parallel in the history of Europe, except that still bloodier war which devastated Germany during the first half of the seventeenth century, the fancy is not altogether foolish which suggests that the wars for the aggrandisement of the Guises—the so-called wars of religion—were the outcome of a secret counsel given by Charles to his son as King of Spain? During the reign of Charles war with France was the rule, as it was again in the seventeenth century; but during the reign of Philip II. the French were too busy fighting each other. The advantage which might

otherwise have accrued to Spain was nullified by the revolt of the Netherlands, and the impossibility of crushing it by a Power so hopelessly weak at sea; but to the stout hearts and dogged courage of the Netherlanders, no less than to the narrow-minded but tenacious bigotry of Philip, it must be imputed that France, torn to pieces by the cleverly nursed intestine feuds, was not partitioned between the Habsburgs and the Guises.

ART. II.—*Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.* Edited by T. F. HENDERSON. 4 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1902.

IT is always pleasant to welcome a thing worth doing that has been really well done; and well done in all senses is this edition of the famous 'Border Minstrelsy.' Materially, the book, which closely resembles the 'Edinburgh' Stevenson, is what it should be: not inaccessible in price, yet too costly for popular sale—a book, in short, for book-lovers, and it is only book-lovers who care for primitive popular literature. The work that appealed to generations of Border raiders and riders appeals now only to the elect, to those who really know when they see it the force and sincerity of unsophisticated poetry, and who can find a document of living interest even in the dull stretches of rhyming prose which too often set about the brief and trenchant stanzas where the song suddenly takes fire. Out of every ten readers who will have a true enjoyment of Tennyson and Browning, Keats and Shelley, even of Spenser and Chaucer, scarcely one will feel the attraction of 'Jamie 'Telfer' and 'Kinmont Willie.' Contemporary verse has always crushing odds in its favour, and accomplished work of whatever generation easily wins its way. We are all of us centuries nearer to Chaucer, the scholar and the courtier, than to the old crowder or minstrel who sang of these hard-fisted, hard-headed, moss-trooping bandits or wardens of the marches. Here and there these old ballads will find a kind of natural audience in the wholly unliterary; a schoolmaster may discover that some youth whose only reading is Hawley Smart or Whyte Melville, and not much of either, will show a sudden zeal for such a composition as 'Sir Patrick Spens.' But, upon the whole, an editor of early ballads may put out of sight altogether the great mass of the book-buying or book-reading public, and lay his account with those who dispense with the circulating library.

This class—almost the only surviving aristocracy—has a good right to be grateful to Mr. Henderson. With his great knowledge of the subject he might naturally have aspired to publish a collection on his own account, and very probably he may yet do so. But for the present he has preferred to edit Scott, and the service is greater. The 'Minstrelsy' is one of the two classics in its kind, and if it did not, like Percy's 'Reliques,' make a new epoch in

literary taste, it did what was better—it made Scott. Superficially, one may say that the success of this publication was what finally decided him to make literature his profession, as it also (less fortunately) threw him into the partnership with Ballantyne. But essentially and intrinsically this book, more than any, perhaps, in all literature, reveals to study the making of a great writer. Mr. Henderson's services are these. He gives us, in a new and admirable form, one of the most enjoyable of books for those who enjoy it; he shows us by careful collation the amount of alteration which Scott introduced in handling his material, and enables us in this way to gain a sidelight on Scott's theories of style; and lastly, by his comment on Scott's historical prefaces, he reveals how much the scholar in Scott was led (and often misled) by the novelist's instinct. Like his own 'Antiquary' he was prone to see proof of what he wished to believe; and Monkbarns had all the novelist's eagerness to associate the known with the uncertain; to make familiar and beloved places the scene of great happenings, and to claim for 'kent folk' a kinship with the heroes of romance. It will, perhaps, be well, before passing to the primary interest of the book as a classic collection of ballad poetry, to deal with the secondary interest of the light thrown on Scott's literary methods, both as editor and as author.

On the question as to what functions an editor of ballad literature should exercise, controversy has been sharp, since Ritson belaboured Percy for his interpolations and alterations upon the older texts. In this disagreement of the doctors it is needless to decide; one need only mark Scott's attitude. He approved, with certain reservations, Percy's method; nor could he well do otherwise. If it be a sin to alter originals, then no poet is to be trusted in such a matter, and Scott altered, embellished, and sometimes glorified; as Burns before him, with even a rarer instinct, had again and again transfigured by a touch. And it is safe to say that when the reviser is a Scott or a Burns all the world may well be thankful for these transgressions. When, however, the editor who undertakes the business of 'retrenching and improving' his materials so as (in Scott's phrase) 'to bring them nearer to the taste of his own 'period' is a man of no more distinguished a poetic gift than Percy, then there is plainly something to be said for Ritson; and Mr. Henderson, educated in the severe and almost pedantic tradition of modern scholarship, shows

plainly enough a grudge against the amiable bishop. But he has no superstitious veneration for the 'traditional' text, as is shown, for example, by his notes on 'The Young 'Tamlane.' The prime authorities for this ballad are the Herd and Glenriddell MSS. But in Johnson's 'Scots 'Musical Museum' there appeared a copy of this ballad contributed by Burns, which contains certain verses not found in the earlier forms; and these Mr. Henderson, with every justification, conjectures to be Burns's own work. *Per contra* Scott himself mentions that he is 'enabled to add 'several verses of beauty and interest . . . in consequence 'of a copy obtained from a gentleman residing near Lang-'holm, which is said to be very ancient, though the diction 'is somewhat of a modern cast.' There is extant a letter to Laidlaw, in which he remarks on these stanzas 'got 'through the intervention of Lady Dalkeith,' and inquires if Ettrick keeps any memory of a 'poetical schoolmaster or 'clergyman' 'capable of giving a coat of modern varnish to 'this old ballad?' Here, now, are the stanzas as Scott prints them, which describe how the Lady Janet went out on Halloween night, and won back her lover from amongst the fairy cavalcade:—

'*Gloomy, gloomy was the night*
And eiry was the way,
As fair Janet, in her green mantle,
To Miles Cross she did gae.

'The heavens were black, the night was dark,
And dreary was the place;
But Janet stood, with eager wish,
Her lover to embrace.

'Betwixt the hours of twelve and one
A north wind tore the bent;
And straight she heard strange elritch sounds
Upon that wind which went.

'*About the dead hour o' the night,*
She heard the bridles ring;
And Janet was as glad o' that,
As any earthly thing.

'Their oaten pipes blew wond'rous shrill,
The hemlock small blew clear;
And louder notes from hemlock large
And bog-reed, struck the ear;
But solemn sounds, or sober thoughts,
The fairies cannot bear.

'They sing, inspired with love and joy,
Like skylarks in the air;
Of solid sense, or thought that's grave,
You'll find no traces there.

'Fair Janet stood, with mind unmoved,
The dreary heath upon;
And louder, louder, wax'd the sound
As they came riding on.

'Will-o'-Wisp before them went,
Sent forth a twinkling light;
And soon she saw the Fairy bands
All riding in her sight.

'*And first gaed by the black, black steed,*
And then gaed by the brown;
But fast she gript the milk-white steed,
And pu'd the rider down.

'She pu'd him frae the milk-white steed,
And loot the bridle fa';
And up there raise an erlish cry—
"He's won amang us a'!"'

The three stanzas italicised are all additions made in Burns's copy, and with the last stanza we return to the Glenriddell MS. The others are from the 'gentleman residing 'near Langholm,' and Mr. Henderson has a right to say that Scott in inserting them was influenced by the fact that they were 'got by Lady Dalkeith.' Courtesy to a lady, combined with allegiance to the chiefs of his house, were too much for his judgement. Taken together, the additions to this ballad show better than any argument what is justifiable and what not. To amend like Burns is to glorify; to embellish like the gentleman from Langholm is to disfigure.

Emendation or sophistication, call it which one will, is, however, not often on this scale. Scott's work, now (thanks to Mr. Henderson) for the first time traceable, consists mainly in small verbal alterations, such as this stanza in 'The Raid of the Reidswire' shows:—

'The Armestranges that aye hae been
A hardie house, but not a hail,
The Elliots' honour to maintaine
Brought doon the lave o' Liddesdale.'

Here the MSS. read 'Brought in the rest of Liddesdale.' As Scott observes in his 'Introductory Remarks,' 'the 'excessive passion for alliteration, which formed a rule of 'Saxon poetry, was also retained in the Scottish poems of a

'more elevated nature;' and in so loose and scantily rhymed a form as the ballad stanza, this device is absolutely needed to give the effect of verse. Here, therefore, and in a hundred other places, we find Scott introducing it with good effect, and ready here as elsewhere to justify his alteration on the ground that popular ignorance of metrical art had occasioned the poems to lapse from their original form, so that in his alteration he was probably restoring the old words rather than substituting new ones. For Scott believed, as Mr. Henderson also believes, that each ballad had its original deviser, and was in no sense the product of 'folk fancy,' or joint authorship, except in so far as the rubbed and defaced coin shows the popular contribution to mintage.

It would be tedious to follow out minutely his alterations, but a few may be shown. Here are, to begin with, a couple where his instinct seems to err. In 'The Outlaw Murray' Herd's MS. gives the threat of the king's messenger thus:—

> 'He'll hang your merry men pair to pair
> In ony place where he may them see.
> There will nevir a Murray, after thysell,
> Have land in Ettricke Forest frie.'

Scott substitutes for the first couplet—

> 'He'll loose yon bluidhound Borderers
> Wi' fire and sword to follow thee,'

lines which seem to have a modern ring. But there is a much worse case in 'Katharine Janfarie,' where he had this fragment to work on:—

> 'Now . . . . .
> And swords flew in the skies,
> And droop and drowsie was the blood
> Ran our yon lilly braes.'

Scott writes it up, with spirit enough—

> 'Then whingers flew frae gentles' sides
> And swords flew frae the shea's,
> And red and rosy was the blood
> Ran down the lilly braes.'

'Droop and drowsie,' with its suggestion of the thick, slow-trickling stream, was surely a phrase to keep. But it is more reasonable to note the thick-strewn excellences than these rare infelicities. In the first and perhaps the best ballad in the collection, 'Sir Patrick Spens,' Scott has been

busy. He has added, in order to complete the story, the stanza—

'To Noroway, to Noroway,
To Noroway o'er the faem,
The King's daughter of Noroway,
'Tis thou maun bring her hame,'

and one may note in passing what a charm this trick of repetition always had for Scott, as is evidenced by his alterations as well as by his own poetry. He has introduced it again where the MSS. begin a stanza, 'They hadna sailed 'a league on the sea.' But this verse owes a more essential beauty to Scott, since he is wholly responsible for the second couplet, one of the finest in the poem:—

'They hadna sailed a league, a league,
A league but barely three,
When the lift grew dark, and the wind blew loud,
And gurly grew the sea.'

It is a magnificent piece of borrowing, after the maker's common fashion, from another ballad, the 'Daemon-'Lover':—

'The clouds grew dark, and the wind grew loud,
And the levin filled her e'e;
And waesome wailed the snaw-white sprites
Upon the gurlie sea.'

'The Lochmaben Harper,' too, owes a deal to this minstrel-editor; many verbal emendations, and two capital stanzas, of which one may be quoted:—

'Now all this while in merry Carlisle,
The harper harped to hie and law,
And the fiend dought they do but listen him to,
Until that the day began to daw.'

That has unmistakeably the elastic and ringing tread of Scott's own gallant verse; the makers of the ballads were for the most part clumsy-gaited by comparison; and yet it comes in harmoniously. In 'Kinmont Willie,' where the same high-spirited step is audible almost throughout, we have no means of checking Scott's alterations; but, as Mr. Henderson observes, when the descendant of Wat of Harden had the chronicle of his ancestor's deeds before him, he could ill keep his hands off it. We may be thankful enough to have 'the Kinmont' as Scott left rather than as he found him; his irons 'play clang' the louder on Red Rowan's back, and Buccleuch's trumpet blows the more merrily 'O whae dare meddle wi' me?' But this is ground

for conjecture; it remains to point out the best of all the things that Scott as the reviser certainly did for us. In 'Helen of Kirkconnell'—a poem in which the nameless maker rises to an intensity that Scott himself never attained—Scott contributed the last line but one of the exquisite closing verse—

> 'I wish I were where Helen lies!
> Night and day on me she cries;
> And I am weary of the skies,
> For her sake that died for me.'

One stroke like this amply atones for his complaisance to the feelings of Lady Dalkeith, and the defect in critical instinct which allowed him to include three forgeries—one of them very well worth inclusion among the professed imitations—by his friend Surtees.

It is easy to see what a schooling for this belated minstrel was afforded by such work; what an admirable off-set this rough, crude, passionate poetry, with its close adherence to the language of common life, made to all the 'graceful and 'elegant' contemporary work which Scott, after his fashion, regarded with undue leniency. Not only was it a counterpoise to the Joanna Baillies and the rest, but also to the fantastic extravagances of the German ballads which so fired his imagination. These Border poets were rooted deep in the common facts of life; and whenever Scott attained to his very best in verse, he was not far from the Border style. 'Proud Maisie,' 'The Battle of Harlaw,' 'Bonny Dundee,' the 'Coronach,' the snatches of verse given to Meg Merrilies, Davie Gellatley, and Madge Wildfire—in a word, Scott's lyrics and lyrical narrative—are better and more enduring than even the 'Lay' and 'Marmion,' which already seem, as 'Proud Maisie' or the 'Coronach' can never seem, a little demoded. Yet though the success of the Border minstrelsy turned Scott to poetry, it was perhaps not his poetry that in the long run benefited most by the thirty years of work and play which went to make that collection. If the poet was at school there, so also and even more assuredly was the novelist. Mr. Henderson cites again Lockhart's quotation of some contemporary reviewer who remarked that the introductions to the ballads contained the matter for a hundred historical romances. It was a true word; and be it observed that the historical series of ballads stop short of the 'Forty-five' and all the mass of Jacobite verse which must have been minutely familiar to the author of 'Waverley.' But, to take a leading instance, the whole germination of 'Old Mortality'

can be guessed at from the three ballads of the Battles of Pentland Hills, Loudon Hill, and Bothwell Bridge, taken with the illustrative matter in the introductions—citations from Peden, and such like. Poor stuff enough they are, these ballads; but—and here is the essential point—we read them in cold print. Scott heard at least one of them read out by a friend who had taken it down from the lips of an old woman in the West Country. He knew the soil out of which they grew; and as for the strictly Border ballads, he gathered them like wild flowers growing, mixing in the search with all sorts and conditions of men. For instance, the recitation of an ostler in Carlisle supplied several verses and variants in the fine romantic story of 'Graeme and 'Bewick.' And this research for ballads was not a thing suddenly taken up, nor adopted for a purpose. From earliest boyhood he was writing them down from memory, and chief among the delights of his youth was the annual 'raid' into Liddesdale, of which Sheriff Shortreed, his companion, has left so living a description. There is nothing pleasanter in literary history than the account of the young advocate and his companion coming in among these sturdy farmers and their wilds, where no wheeled vehicle had penetrated; the easy geniality which made him everywhere 'just a chield 'like themselves'; the quest for songs, for such relics as the great old Border war-horn destined to hang gloriously in the armoury at Abbotsford; the sport and the punch-drinking, the common table for all, guests and herdsmen. 'O what 'pleasant days,' says Shortreed. 'And then a' the nonsense 'we had cost us naething. We never put hand in pocket 'for a week on end. Tollbars there were none—and 'indeed I think our haill charges were a feed o' corn to our 'horses in the gangin' and comin' at Riccartoun mill.' It was a plunge straight into a life little altered from the days of cattle-lifting and moss-trooping, save only in the absence of war. Scott drew Dandie Dinmont from the life—a composite study—and Dandie might have been one of those at whose door Jamie Telfer came knocking:

'And whan he cam to the Catslock hill
He shouted loud and cried weel hie,
Till out and spake him William's Wat—
"O whae's this brings the fraye to me?"

'"It's I, Jamie Telfer of the fair Dodhead,
A harried man I think I be!
The Captain of Bewcastle has driven my gear;
For God's sake rise, and succour me!"

'"Alas for wae!" quo' William's Wat,
"Alack! for thee my heart is sair!
I never cam bye the fair Dodhead
That ever I fand thy basket bare."'

No one knows where Scott got his version of 'Jamie Telfer,' but we may be sure he got it on the soil where it grew. Moreover, it is one of two versions, rival versions; and he very naturally chose the one which credited the rescue of 'Telfer's kye' to Buccleuch and his men, and imputed to an Elliot the refusal of aid. The Elliots had their own way of the story, and perhaps neither can be taken as strictly accurate. But Scott was here, as everywhere, concerned not merely to gather up the ballad, but to trace out the historic allusion. And here, as in many cases, Mr. Henderson shows the faultiness of Scott's historical conjectures, even where the Harden family is involved. Also he shows, elsewhere, that Scott, in accepting local tradition as evidence of fact, was beyond his warrant; for example, in the case of the Douglas Tragedy, tradition not only assigns the occurrence to Blackhouse, but shows seven large stones as marking the spot where Lady Margaret's seven brethren were slain by her bold lover; identifying even the burn at which the fugitives stopped to drink, and where Lady Margaret saw in the water what Lord William bid her believe was 'but 'the shadow of his scarlet cloak.' 'So minute,' says Scott, 'is tradition, in ascertaining the scene of a tragical tale 'which, considering the rude state of former times, had 'probably foundation in some real event.' On this Mr. Henderson bluntly comments: 'The seven hostile brethren 'are, of course, common to several ballads, and were 'probably buried neither at Blackhouse nor any other 'where,' and 'the ascription of complete locality is of 'little account.' Historically, he is doubtless right, but, and we are sure Mr. Henderson would agree, it is very fortunate that Scott accepted this and other traditions, which peopled the Border for him not with the living only but the dead. No man knew better than Scott the value of the appeal to 'local sympathy,' for no man felt it more strongly.

'Tell a peasant,' he wrote to Miss Seward, 'an ordinary tale of robbery and murder and, perhaps, you may fail to interest him; but to excite his terrors, you tell him it happened on the very heath he usually crosses, or to a man whose family he has known, and you rarely meet such a mere image of humanity as remains entirely unmoved.'

Scott's belief in his own historical ascriptions and identi-

fications, if not wholly critical, fed his imagination with the most congenial matter, and it rested always on a mass of general knowledge which justified him in saying that such an event as was described even in the Douglas ballad *might* have taken place where he chose to believe that it *did*. Border history was no string of names and dates to him; it was the chronicle of folk allied to him by kinship, known to him in their descendants; the record of their doings in a country and a way of life which he knew by heart.

For those who have not Scott's tie to the Border country much of the matter in the introduction, which makes up a good part of the book—and consequently much of Mr. Henderson's comment—will somewhat lack interest. Except for the sake of the light thrown on Scott and Scott's reading, we find the prose of these volumes a little arid (though, when 'Waverley' appeared, Wilson broke in on the controversy as to its authorship: 'I wonder what all these people are 'perplexing themselves with: have they forgotten the *prose* 'of the Minstrelsy?') But the ballads are an abiding joy. Who can forget that stanza in the Scotch version of 'Chevy Chase' which tells of the Douglas's premonition?:

> 'But I hae dreamed a dreary dream
> Beyont the Isle of Sky:
> I saw a dead man win a fight,
> And I think that man was I.'

Those lines catch the very spirit of romance. What has the Isle of Sky to do there? Nothing, perhaps, but to make a rhyme, and yet how magical is the evocation of dim distance! As for the second couplet, words cannot be more pregnant in the mysterious and tantalising suggestion, that hint of something half-revealed, half-hidden, half allurement, half a threat, which romance lives by. 'And I 'think that man was I.' The telling alliteration, too, of the first line is notable. Elsewhere in the ballad are many good verses and fine lines, such as—

> 'The Lindseys flew like fire about
> 'Till all the fray was done.'

And few of the historical series lack moments of inspiration; for instance, Johnny Armstrong's farewell words, which recall those of Ajax:

> 'And God be with thee, Kirsty, my son,
> Where thou sits on thy nurse's knee!
> But and thou live this hundred yeir
> Thy father's better thou'lt nevir be.'

Yet, broadly speaking, the historical ballads seldom rise to high excellences; their charm lies in the straightforward simple narration, comparable to that of the Icelandic sagas. 'Kinmont Willie,' as we have said already, is scarcely a fair example; but 'Jamie Telfer' and 'Hobbie Noble,' without any special literary merit, make us as familiar with the days of cattle-lifting as some poacher's ingenuous narrative might with the business of burning a water for salmon. The men who told these stories wrote with 'their eye on the 'object,' for they wrote or composed for an audience familiar with the way of life. But they were forced by the exigencies of verse to pick out the salient points, the marking features of the event; they could not ramble discursively as they might well have done in prose, yet the formula of the verse was so lax as to enable them to say with precision just what they meant. One of the poems, however, 'The Fray of 'Suport,' is song rather than ballad, with its chorus of the rousing cry:

'Fy, lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' gane,'

and Scott may well call it 'uncouth and savage'; but it keeps an extraordinary freshness, and in a stanza like this one hears the fierce haste and exultation of the bringer of the 'fray' or summons to turn out.

'"Ah! lads, we'll fang them a' in a net,
For I hae a' the fords o' Liddel set;
The Dunkin, and the Door-loup,
The Willie-Ford, and the Water-Slack,
The Black-rack and the Trout-dub of Liddel,
There stands John Forster wi' five men at his back,
Wi' buft coat and cap of steil:
Boo! ca' at them e'en, Jock;
That ford's sicker, I wat weil.
Fy, lads! shout a' a' a' a' a',
My gear's a' ta'en."'

More literary in the strict sense—though it would need a good writer, indeed, to compose anything more effective than the strange recitative which we have just quoted—are the love-ballads; such, for instance, as 'The Broom of 'Cowdenknowes.' The pattern of the story is simple and conventional, but it abounds in dramatic touches and strongly realised pictures. One may be cited, for the sake of Effie Deans: the lass of Cowdenknowes, with milk-pail poised, was surely in Scott's mind when he wrote of Jeanie's

pretty sister coming back, no more a maiden, through the bracken.

'She set the cog upon her head
And she's gone singing hame—
"O where hae ye been, my ae daughter?
Ye hae na been your lane."'

This ballad is a good type of the fortunate idyll, where the maiden who has 'made her bed fu' braid' finds, in the end, a father to the child. 'Cospatrick,' a more savage story, tells of a like fortunate end to a like sudden and violent wooing; and it closes with a delightful verse of welcome to the cause of tribulation:—

'O row my ladye in satin and silk
And wash my son in the morning milk.'

'Clerk Saunders' is the tragic type of the love idyll, where the lover is slain by the seven hostile brothers; and it passes into a theme which recurs again and again—

'"Is there ony room at your head, Saunders?
Is there ony room at your feet?
Or ony room at your side, Saunders,
Where fain, fain, I wad sleep?"

'"There's nae room at my head, Marg'ret,
There's nae room at my feet;
My bed it is full lowly now,
Among the hungry worms I sleep.

'"Cauld mould is my covering now,
But and my winding-sheet;
The dew it falls nae sooner down
Than my resting place is weet."'

The admirers, not numerous but enthusiastic, of Mr. A. E. Housman's 'Shropshire Lad' will be reminded of many things in his work by this and many similar passages in this primitive poetry. These old makers, close to the processes of life and death, do not dwell on meetings in Heaven, or communion in spirit; they know the earth and hot blood; they know also another place where, as Mr. Housman writes—

'Lovers lying two by two
Ask not whom they sleep beside,
And the bridegroom all night through
Never turns him to the bride.'

The same thing recurs in a splendid passage at the close of 'The Wife of Usher's Well,' one of the ballads which

throughout has an extraordinary elevation of phrasing. It is too well known to need quotation, but we cannot refrain from noting the wholly unexpected pathos of the close—

'Fare ye weel, my mother dear,
Farewell to barn and byre,
And fare ye well, the bonnie lass,
That kindles my mother's fire.'

It is part of the ballad's essence to deal in these sudden and revealing turns, but few are so effective as this. Yet here is a good instance from 'Annan Water':—

'He has ta'en the ford at that stream tail,
I wot he swam both strong and steady;
But the stream was broad and his strength did fail,
And he never saw his bonny ladye!

'"O wae betide the frush saugh wand!
And wae betide the bush of brier!
It brake into my true love's hand,
When his strength did fail, and his limbs did tire!"'

The change from direct narration to the dramatic method is fine; but it would have been finer still if the second couplet of the first stanza had been suppressed and we had come straight to the curse on the brittle willow wand and the treacherous brier. Still, there is the picture plain enough of the strong swimmer, far spent by the strong water, yet in the very act of landing, when the bush he has struck for fails in his grasp, and away he sweeps down the 'drumlie river;' and the 'bonny ladye' has no more to do but build a bridge over the fierce flood that it 'no more may 'true love sever.'

There are certain ballads—such as 'Binnorie, O Binnorie,' with its haunting refrain—which have the special charm of lyric verse; but essentially the merit of the ballad lies in its value as a form of narrative. Scott considered that old ballads were imperfect and partial adaptations of the older metrical romances, and he, as the world knows, built up from his study of the ballad literature metrical romances of his own. Yet the manner of the ballad seems to us radically distinct; it has a capacity for the lyrical accent which is not found in the more even flow of a long poem in a continuous metre. And, especially in its natural form, it rebels against all amplification, such as Scott himself superimposed on it in the 'Eve of St. John,' 'Glenfinlas,' and his other imitations. The ballad should go straight to its goal

without stopping by the way describing only what is happening; and this was Scott's own method when he was finely inspired, as in 'The Battle of Harlaw,' a piece of narrative from which it would be impossible to suppress a word, save the singing repetitions. Another thing has to be remarked on the manner proper to the ancient ballads—that they frequently presupposed recitation by a minstrel, who would preface it by some account of what he had to sing. Take, for example, the opening of 'The Douglas Tragedy,' which, if recited, would be quite obscure to an uninstructed audience—

> '"Rise up, rise up now, Lord Douglas," she says,
> "And put on your armour so bright;
> Let it never be said that a daughter of thine
> Was married to a lord under night."'

The trained reader may infer the speaker's quality, but for an audience explanation is necessary. The Scotch bards, however, knew that to get an effective opening it was better to plunge boldly *in medias res*, than to conform to the more methodic English fashion, and begin thus:—

> 'It grieveth me to tell you, O!
> Near London what late did befall
> 'Twixt two young gallant gentlemen:
> It grieveth me, and ever shall.'

The modern maker of ballads is in this respect at a disadvantage, for he cannot assume an interpreter, and is practically confined to one of the more explicit and less telling ways of leading off—of which there are, of course, many and often excellent examples in the 'Minstrelsy.'

We are talking here, needless to observe, of a ballad-maker who aims at the literate audience. The old minstrel who sang to Border farmers of Border raids has no analogue among us; popular poetry has been replaced by police-court intelligence, and probably even the skilled cracksman prefers a recital of his deeds to be couched in the elevated style consecrated by newspapers to such subjects. Here and there, in remote places, broadside sheets of contemporary verse may be found; the doings of 'John MacBride's Brigade' are celebrated in Connaught by some local bard, but it cannot be said that the bard writes as if he or his hearers were in touch with modern war. Yet the nearest approach to a true revival of the ballad which has been seen since Scott wrote (in 1830) his remarks on modern imitations, may be found in the literature circulated by the 'Nation' newspaper and the 'Young Ireland' party in 1848 and thereabouts. Thomas

Davis, with his colleague, the late Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, and other able men set to very spirited verse many of the incidents in Irish history; and 'The Spirit of the Nation,' a collection of these ballads with other patriotic verse, had, and still has, an immense vogue in Ireland. These productions were scarcely true poetry; their manner was closely modelled on that of Macaulay's 'Lays'; but they had the appeal to 'local sympathy' which, as Scott knew, is characteristic of the ballad; and they were, therefore, a real example of popular poetry, and founded a school out of which much spirited work has come. Yet it also has always been, in a sense, exotic, for it has shirked contact with actual experience; it has sought its subjects in the remote past, in so far as it has been the work of poets. The 'Manchester Martyrs,' the peasant who executed 'wild justice' upon the informer Carey, have not lacked their singers, but the singers have certainly not been poets. Still, if the historian of the ballad wants examples of the popular ballad written in English since 1830 it is to Ireland that he must look for his material. There is no English analogue to the fifty editions of Duffy's 'Ballad Poetry of Ireland'—a volume, it may be observed, which is not of one political colour, since it includes the old broadside of the 'Boyne Water,' and Sir Samuel Ferguson's 'Willy Gilliland,' the story of an Ulster Covenanter's triumph and revenge.

Of the more literary ballad there are many examples to point to since Scott completed his review. Tennyson's poem, 'The Sisters,' though not called a ballad, is in reality one, and fit to take its place with the best. Later in life he gave the name 'Ballads and other Poems' to a volume which contained some of his finest work. But 'Rizpah' is in no sense a ballad; and the 'Voyage of 'Maeldune,' picturesque though it be, is an avowed imitation of the late Celtic manner, with those gorgeous and heaped-up descriptions which are as unlike as anything can be to the forthright simple narrative which one associates with the ballad's name. 'The Defence of Lucknow' is narrative certainly, relieved by little ornament, and if anyone chooses to call it a ballad there is no law against doing so. 'The Revenge' Tennyson himself calls 'a Ballad 'of the Fleet,' and a better narrative poem has seldom been written. Yet it is permissible to say that the great closing passage, with its mounting climax, helped by a deliberate and infinitely skilful artifice of metre, is inconsonant with the terse simplicity which is the ballad's special beauty.

Still, 'Niphetos' or 'Maréchal Niel' has as good a right to be called a rose as the flower of the hedgerow. Our own opinion, however, is that the ballad, if it wishes to call itself a ballad, should not deviate too widely from the wayside type.

Browning took ballad subjects—for example, the story of 'The Glove' or of 'Ivan Ivanovitch'—and twisted them inside out, investigated them, told the story as if by accident and innuendo. But Browning—at least, for a long period of his life—was no more fit to write a ballad than Mr. Henry James would be: he must always subtilise. And yet in the 'Ride from Ghent to Aix' he wrote what is more like a ballad, and a stirring ballad, than anything in Tennyson except 'The Revenge'; and in the 'Pied Piper' he accomplished what bears almost exactly the same relation to certain types of ballad poetry that 'The Revenge' does to other types. It is the narrative manner amplified, elaborated, variegated, but still keeping close to bare recital. 'Herré 'Riel,' spirited though it is, goes far away from the traditional style, and loses by its going.

But the most notable modern revival of the ballad form is associated with the deliberate mediævalism of the pre-Raphaelite movement. Morris, indeed, went almost straight to the more purely mediæval type of the long metrical romance, but Rossetti and Mr. Swinburne threw much of their best talent into a form whose native roughnesses these polished artists copied with elaborate skill. Of the ballads pure and simple which they composed, the best is, in our judgement, Rossetti's 'Stratton Water'—and very good indeed it is. But they evolved for themselves from the ballad a special literary form, depending largely upon a lavish use of the refrain. Swinburne's poem, 'The Sea 'Swallows,' with its refrain, 'Red rose leaves will never 'make wine,' is a fine example; but the supreme type is Rossetti's 'Sister Helen,' a thing unsurpassed for its combination of dramatic narrative with the running chant, like a fantastic and sinister accompaniment, of the repeated yet always changing burden. What these men saw and imitated and emphasised was the crude shock of passions in this primitive literature; they achieved—Mr. Swinburne more especially—a deliberate barbarism. And yet the whole seems to us touched with that taint of insincerity, of pose, which mars the pre-Raphaelite work in art. It is the outcome not so much of genial nature as of a revolt against surroundings. There is a studied playing at

mediævalism in these things. With Scott the whole case was different. He was on the Border and of the Border; the past was living in his blood, fostered, indeed, by love, but implanted by no uncertain right of inheritance. And there was never a poem in the world that came more spontaneously from the very sources of a man's being than that gallant lilt of 'Bonny Dundee,' which Scott, worn and care-burdened, and long a stranger to his early love of verse, set one day in a moment of exhilaration (like Sidney) 'to the 'trampling of his horse's hoofs'—

> 'Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
> Come saddle your horses and call up your men;
> Come open the Westport and let me gang free,
> And it's, room for the bonnets o' Bonny Dundee!'

That breathes the air of the uplands, as sure as Swinburne's and Rossetti's ballads smell of the studio.

Among the more recent writers who have used the ballad in all its sincerity Stevenson is, of course, conspicuous. His 'Ticonderoga,' which owes its inspiration to a stanza from 'The Ballad of Otterbourne,' makes a fine piece of rhetorical narrative; the Scots blood in him hero, as ever, stirred to some purpose over this tale of a Scot. The 'South Sea Ballads' are, of all his work, that for which a devout admirer can find least to say. He wrote them when struck suddenly by the strangeness and wildness of the legend-laden atmosphere into which that southward migration plunged him, and before he had as yet grown intimate with the life. His mind, prone to revel in horrors, was excited by the discovery of a new motive—the cannibal feast superadded on the old themes of love, hate, jealousy, and revenge. All the tropical rankness of the scenes and setting prompted him to be profuse in pigments, and he heaped up in his ballads, as he was wont at times to do in his prose, a mass of words purely literary in their associations. The result was something so highly Latinised as to be discrepant with the vehicle of his thought. Such a line as

> 'Clustered the scarcely *nubile*, boys and girls in a ring,'

should have no place in the ballad, and is, indeed, ill-fitted for any narrative verse. Even 'Ticonderoga,' good as it is, cannot bear comparison with the work of a younger man. Mr. Kipling tells in his 'Ballad of East and West' a tale of another border than the Scotch, and other cattle lifters, but of the same spirit; and he tells it in the Border

fashion, a straight swift narrative, with here and there a detail that is sharply significant.

'And thrice he heard a breechbolt snick where never a man was seen.'

There is, of course, an element of self-conscious artifice in the deliberate assumption here and there of a dialect known to the writer only through books; but, nevertheless, the thing is at first hand, the genuine spirit is there, and there are lines in it which Scott would have hailed with joy. This, for instance, describing Kamal's son:—

'With that he whistled his only son, that dropped from a mountain crest;
He trod the ling like a buck in spring, and he looked like a lance in rest.'

It is fine, too, to see with what skill Mr. Kipling has wrought the imaginative Oriental phrasing into this terse old style:—

'What dam of lances brought you forth to jest at the dawn with death?'

However, there is no need to talk about the work which Mr. Kipling did before he became a prophet of the Empire and a writer of leading articles in verse. Most of us have it by heart, and we are willing to forget the latter turgidities. But the 'Ballad of East and West' is the only good ballad properly so-called which can be found in 'Barrack Room Ballads,' though in his earlier book of verse there was a poem—one of the two or three which gave promise of a poet—that merited and did not get the name. 'The Grave of the Hundred Head' is a ballad, and a very good one. 'Mandalay,' 'Danny Deever,' and 'Kabul River,' the best things in the 'Barrack Room' volume, could only be called ballads by a very loose employment of the word, for they tell a story only by implication. But if Mr. Kipling would write more verse of that quality, he might call it what he pleased and no one would quarrel with him. The 'Ballad of the King's Mercy' and others are more strictly in accordance with their title, and yet they are not precisely what we take the ballad to be—a plain tale told in verse, with the greatest possible trenchancy, the least possible deviation from strict recital of deeds and words.

It is, perhaps, idleness to quarrel about names, but confusing terminology has a tendency to confuse literary purpose, and if the name 'ballad' be given promiscuously

people are a little apt to forget what a ballad ought to be. Mr. Swinburne set the example, by giving the title 'Poems and Ballads' to a volume which contained both imitations of the French 'ballade' and of the old border narrative ballad. Needless to say, no two literary forms are more radically unlike. Again, just about the time when the success of Mr. Kipling's volume had created a rage for the form, Mr. John Davidson, a man of talent, published a book called 'Ballads and Songs.' The first poem in it was entitled 'A Ballad in Blank Verse of the Making of a Poet,' and the term might just as fitly have been applied to Browning's 'Inn Album.' It was the more annoying because the book contained one poem, 'The Ballad of a Nun,' which was a true ballad, and, so far as style and treatment went, a fine ballad, though for the story it told we entertain the heartiest dislike. But a little further we come on 'A 'Ballad of Heaven,' which certainly has the ballad metre, but contains verse like this:—

'Then like a python's sumptuous dress
The frame of things was cast away,
And out of Time's obscure distress,
The conquering scherzo thundered Day.'

That, moreover, is a refrain verse, repeated after the ballad fashion. When it comes to this, when we are promised a ballad and given 'conquering scherzos,' it is full time to cry back, to revert to the old simplicities, and insist upon what a ballad really means. Let it be, if you will:—

'The Colonel's son a pistol drew and held it muzzle-end,
"Ye have taken the one from a foe," said he, "will you take the mate from a friend?"
"A gift for a gift," said Kamal straight; "limb for the risk of a limb. Thy father has sent his son to me, I'll send my son to him."'

Or let it be:—

'Were I Glenallan's earl this day,
And ye were Roland Cheyne,
My spur should be in my horse's side
And my bridle upon his mane.'

Or the thing itself, and not the reproduction of it; the work of some old blind crowder, or, it may be, of some young gallant who added the gift of imagination to his skill with the spear:—

'O wha will shoe my bonny foot?
And wha will glove my hand?
And wha will lace my middle jimp
Wi' a lang, lang linen band?

'O wha will kame my yellow hair
With a new-made silver kame?
And wha will father my young son
Till Lord Gregory come hame?'

Applying Matthew Arnold's canon of criticism, one would say that these are touchstone passages; and the ballad, fierce or pathetic, whenever and by whomsoever written, should be something that will bear the application of such touchstones as these.

ART. III.—1. *Aerial Navigation.* By F. WALKER. London: Crosby Lockwood & Son. 1902.

2. *Travels in Space.* By E. SETON VALENTINE and F. L. TOMLINSON. With an Introduction by Sir HIRAM MAXIM. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1902.

3. *The Dominion of the Air.* By the Rev. J. M. BACON. London: Cassell & Co. 1902.

4. *The Greatest Flying Creature.* By S. P. LANGLEY. From the Smithsonian Report for 1901. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1902.

THE problem of human flight is being vigorously attacked, and there seems good reason for hoping that the twentieth century will see its more or less complete solution. The great interest which has been taken in the work of the various men of science and inventors who have lately given their best efforts to the study of flight has made their names familiar as household words throughout the civilised world. Several bodies have been founded for the express purpose of unifying effort in this direction, such as the Aero-Club of France, the Aeronautical Institute and the Aero-Club in our own country. Under their auspices experiments are being undertaken, and discussions conducted, which have at least the merit of calling public attention to the advances made within the last generation towards the solution of one of the most attractive problems that mechanical science can attack. Three popular books lately published on the subject, though not well written and far from scientific in method, furnish an appropriate opportunity for taking a survey of the history and present position of these advances.

The possible achievement of flight has always been a stimulating prospect for mankind. For thousands of years the hope has been fondly cherished, though only within the hundred and twenty years that have elapsed since the discovery of the balloon has it been translated into practice. The winged horses of the sun, Juno's peacocks, Medea's dragon car, Pegasus, the flying carpet and the ebony horse of the 'Arabian Nights,' bear witness to its widely spread persistence. Aryan mythology is full of tales of flying men, from Dædalus to Peter Wilkins. Anthropologists tell us that the original source of the familiar nightmare, in which most of us have known the exciting and fearful joys of dashing through the air and sailing down aerial switch-

backs, may be a reminiscence of that 'probably arboreal' ancestor who frisked and gambolled, with the help of a prehensile tail, among the loftiest boughs of the primæval forest. More probably—for even the youngest of sciences is not infallible—it was derived from an envious watching of the condors and 'large birds of prey' which in our own times gave Lilienthal his inspiration. The semi-poetic imagination of the early world working on such material was quite capable of endowing man in fancy with the powers of flight which are attributed by nearly all races to wizards and angels, and which science now promises to confer on the ordinary citizen at no very distant day.

There is not much of practical value to be learnt from the early stories of flight which are to be found in most mythologies, though they are interesting to those who study the anticipation of modern discoveries by the far-reaching mind of untutored humanity. Dædalus was apparently the first man to whom the invention of wings was attributed, and the myth which describes his flight from the prison of Minos, with its unfortunate results for the high-flying Icarus, has been rationalised into a comparatively commonplace tale. As Sir Thomas Browne suggests, 'Twas ground 'enough to fancy wings unto Dædalus, in that he stole out 'of a window from Minos, and sailed away with his son 'Icarus; who, steering his course wisely, escaped, but his 'son, carrying too high a sail, was drowned.' However that may be, one can hardly look for much scientific value in the tale of the wax-fastened wings of the Grecian artist, or in the representation of a winged man, curiously like Lilienthal in his soaring apparatus, which is to be seen on an Egyptian bas-relief, or in the English story of King Bladud's flight over his capital, or the legend of Simon the Magician, or the countless similar tales which represent little more than man's dream that one day he would be able to emulate the birds.

Passing from these mere tales of imagination, however, one finds that the history of human ingenuity records a series of attempts to solve the problem of flight which carry a little more weight. What we have recently learnt from the experiments of Lilienthal, Pilcher and Mr. Chanute, indeed, may incline us to attach more importance to these fragmentary records than students did twenty years ago, before it had been definitely shown that it is quite possible for a man to fly for hundreds of yards without the aid of any motor-power beyond what is afforded by the action of

the wind on properly shaped wings, or (as the modern aeronaut prefers to call them) aeroplanes. The records all agree in asserting one of two things: either that a flying model was constructed which supported itself in the air for some time, or that a man contrived to fly for a short distance, and usually from a high place. We know nowadays that both achievements are perfectly possible without any great mechanical skill being called into play. The first was shown to be feasible at the end of the eighteenth century by Sir George Cayley's little machine constructed of cork and feathers, with a spring of twisted indiarubber; and the second in the present generation by Lilienthal, with his soaring apparatus of wood and canvas. Thus there is no inherent impossibility in the story which Aulus Gellius tells about Archytas of Tarentum, that he made a wooden pigeon which flew by the help of a certain 'aura spiritus' hidden within it. We need not, indeed, agree with those who see in the last clause a suggestion that Archytas had discovered how to make hydrogen two thousand years before Cavendish, and that his pigeon was really a small balloon, any more than we see it in the mediæval story of St. Rémy about enchanters who rose to the sky 'by means of an 'earthen pot in which a little imp had been enclosed.' But it is quite probable that the pigeon of Archytas, like the iron fly of Regiomontanus and other similar inventions of which we read, was an anticipation of the flying model of Sir George Cayley, excogitated from a careful study of the flight of birds. No doubt it is equally possible that, as Mr. Bacon sceptically suggests, the whole thing was a piece of trickery of the kind in which Mr. Maskelyne excels, and that the conjurer's friend—a black silk thread—was the only imp in the machine.

It is more difficult to dispose of the numerous tales of flying men which are to be found in the most diverse parts of ancient and mediæval literature, and which come down almost to the invention of the balloon. Most of these are circumstantially told in a fashion which inclines one to believe that the unscientific chronicler was trying to describe some predecessor of Lilienthal. The evidence for that is at least sufficient to incline us to suspense of judgement. Some of these flying men, indeed, were obviously impostors, or at best self-deluders, like the Italian charlatan who (according to Bishop Lesley) undertook to fly from Scotland to France in the reign of James IV. 'To that effect,' says the good bishop, 'he caused make a pair of wings of feathers,

'which, being fastened upon him, he flew off the castle wall 'of Stirling, but shortly he fell to the ground and brake his 'thigh-bone. But the blame thereof be ascribed to this, 'that there were some hen feathers in the wings, which 'yearned for and coveted the midden and not the skies.' Other tales are less easy to set down as mere figments of the marvel-loving chronicler, or as the tricks of a conscious humbug. Bishop Wilkins, the famous author of 'Mathe-'matical Magic,' in which the whole question of flying is discussed with great ingenuity, collected various instances of the successful use of wings. 'It is related of a certain 'English monk, called Elmerus, about the Conqueror's time, 'that he did by such wings fly from a tower about a furlong, 'and so another from St. Mark's steeple in Venice, another 'at Norimberg; and Busbequius speaks of a Turk in Con-'stantinople who attempted something this way.' A fairly detailed description of this Turk's flight, which took place in the august presence of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, has been preserved, from which it has been supposed that he actually constructed a simple aeroplane of the kind used by Lilienthal, which would enable him to fly some distance from the top of a tower—tobogganing down the slope of the air, so to speak. It is quite in accordance with what we know of the conditions of such a flight that the Turk lost his balance, turned over and fell to the ground before his flight was completed; if the tale had been a mere invention it would have been easy and natural to make the flight a complete success.

Later stories of the same kind are still more acceptable. In the fifteenth century a certain Gianbattista Dante, of Perugia, is recorded to have flown several times across Lake Trasimene, until one of his wings gave way and he fractured his thigh. In 1678 the 'Journal des Savants' records that Besnier de Sablé flew from a height across a river. In 1742 the Marquis de Bacqueville undertook to fly from the top of his house in Paris across the Seine; he actually completed the greater part of the journey—about three hundred yards—but fell on a boat in the river. It is quite permissible to affirm that all these stories show that men have been for centuries on the verge of the discovery which Lilienthal and his followers have made in our own day, of the possibility of a certain kind of flight—technically known as soaring—with the help of very simple apparatus modelled on the extended wings of the condor or the albatross. Lilienthal's work, of which we shall speak later, does not indeed offer much

prospect of our rivalling the birds; but as a contribution to the scientific study of flight it has an importance which should make us think kindly of these mutilated and decried forerunners.

Leaving experiment for theory we find that some of our greatest thinkers have long meditated on the possibility of man's achieving the dominion of the air. A striking page from the notebook of Leonardo da Vinci, which is reproduced in the well-illustrated volume of Messrs. Valentine and Tomlinson, shows that that great artist, who was also a keen engineer, often exercised his mind by devising mechanical wings and flying machines. Roger Bacon actually hit, in a vague and shadowy manner, on the possibility of the balloon. He was led by the analogy of the ocean to conceive that the air might also bear up vessels on its surface, and proposed that a large hollow globe of copper or other metal should be wrought extremely thin, filled with 'ethereal air of liquid 'fire,' and then launched from some elevated point into the atmosphere, in which it would float. The second and greater Bacon thought that it would be worth while to give much thought to the 'experiment of flying,' with the birds for guides. When the Royal Society was founded it busied itself (as Addison reminds us) in finding out the art of flying. 'The famous Bishop Wilkins was so confident of 'success in it that he says he does not question but in the 'next age it will be as usual to hear a man call for his wings 'when he is going a journey as it is now to call for his 'boots.' Several interesting speculations of this nature are to be found in the pages of Messrs. Valentine and Tomlinson, but they are not of much importance except as showing how earnestly—and often how wildly—men have filled their minds with hopes of flight. We may now turn to modern and practical investigations of the subject, which date back to the invention of the balloon in 1783.

Bishop Wilkins, whose treatises are still a mine of delight, somewhere classifies the various methods of human flight, with a great air of precision, under four heads:—

(1) By spirits or angels.
(2) By the help of fowls.
(3) By wings fastened immediately to the body.
(4) By a flying chariot.

Modern science has rejected the two former methods as beyond the reach of experiment. Even the Society for Psychical Research has not been able to treat cases of 'levitation' seriously. The examples of Elijah and Philip

and Habakkuk (who was *capable de tout*) throw little light on the subject, and no one would nowadays propose to harness a team of eagles to his balloon, though the late Lord Carlingford actually took steps to patent such a contrivance in 1856, and a similar project is described in one of the recently published letters of Charles Darwin. Modern researches in the art of flying may be classified under Bishop Wilkins's third and fourth heads. On the one hand, we have the experiments of Lilienthal and his followers in the art of soaring by means of wings or aeroplanes fastened directly to the body of the investigator, usually without the addition of any motor-power; these have been directed rather to solving the very important question of balancing a flying machine in the air than to achieving flight in the ordinary sense of the word, and we shall consider them at a later stage. On the other hand, we have the main body of research, which has devoted itself to devising some 'flying chariot,' or flying machine as we prefer to call it nowadays, in which one or more persons may imitate the way of a bird in the air. Here again we must distinguish two lines of research. The problem may be attacked either by way of aerostation or of aviation, to use the convenient terms which we have borrowed from the French aeronauts for the two chief methods of flight. Aerostation involves the use of flying machines which are lighter than an equal bulk of air, and so float in the atmosphere as a ship floats in water; the modern problem in their case is to discover some means of controlling their flight and driving them independently of the wind. Aviation involves the use of flying machines heavier than air, which are to be kept afloat by the pressure of the air on their surfaces, and which would at once fall to the ground if their motor-power ceased to act. The ordinary balloon is the type of the aerostat, whilst a bird or a boy's kite affords precedent for the aviator. For chronological and other reasons it will be convenient to deal first with the problem of aerostation, which appears already to have attained the highest practical development that theoretical reasons suggest as likely.

The central idea of the balloon may be said, as we have seen, to have occurred to Roger Bacon more than six centuries ago. It must have presented itself, one would think, to any thoughtful man who had noticed the clouds floating serenely miles above the earth, or had watched smoke ascending from a fire—at any rate, if we believe the stories about Newton's apple, or the leaping kettle-lid which

gave Watt the first notion of his steam-engine. Others after Bacon conceived the same idea, in a still more impracticable fashion. One ingenious gentleman noticed that the dew ascended to the skies when the sun fell upon it, and suggested that egg-shells filled with dew would equally tend to rise. Another proposed to take 'the eggs of the larger 'description of swans, or leather balls well stitched with 'fine thongs,' and fill them with nitre, quicksilver, and other substances 'which rarefy by their caloric energy.' These people sought, in fact, for a levitational quality akin to the dormitive virtue of opium, but never found it. The Jesuit Lana came nearer to the mark in 1670, when he proposed to raise a flying chariot by means of thin copper globes exhausted of the air, which Torricelli had just proved to have a definite weight. It did not occur to him that the pressure of the atmosphere would instantly crush in such globes if made light enough to have any rising power, and the persistence of error is illustrated by the fact that the use of a vacuum has been seriously suggested in our own day as a substitute for hydrogen.

The balloon might quite well have been invented two thousand years ago, but the first to make any kind of aerostat seems to have been the Italian Tiberio Cavallo, a Fellow of our own Royal Society, who on June 20, 1782, exhibited to his colleagues of that learned body the ascent of soap-bubbles filled with 'inflammable air,' as the gas which we now call hydrogen was christened by Cavendish when he discovered it in 1760. Cavendish had observed that the extreme lightness of this gas—still the lightest of all known substances—might fit it for such an experiment, and Black had suggested that a bladder filled with it would rise in the air, though he does not appear to have actually tried the experiment. Thus Cavallo is entitled to remembrance as the pioneer of ballooning. At the same time, however, an idea was germinating in the mind of a French paper-maker which caused the first practical balloon to be of quite a different kind.

In November 1782 Stephen and Joseph Montgolfier, two young paper-makers of Annonay, hit on the brilliant but simple idea that has immortalised their name. They saw that smoke constantly ascended, and must therefore be lighter than air. They knew vaguely that savants had long been talking of the possibility of making some machine that would rise in the air. Why should not a bag filled with smoke ascend? they asked themselves. They tried the

experiment—an apocryphal anecdote declares that Madame Montgolfier's petticoat, conveniently airing by the fire, was the first balloon—and sure enough the bag did rise to the ceiling. Within six months they had constructed a large balloon, with a grate fitted to its neck so as to keep the air inside it rarefied for some time, and the first public ascent—though without an aeronaut—took place, amidst the thunderous plaudits of an admiring crowd, at Annonay on June 5, 1783. The public imagination was immensely taken by this achievement, and it was not long before the daring and ill-fated Pilâtre de Rozier made his first ascent in a balloon of the same kind. Soon it was the fashion to experiment with little fire-balloons, or Montgolfières, and all over France the skies were full of them. The taste rapidly spread to England, where Lunardi made his famous first ascent on September 15, 1784. Readers of Horace Walpole's letters will remember his frequent remarks on the prevalent craze, as he thought it. 'Do not wonder,' he wrote at the end of 1783, 'that we do not entirely attend to things of 'earth; fashion has ascended to a higher element. All our 'views are directed to the air. Balloons occupy senators, 'philosophers, ladies, everybody.' Walpole was careful to inform his correspondents that they appeared to him 'as 'childish as the flying kites of schoolboys,' though he thought the exploits of the 'airgonauts' worth chronicling at some length. He even went so far as to picture a time when our seaports might become deserted villages, and all our traffic be conducted through the air. 'In those days 'Old Sarum will again be a town and have houses in it. 'There will be fights in the air with wind-guns and bows 'and arrows, and there will be prodigious increase of land 'for tillage, especially in France, by breaking up all public 'roads as useless.' Within two years after Montgolfier's first ascent, the Abbot of Strawberry convinced himself that 'balloonation' was an exploded craze, which could never be of any service to mankind; yet he had a saving doubt, and wrote: 'How posterity will laugh at us, one way or other! 'If half a dozen break their necks, and balloonism is ex-'ploded, we shall be called fools for having imagined it could 'be brought to use; if it should be turned to account, we 'shall be ridiculed for having doubted.'

It is unnecessary here to trace the history of the ordinary balloon, which may be read at length in Mr. Bacon's interesting and popularly written book, and has frequently been told before. We need only remind the

reader that Professor Charles, soon after the success of the Montgolfiers, constructed a balloon filled with hydrogen, on the suggestion of Cavallo's soap-bubbles; this made a successful ascent on August 25, 1783. Thenceforward numerous experiments with both kinds of balloons—unchecked by the lamentable accidents which ended the lives of some of the most adventurous aeronauts—soon raised the ordinary balloon to a high degree of completeness; indeed, no serious advance in the art of ballooning has been made since the early days of the nineteenth century, although many details of practical convenience have been brought to greater perfection.

The balloon has done much good service to meteorology, as Mr. Bacon—who is an expert in this matter—points out. It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of the increase in our knowledge of weather and the conditions on which it depends which has thus been brought about. As the late Mr. James Glaisher, whose name is connected with one of the highest and most adventurous ascents on record, expressed it:—

'In regard to such matters the balloon is unique, as the atmosphere is the great laboratory of nature, in which are produced all the phenomena of weather, the results of which we perceive on the earth; and no observations made on mountain sides can take the place of those made in the balloon, as what is required is the knowledge of the state of the upper atmosphere itself, free from the disturbing effects of the contiguity of the land.'

It has well been said that the human race spends its days in crawling about the bed of the great ocean of air, on whose movements and fluctuations our weather, with all its economical and social consequences, depends. In studying these fluctuations we are handicapped much as an intelligent kraken would be, if from its immemorial bed in the Atlantic ooze it attempted to construct a map of the surface currents. We profit by the use of balloons as the kraken would profit by the employment of a mobile squadron of sharks and dolphins to report on the movements of the upper waters. Thus we are able to study the meteorology of the atmosphere in three dimensions instead of in two. Of recent years a still further step has been taken in this direction by the employment of small sounding balloons—*ballons sondes*—which are sent up without any human aeronaut on board, charged with a cargo of light self-recording instruments. At the Paris Congress of Meteorologists in 1900 an international agreement was made for the systematic

exploration of the upper air by the monthly despatch of such balloons from meteorological stations in most of the countries of the world. Great Britain, unfortunately, still takes no official part in this work, as we understand, although some contribution is made to it by private enterprise. The balloons are sent aloft on the same day in each month, and when they come down after a flight of many hours they are returned to the place from which they started by the person who picks them up. A few are lost, but most of them find their way back with the valuable message that they bring from the upper regions of the atmosphere. This is by far the most important use that has ever been made or is ever likely to be made of the ordinary balloon, which will hardly be superseded for such a purpose.

The balloon, however, has been a great disappointment to those who hoped that it would solve the problem of human flight. By flight, of course, we mean locomotion through the air—not mere helpless drifting, but the power to go from place to place with the same certainty as our automobiles possess on the road or our ships on the trackless ocean. The ordinary balloon is quite useless in that respect—as useless as a raft without sail or paddle would be to the transatlantic voyager. It is bound to arrive somewhere, indeed, but no aeronaut can have much certainty within a few scores of miles where he will descend. The balloon, in short, is absolutely at the mercy of the wind. It is part and parcel of the stratum of air in which it floats, and is obliged to go whithersoever that air is journeying. The aeronaut's control of it is solely exercised in the vertical. He can ascend by throwing out ballast, or descend by losing gas—a wasteful process, which shortens the life of a balloon every time that it is employed, and for which many substitutes that should not fritter away these vital necessaries have been suggested, without much success. All that the aeronaut can do to influence the direction of his flight is to choose an air-current which sets approximately towards the place which he desires to reach. As the upper and lower currents often differ widely in direction—clouds may thus be seen apparently travelling against the wind which is blowing on the surface of the earth—it is possible sometimes to find a suitable one by going up or down, but it is clear that such a control is very haphazard and impracticable for the purposes of the traveller. No one succeeded in bringing a balloon into besieged Paris, for instance, though to do so would have earned almost any reward that the aeronaut

liked to ask. The failure of Andrée's attempt to make a comparatively short journey is a typical instance of the uncertainty of balloon voyages.

It follows that, from the earliest days of ballooning, men have tried to devise means of controlling the horizontal as well as the vertical motion of the aerostat. At first the prospect seemed extremely alluring, and it was thought that success was near at hand. Men held that the balloon was, so to speak, the hull of a ship, and that it must be an easy matter to equip it with sails or paddles that would enable it to travel as certainly and as fast as the East Indiaman or the Chinese tea-clipper. More than a century has passed away, the agency of steam and other engines has been brought to bear on the subject, but in spite of the ingenuity and pluck of experimenters like MM. Renard and Krebs, or M. Santos-Dumont, there seems good reason to believe that men were on a wrong tack in looking to any modification of the balloon as the air-ship of the future. For reasons that are now to be set out, it seems probable that we shall have to give up the balloon and return to the older plan of those who endeavoured to produce—or at least to imagine—flying machines modelled on the bird.

Very shortly after the balloon was invented, men began to equip it with wings, sails, and paddles, by which to guide it independently of the wind, as a ship or a galley is guided on the sea. The inutility of all such attempts soon made itself practically apparent, and is clear from theory. The ship is able to sail in a direction different from that of the air-current which provides its motor-power because its hull is immersed in a denser medium, which prevents it from driving at the same speed as the wind. But the balloon is all sail, so to speak: it is totally immersed in the air, and must obviously drive along at the same speed as the wind. Thus the aeronaut seems to himself to be always in a dead calm, even if he is travelling thirty miles an hour in a stiff gale. His vessel partakes of the motion of the air in which it floats, and no arrangement of sails will enable him to tack, any more than the rudder will affect a becalmed ship, or a boat drifting with the current of a river. This was soon discovered by experience. Applying the marine analogy, the aeronaut then attempted to give his balloon steerage way by the use of oars or paddles. The principle was correct enough, but we know—as was soon discovered—that no human muscles could thus affect the motion of a huge bulk like a balloon to any extent worth considering.

fulfil the same conditions, must be capable of travelling against any reasonable wind. But a balloon is in a worse case than the ship contending with a head-wind, because there is no water for its hull to rest in, but it is totally immersed in the air, and must consequently travel at the same rate as the wind. In other words, if the wind is moving at twenty miles an hour, and the navigable balloon is to travel at twenty miles an hour in the opposite direction, it must move relatively to the air at a speed of forty miles an hour—that is, it must be capable of making forty miles an hour in a dead calm. Now a wind of twenty miles an hour is nothing out of the way: it is the limit, according to a useful table given by Mr. Walker, of what is defined as a 'strong breeze.' In order to make head against a gale of forty miles an hour, the balloon must be endowed with a potential speed in still air of fifty or sixty miles, equal to that of our fastest express trains. Now, the resistance of the air varies as the cube of the speed of a moving body, so that, in order to travel at forty miles an hour, which is clearly the lowest speed with which a practical air-ship can be endowed (for the anemometers on the Eiffel Tower have shown that the average speed of the wind at that moderate altitude is eighteen miles an hour), a balloon like 'La 'France' would have needed engines, not four, but sixty-four, times as powerful—*i.e.*, of at least 544 horse-power. Even with the light motors of to-day, such an engine would weigh at least two tons, and to think of fitting it to a balloon is enough to show us the hopelessness of the business. Captain Renard and his colleague twenty years ago retired from the contest, although it is understood that they have since been engaged upon the task of fitting their vessel for use in war, where it might play a very decisive part. Military reasons have kept the work so secret that nothing is really known as to its results.

There is another argument against the likelihood of navigable balloons ever becoming serious rivals to ships and railway trains, which has been expressed with special force by M. P. Banet-Rivet. We have shown that a dirigible balloon, in order to be of any use for the ordinary purposes of travel, or for the conveyance of mails and other light swift freight, must be capable of a speed of at least fifty miles an hour in still air. But what will be the condition of a balloon, made of any conceivable fabric, travelling at such a speed? Anyone who has been on a motor-car doing forty or fifty miles for a short spurt, or will put his head

out of window the next time he is in a fast express, will be able faintly to realise the pressure of the air at such speeds. Further, we know that a captive balloon in a gale blowing at anything over thirty miles an hour is liable to be rapidly destroyed. It is simply inconceivable that a balloon of any known material should be able to stand travelling through the air at such a rate. Even if the fabric were capable of resisting the tremendous pressure of the air, it would certainly lose its shape, and be crushed or pitted in front to an extent which would totally impede its progress, if it did not destroy the whole machine. It is clear that only a metallic hull like that of a ship could endure the strain. In that case we are driven to conclude that the navigable balloon which is adapted for really useful speeds must either be so gigantic in size as to be impossible to handle—otherwise it could not raise its own weight—or must be heavier than air, in which case it ceases to be a balloon, and comes into the second class of air-ships, which we have yet to consider, and with which the future of aerial navigation must lie.

If this argument is sound, as it appears to be, it is needless to enter into a lengthy discussion of the most recent attempts to build navigable balloons. The most notable of these, which we owe to the skill and perseverance of M. Santos-Dumont, helps to illustrate our thesis. M. Santos-Dumont has the advantage of using motors whose power in relation to their weight is tenfold superior to anything known twenty years ago, and yet he has not outdone the achievements of 'La France.' On his most famous trip, when he won the Deutsch prize by flying round the Eiffel Tower from St. Cloud, he only just managed to cover five miles within the stipulated half-hour, and until he is able to show a greatly superior speed to that it is useless to look for any practical results from his work. At the same time, one would not appear regardless of the courage and ability which he has shown in his work, and which have justly earned him a high reputation among those who seek the dominion of the air.

We must conclude that, so far as theory based on existing experience can tell us, the navigable balloon is an unrealisable dream. That is to say, it can never hope to compete with the steamer or the railway as a conveyance for passengers or mails, whilst no one supposed that it would ever furnish a practicable method of conveying freight. Its use must be confined to the purposes of sport and war.

enough to support one or more human beings who may control its flight. In order to do this it is clearly necessary to understand exactly how the bird supports itself and soars with so little apparent expenditure of energy. Of all those who have set their wits to tackle this problem—some with a certain measure of practical success, if the stories of artificial birds are to be accepted—Professor Langley was the first to carry out a truly scientific investigation. Of the two monographs already mentioned, the one that was published second is really the first to be studied. It deals with the 'internal work' of the wind, and has revealed a state of things which no one had previously guessed. We think of the wind as a fairly uniform force; but Professor Langley has shown that, even when it seems steadiest, it is but a generic name for a series of infinitely complex phenomena. It is always variable and irregular in its movements beyond anything which could be anticipated. Even the smallest portion of an air current which can be examined proves to have no homogeneous parts. It consists of an exceedingly complex tangle of tiny and diverse currents. It is by a kind of selective action upon these currents that the bird soars, by choosing out all the variations which happen to suit its motion. The birds 'see the 'wind,' so to say, or in some mysterious way recognise a fact which only the happy accident of using a very small and sensitive anemometer revealed to Professor Langley. The stronger and more apparently uniform the wind is, the greater are its relative fluctuations. 'In a high wind the 'air moves in a tumultuous mass, the velocity being at one 'moment, perhaps, forty miles an hour, then diminishing to 'an almost instantaneous calm, and then resuming.' It is to these minute and rapid changes that Professor Langley refers when he speaks of the 'internal work' of the wind. He has lucidly shown how, if we assume, as we must, that birds have an instinctive ability to utilise these fluctuations, they account for such a remarkable phenomenon as the fact that a turkey buzzard has been seen to hover, with no apparent effort, stationary in the teeth of a gale blowing at thirty-five miles an hour.

The application of this remarkable discovery lies in the proposition that it should be possible to cause any suitably disposed body, animate or inanimate, wholly immersed in the wind, and wholly free to move, to advance against the general direction of the wind as a whole. This would be clearly impossible if the wind were so nearly homogeneous

as the misleading voice of our senses causes us to suppose. 'A ship is free to go against a head-wind by the force of 'that wind, owing to the fact that it is partly immersed 'in the water, which acts on the keel; but it is here 'asserted that—contrary to usual opinion, and in opposition 'to what may at first seem the teaching of physical science— 'it is not impossible that a heavy and nearly inert body, 'wholly immersed in the air, can be made to do this.' That is to say, it may be possible to construct a flying machine, whether with an automatic 'brain' analogous to the balance-chamber in a Whitehead torpedo, or under the control of a trained aeronaut, which will fly without the use of a motor by utilising all the favourable variations in the wind, or at least will use its motor as the auxiliary screw of a sailing yacht, for progress in calms or against a persistently unhelpful air current. It may still take many years of experiment and sedulous aping of nature to devise the intricate machinery of the automatic brain, indeed, or to endow human aeronauts with the capacity of 'seeing the wind,' and constantly shifting the aeroplanes to take advantage of its shifts, which the bird has instinctively acquired in so many ages; but Professor Langley has demonstrated the theoretical possibility of such a machine.

He was anticipated in practice by the ingenious and resourceful Otto Lilienthal, whose sad death by an accident to his wings in 1896 was a great blow to the study of flight, although his work was taken up in the United States by Mr. Chanute and his friends, and there carried to a higher pitch of development. Lilienthal, who was born in 1848, took a very early interest in the problem of flight, and soon perceived that it could best be attacked by a careful investigation of the conditions which determine the soaring of birds. He published the result of his observations in his epoch-making treatise of 1889 on 'The Flight of Birds as the Basis of the 'Art of Flying.' In this work he reached independently the result which Professor Langley attained by his study of the wind, and showed that a man equipped with sustaining aeroplanes could 'perform soaring or sailing flight' without the use of any motor beyond that afforded by the wind itself. He laid down thirty rules for the construction of wings, as his supporting aeroplanes may fitly be called, of which the most important may thus be summarised:—

(1) The construction of flying machines is not dependent upon motors.

(2) Hovering flight, however, is impossible without a motor of at least 1·5 horse-power.

(3) A man has sufficient muscular power to fly in an average wind.

(4) In a wind moving faster than twenty-two miles an hour a man can perform soaring or sailing flight by means of adequate and appropriate sustaining surfaces.

(5) All such flying apparatus must be modelled on the wings of large birds.

In 1891 Lilienthal constructed his first soaring machine, and began to make short flights. With the aid of a bird-shaped framework, so constructed that the inclination of the wings and tail could be altered at pleasure by the athletic experimenter—Lilienthal was a trained gymnast—he successfully attempted toboggan-like glides down an inclined plane of air, starting from the top of a low mound, down whose sides he ran until the air-pressure on the under sides of his wings raised him from the ground. Long and assiduous practice, varied by many tumbles, taught him to steer himself in the air by adjusting the wings to every change in the wind. At length he came to fly as much as a quarter of a mile at a time. The sensation was wildly exhilarating, as Mr. Chanute and other experimenters agree. 'Finally,' wrote Lilienthal, 'we become perfectly at ease, 'even when soaring high in the air, while the indescribably 'beautiful and gentle gliding over the long sunny slopes 'rekindles our ardour at every trial. It does not take very 'long before it is quite a matter of indifference whether we 'are gliding along two or twenty yards above the ground; 'we feel how safely the air is carrying us, even though we 'see diminutive men looking up at us in astonishment. 'Soon we pass over ravines as high as houses, and sail for 'several hundred yards through the air without any danger, 'parrying the force of the wind at every movement.'

Lilienthal insisted, very wisely, on the need for exhaustive experiments of this kind before any attempt was made to build a more ambitious flying machine. The great difficulty with all such machines is to preserve the balance in the air. It is analogous to the difficulty which would be found in riding a bicycle over a surface which was constantly in motion, like the waves of the sea; at every instant the wind is varying and threatening to upset the experimenter, whose aeroplanes then cease to support him and he comes down like a shot pheasant. Lilienthal himself paid the penalty of his boldness with his life; after five years of experiments, he went

out one day with a new apparatus which a sudden change in the wind dashed to the ground from a height of about one hundred feet, and he was killed on the spot. His only English follower, Mr. Pilcher, was similarly killed in 1899 by the failure of an essential part of his apparatus. But Mr. Chanute, who discovered that the soaring apparatus might be made much safer by the superposition of several aeroplanes one above the other, believes that he has eliminated this source of danger, and declares that 'any young 'and active man can become expert in a week' with his wings. There can be no doubt that much light will be thrown on the problem of flying by the extended use of such soaring machines. Lilienthal hoped to see 'Fliegesport,' as he called his art, become a rival to rowing or cycling among athletic lads. 'If,' he said, 'we can succeed in 'enticing to the hill the young men who to-day make use of 'the bicycle or the boat to strengthen their nerve and muscle, 'so that, borne by their wings, they may glide through the 'air, we shall then have directed the developement of human 'flight into a course which leads towards perfection.'

The flying machine of the future, however, will be closer akin to a steamship than to a bird. The purposes of the condor or the eagle are efficiently served by wings which enable them to make wide circles in the air rather than to take long journeys, though for the latter purpose they possess an auxiliary motor in the highly developed muscles of their breasts. But the human flying machine will be used chiefly, if not entirely, for the purposes of the traveller. It must therefore, be provided with a motor which will drive it rapidly through the air and will render it largely independent of the wind. We have already seen that the successful machine of this type must be heavier than the air: as Sir Hiram Maxim has said, 'it is quite as impossible 'to propel a balloon with any considerable degree of velocity 'through the air as it is for a jelly-fish to travel through 'the water at a high rate of speed.' Thus the flying machine must keep itself afloat as well as travel by means of its motor power. That this is possible is clear from the instance of the kite, which is kept afloat by the air-pressure on its under surface; relatively to the air, a kite is moving at a high speed, although it may be stationary with reference to the ground. Here again the classical investigation is that of Professor Langley, who published its results in his 'Experiments in Aerodynamics' (1891). He constructed what he called a 'whirling table,' consisting of a

long horizontal arm which could be rotated at any desired speed, so that the behaviour of an aeroplane suspended at its outer end could be scientifically examined. By means of a series of most ingenious experiments, he was able to show what conditions the flying machine must fulfil, and what difficulties it has to contend with. In the first place, he discovered that a horizontal plane in motion through the air loses part of its weight, and so tends to fall more slowly than it would do at rest, the difference representing the part which is borne up by the air. If, instead of being horizontal, the plane is inclined at an angle to the ground, it is obvious that the weight thus borne up will be increased; every schoolboy who has ever thrown a paper dart has an empirical knowledge of that fact. But no one had realised the true state of the case, which is expressed in what will henceforward be known as Langley's Law, the fundamental proposition on which the construction of flying machines must be based. This law tells us that the faster a flying machine travels, the less energy will be needed to keep it afloat. In the words of its discoverer: 'If, in such aerial 'motion, there be given a plane of fixed size and weight, 'inclined at such an angle and moved forward at such a 'speed that it shall be sustained in horizontal flight, then 'the more rapid the motion is, the less will be the power 'required to support and advance it.' This is just the opposite to the case of the balloon or the ocean steamer, where the necessary energy increases by leaps and bounds with the speed of the moving body, until a limit is reached beyond which it is impossible to go. Professor Langley's remarkable discovery is illustrated in the following table, which shows the weight that can be supported in the air by one horse-power, according to the angle at which the sustaining aeroplane is inclined to the horizon:—

Angle of Aeroplane to Horizon	Soaring Speed (V), in Feet per Second	Horizontal Pressure, in Grammes	Work Expended per Minute, in Foot-pounds	Weight that 1 Horse-power will Drive through Air at Speed V
				Lbs.
45°	36·7	500	2,434	15
30°	34·8	275	1,268	29
15°	36·7	128	623	58
10°	40·7	88	474	77
5°	49·8	45	297	122
2°	65·6	20	174	209

We see, from the last line of this table, that a flying machine whose aeroplanes are inclined at an angle of 2° to the horizon will support a weight of 209 lbs. for every horse-power developed by its motor, and will travel at a speed of forty-five miles per hour. Now, it is possible to construct engines—such as that which Sir Hiram Maxim uses in his great flying machine—which weigh no more than 8 lbs. per horse-power, so that there is no physical bar to the construction of a flying machine which will rival our express trains in speed, and will carry a large number of passengers. The theoretical establishment of this fact is the greatest of the many debts which we owe to the brilliant genius of Professor Langley.

Unfortunately, it is still too early to believe that the problem of flight is solved, although we are entitled to say that science now pronounces it to be soluble. Several flying machines have been constructed which, as far as their power to fly is concerned, leave little or nothing to be desired. The artificial birds of many inventors, like Pénaud, Le Bris, Pichancourt and Ader, have their lineal descendants in the machines of Sir Hiram Maxim and Professor Langley, which are the most remarkable contributions yet made to the practical solution of the problem of flight. The aerodrome of Professor Langley, driven by a small steam engine and supported by aeroplanes which give it a remarkable resemblance to the pterodactyl of prehistoric times, has more than once performed a satisfactory flight of half a mile or more, coming safely to earth again in a fashion which seems to show that its inventor has gone far to overcome the two great difficulties that confront the aeronaut—balance and safe descent. Sir Hiram Maxim admits that he does not yet see his way to solve them, and so his machine—which, unlike the model of Professor Langley, is constructed of sufficient size to carry several passengers—has never been allowed to leave the rails which hold it to the earth. It has frequently shown itself capable of rising from the ground, but its inventor wisely refuses to risk its costly machinery in actual flight. Here is the crux of the matter. As we have seen, the great essential of a flying machine is not only that it should be able to raise itself, but that it should keep its balance in the air. And no one has yet satisfactorily solved this problem. Further, there is the trouble that an accident to a flying machine must necessarily involve the grave injury, if not the death, of its aeronaut, and its own destruction. Only practice in the air can throw light on the difficulties of balance, but it seems almost certain that the first experimenters will not live to tell their tale. Here is a grave

hitch. As Mr. H. G. Wells, with his extraordinary faculty of realising the things that lie outside experience, has said:—

'A man off his feet has the poorest skill in balancing. Even the simple trick of the bicycle costs him some hours of labour. The instantaneous adjustments of the wings, the quick response to a passing breeze, the swift recovery of equilibrium, the giddy, eddying movements that require such absolute precision—all that he must learn with infinite labour and infinite danger, if ever he is to conquer flying. The flying machine that will start off some fine day, driven by neat "little levers," with a nice open deck like a liner, and all loaded up with bombshells and guns, is the easy dream of a literary man. In lives and in treasure the cost of the conquest of the empire of the air may even exceed all that has been spent in man's great conquest of the sea. Certainly it will be costlier than the greatest war that has ever devastated the world.'

Perhaps this is a heightened and telling way of putting it, but there is much sense in Mr. Wells's argument. Various plans have been suggested for lightening the danger to the first experimenters with flying machines. Some hold with Dr. Barton, that a balloon should be attached to the aeroplane, to be kept in reserve until the difficulties of balance are overcome. But, as we have shown, the addition of a balloon would probably nullify the qualities of the flying machine, which depends for its support on a speed which would apparently be impossible to attain with so much resistance as the air would present to the surface of the balloon. Others have suggested in all seriousness that condemned criminals should be given a chance for their lives by manning the first air-ships! Others, who are perhaps the most practical, suggest that trials should always take place over water, with a fast torpedo-boat or two in attendance to pick up the aeronauts in case of accident. There would certainly be no harm in the Admiralty taking favourable notice of a request for assistance of this kind. It is possible that the aeronaut might carry a parachute with which to make a leap for life in case of disaster, or even a small balloon which could be speedily inflated from a cylinder of compressed hydrogen—a kind of aerial life-belt. But it is certain that, whatever precautions he adopts, the first man who undertakes to steer a flying machine will need even thicker plates of brass on his heart than Horace ascribed to the first sailor. We fear that the conquest of the air will demand a heavy toll of life and treasure. Yet we do not doubt that it will one day be achieved, if only because the empire of the world lies at the feet of the man who constructs an air-ship that can be converted into a really efficient engine of war.

ART. IV.—1. *Imperialism: a Study.* By J. A. HOBSON. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1902.

2. *A Rectorial Address.* By ANDREW CARNEGIE. Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable. 1902.

3. *The Control of the Tropics.* By BENJAMIN KIDD. London and New York: Macmillan. 1898.

4. *Free Exchange: Papers on Political and Economic Subjects.* By the late RT. HON. SIR LOUIS MALLET. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1891.

5. *Fabianism and the Empire.* By BERNARD SHAW. London: Grant Richards. 1900.

FOR half a century at least writers and statesmen have periodically warned the British electorate of the dangers attending any extension of their foreign possessions, and of the difficulty of combining such a course with the task of securing for the working population a standard of living which will enable them to compete on equal terms with rivals unhampered by national debts and national armaments. So far Great Britain has apparently been equal to the pursuit of the two incompatible political ideals which her destiny has forced upon her, and has belied the profound remark of Mountstuart Elphinstone that 'most 'mistakes in politics arise from ignorance of the plain 'maxim that it is impossible for the same thing to be and 'not to be.' Whether she has really succeeded in the effort, or whether she has merely been drawing bills on futurity which have not yet matured, it is too soon as yet to determine. Are we about to witness, as some hold, a developement which will end either in military and imperial consolidation on a gigantic scale, or in disruption without and socialism within? or will it be still possible to steer a middle course between either extreme, and carry to its fitting conclusion the enterprise of promoting the free progress of the nation at home, while founding free nations abroad and spreading over a large portion of the earth's surface British traditions of government and commerce? Every variety of answer to such questions as these is offered in the volumes whose titles we have placed at the head of this article, and will always without much regard to facts or figures be adopted by the individual inquirer according to his temperament, whether optimistic or the reverse. But

the present moment is perhaps not inopportune for a roving survey of the solutions presented, and of the elements necessary towards forming an opinion. We may begin by referring to the ideas of a citizen of the great Republic, upon peaceful co-operation with which the future of the British Empire to all appearances so largely depends.

One of the most interesting tendencies of recent economic thought is a recognition of the importance of the internal business of a nation as compared with its foreign trade. Sir Robert Giffen has long insisted on this point, and Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in his address to the students of St. Andrews University, has still further emphasised it.

'The relative importance,' he says, 'of the two markets is often lost sight of. The home market of America takes 96 per cent. of all manufactured articles, only four per cent. going to foreign markets. Even Britain's home market takes four-fifths of her manufactures, only one-fifth going abroad. Politicians give far too much importance to distant foreign markets, which can never amount to much, and far too little to measures for improving conditions at home, which would increase the infinitely more important home market. If the people of the United Kingdom could spend even 1*l.* per head more per year, her home commerce would be increased by more than the total value of her exports to all of Australasia, British North America, and China combined. Truly foreign commerce is a braggart always in evidence, home commerce is the true king.'

Mr. Hobson insists on the same point and goes into some detail in attempting to prove it as regards Great Britain. Taking the total national income of the country at 1,700,000,000*l.*, and the profit of the turn-over of our foreign trade at some 38,000,000*l.*, he estimates the income derived from our foreign trade at only $\frac{1}{45}$th part of the national income. This estimate is absurdly inadequate. The wages of workmen manufacturing for export are as certainly part of the income derived by the nation from foreign trade as the profits of the manufacturers and merchants engaged in it. It is, of course, a speculative point how much extra income is derived from foreign trade over that which the people would receive from the same capital and energy expended at home; but it would certainly be near the mark to reckon the worth of the foreign trade at the whole value of the export business of the country, which would bring it up to something like an eighth of the total national income. But, whatever the actual proportion may be, the fact of the superior importance of the home trade is clear, and this fact has a marked bearing both on the free trade

theory of international trade and on current notions as regards colonial expansion.

If we follow correctly Mr. Carnegie's somewhat contradictory arguments we gather that he attaches little importance to international free trade. He is probably correct in asserting, with the German economists, that the 'spread of manufactures will be so general that the leading nations will finally 'supply most of their principal wants, at least to a much 'greater extent than before. It follows,' he adds, 'that 'exchange of articles between nations (foreign commerce) is 'not to increase so rapidly as exchange of articles within 'nations.' But it is easy to attach too much importance to this supposed tendency. Vast tracts of the earth's surface must long remain exclusively devoted to the production of the raw materials of food and industry for the consumption of manufacturing nations, and owing to climatic and other conditions it is likely that certain localities will retain advantages over others for the manufacture of special articles; that Lancashire, for instance, may retain her superiority in the manufacture of certain classes of cotton goods while losing that superiority in other classes to the United States. There will, therefore, with increased specialisation, always remain a field for foreign exchange little less profitable than at present. Mr. Carnegie dwells more unanswerably on the advantage of free trade over great areas and great populations like that of the United States, and predicts the extension of similar areas—in Central Europe, for instance—which will still further demonstrate the predominant advantages of home trade. Such considerations, while attesting the truth of the principle of free trade, would seem to minimise the importance, at all events for states forming part of these large areas, of international free trade in the Cobdenic sense. Mr. Carnegie indeed goes much further than this when he says that the home trade is doubly profitable, because 'exchange of products benefits 'both buyer and seller. With British home commerce both 'are Britons; with foreign commerce only one is a Briton, the 'other a foreigner.' What exactly Mr. Carnegie means by this utterance it is not easy to see. The benefit to a buyer is the same whether his need is satisfied from within his own community or from abroad, while a seller benefits equally whether he sells to a foreigner or to a countryman; and no Briton would be profited 'doubly,' in an economic sense (whatever obvious advantages of another order might result), if we ceased to import 60,000,000*l.* worth of foreign

manufactured goods, and, as a necessary corollary, to export a similar value of our own manufactures. The real significance of Mr. Carnegie's phrase is to demonstrate his own preference for a system of protection, but his arguments point to the necessity of free trade for this country. 'It is,' as he himself remarks, 'a serious disadvantage to 'Great Britain in the contest that her home market 'cannot expand as rapidly as the American, or even the 'German. Size of productive territory as affecting popu-'lation is a prime factor in the race for first place among 'nations in material production.' Foreign trade must therefore necessarily continue to be of greater relative importance to this country than to countries like the United States and Germany. She must continue to seek compensation for the smallness of her productive territory by a facility of commercial intercourse with other industrial areas; and, whatever may be the case with larger and more self-sufficing states, for Great Britain free trade, or as close an approximation to it as possible, must remain an object of prime importance as long as geographical considerations and national and racial differences continue to present an insuperable obstacle to the welding of the British Empire into one fiscal and commercial whole. The free-trade statesmen of the last century are often reproached for their insistence on the foreign trade of the country and their constant appeals to the figures which recorded its volume; but though they neglected to some extent the value of the home market their policy was in the main founded on a just appreciation of the needs of their own country.

It is, indeed, quite consistent with their view of our industrial position and needs to emphasise the importance of developing the home market. Every effort to do so should be encouraged even with a view to increasing the foreign trade if it is true, as Mr. Carnegie points out, that the most powerful weapon for conquering foreign markets is a profitable home market. The 'law of the surplus' makes it axiomatic that the 'nation fortified by the best 'home demand for any article will finally conquer the 'world's trade in that article in neutral markets.' From this point of view it is encouraging to learn that 'Britain 'alone among European nations' (a rather questionable statement, by the way) 'holds in reserve an important im-'perfectly developed home market.' If ever 'she fails to find 'more profitable occupation for her people' she could add

to her production to the extent of some sixty millions worth per year of foreign supplies. More important still, she could add enormously to her own production, without diminishing, while even adding to her exports, by the mere increase of consuming power which she could acquire if her people, by the exercise of greater self-restraint and thrift, were to rise to the standard in these respects of the Continent and of America. Hence the supreme importance, from an economic point of view, of all measures for improving conditions at home; and, above all, of abstention from wasting the energy and resources of the nation upon the struggle for distant foreign markets of infinitesimal importance in the total return of foreign trade, which itself is thus relegated to a secondary position in the national economy.

For an examination into the question of the commercial value of recent acquisitions of territory, and of colonial possessions generally, Mr. Hobson's work has put together materials which no political student can afford to neglect. Marred as it is by want of sympathy, by sinister imputations, and by certain defects of economic analysis, faults to which we shall be obliged to return and which have prevented it from attracting the attention it deserves, the book is yet the only sustained attempt since the disappearance of the Cobdenic traditions to sum up the economic results of a fresh period of colonial expansion. For the time is certainly at hand when 'a nation of shopkeepers' ought to take stock of the liabilities which they have undertaken with so light a heart, and endeavour to form an opinion, from a business point of view, of the value of recent additions to their territory and population.

These additions have not been confined to Great Britain, for all the chief European nations, and latterly the United States of America, have joined in the movement by which vast portions of Africa and Asia and the islands in the Pacific and elsewhere have been annexed; but by far the largest acquisitions have fallen to this country. Since 1870 —as Mr. Hobson shows by one of the statistical tables which form perhaps the most useful portion of this work— an area of 4,754,000 square miles and an estimated population of 88 millions have been added to our Empire, whose nucleus is only 120,000 square miles, with a population of 40 millions; and it is during the last fifteen years that the greater portion of this expansion has taken place. But the meaning and magnitude of our acquisitions can only

be realised from the actual list which Mr. Hobson has compiled.

—	Date of Acquisition	Area. Square miles	Population
Europe—			
Cyprus	1878	3,584	227,900
Africa—			
Zanzibar and Pemba	1888	1,000,000	200,000
East Africa Protectorate	1895		2,500,000
Uganda Protectorate	1894–6	140,000	3,800,000
Somali Coast Protectorate	1884–5	68,000	?
British Central Africa Protectorate	1889	42,217	688,049
Lagos	to 1899	21,000	3,000,000
Gambia	to 1888	3,555	215,000
Ashantee	1896–1901	70,000	2,000,000
Niger Coast Protectorate	1885–1898	400,000 to 500,000	25,000,000 to 40,000,000
Egypt	1882	400,000	9,734,405
Soudan	1882	950,000	10,000,000
Griqualand West	1871–1880	15,197	83,373
Zululand	1879–1897	10,521	240,000
British Bechuanaland	1885	51,424	72,736
Bechuanaland Protectorate	1891	213,000	200,000
Transkei	1879–1885	2,535	153,582
Tembuland	1885	4,155	180,130
Pondoland	1894	4,040	188,000
Griqualand East	1879–1885	7,511	152,609
British S. Africa Charter	1889	750,000	321,000
Transvaal	1900	119,139	870,000
Orange River Colony	1900	48,826	207,503
Asia—			
Hong Kong littoral	1898	376	100,000
Wei-hai-wei	—	270	118,000
Socotra	1886	1,382	10,000
Upper Burma	1887	83,473	2,046,933
Baluchistan	1876–89	130,000	500,000
Sikkim	1890	2,818	30,000
Rajputana (States)	since 1881	128,022	12,186,352
Burma (States)		62,661	785,800
Jammu and Kashmir		80,000	2,543,952
Malay Protected States	1883–1895	24,849	620,000
North Borneo Co.	1881	31,106	175,000
N. Borneo Protectorate	1888	—	—
Sarawak	1888	50,000	500,000
·itish New Guinea	1888	90,540	350,000
Islands	1874	7,740	122,676

Leaving aside for the moment the character of these recent additions to the Empire, we may look at the actual condition of British trade with foreign countries and with the chief groups of the Colonies as indicated by the following tables of percentage for the year 1901: —*

	Imports from. Per cent.	Exports to. Per cent.
Foreign countries . . .	80	63½
British India	7	14
Australasia	7	9½
Canada	4	3
British S. Africa	1	6
Other British Possessions . .	1	4
	100	100

The main facts in connexion with the colonial trade are re-stated by Mr. Hobson. They are, perhaps, not so well known as they ought to be. In spite of the vast additions made to British possessions there has during the last twenty-five years been a hardly perceptible increase in the value of British trade with them. As regards these Colonies and possessions, including recent acquisitions, there is stated to have been a gradual decline in the value of their exports to and imports from Great Britain as compared with their total trade. Further, during the same period, there has been a considerable increase of the trade of Great Britain with foreign countries—'with that group of industrial 'nations,' as Mr. Hobson puts it, 'whom we regard as our 'industrial enemies, and whose political enmity we are in 'danger of arousing by our policy of expansion—France, 'Germany, Russia, and the United States'—our import trade with the United States alone being greater than with the whole of our Colonies. If figures were of any utility in political controversy these would convey some doubts of the maxim that trade follows the flag. But such is the thoughtlessly optimistic tone of public opinion that the statement of such considerations as these causes something like a passion of protest in the daily press. We are reminded that a 'corn field does not rise and ripen in a day,' that 'thirty years is no test whatever in a question of 'Imperial economics;' and it may at once be admitted that Mr. Hobson's presentation of the case takes little or no account of the immense possibilities of gold production in the Transvaal and of the trade which such production must

* Cobden Club leaflet 128.

be realised from [illegible] Great Britain, an[illegible]
compiled. [illegible] countries. B[illegible]
[illegible]de argume[illegible]
[illegible]vincing,
[illegible]ts ca[illegible]

Europe-
Cyp[illegible]
Afr[illegible]
7

[illegible]sible that in t[illegible]
[illegible]sea transit the enterprising, we[illegible]
populated countries of Europe would not [illegible]
explored and undeveloped the vast territories co[illegible]
some of the richest land in the globe which lay at [illegible]
doors; or that Great Britain, with her ocean supremacy, her adventurous and commercial traditions, and her proved capacity for ruling inferior races, could have stood aside from the general scramble. It would be mere perversity not to recognise that one of the chief concerns of mankind must be to develope to the full the national resources of the world in which they are placed, and that the great task must inevitably fall to the most vigorous of the races by which it is peopled. International rivalry and the belief of each competing State that conquering and colonising energy will prove materially advantageous to itself are undoubtedly the strongest motives which have inspired the recent advance, but there is nothing necessarily direful or ignoble in efforts which must result, after long ages perhaps, in lifting humanity to a higher level. Whether the process will be beneficial to each of the nations which is engaged in it, or to any of them, is a very different question, and one as to which dogmatism is surely out of place. Each of them believes, and has always believed, that it will be; and it is not for Englishmen, whose example and whose success, whether rightly understood or not, have encouraged similar enterprises in her rivals, to blame them for their emulation.

France stands next to Great Britain in the area and population of her colonial empire, far the greater portion of which, over three and a half square millions of miles with a population of some thirty-seven millions, has been acquired since 1880. Many Frenchmen believe that these acquisitions will form the best title to glory of the Third Republic, which has renounced European ambitions to form a new Empire. Certain it is that in India, China and Western Africa the foundations of good and civilising government

[illegible] laid, that [illegible] [illegible]nite as likely that the benefit [illegible]ors has [illegible] confined, if benefit there [illegible]e amo[illegible] [illegible] inhabitants of conquered [illegible]r the [illegible] may overtax her own [illegible]ndit[illegible] [illegible]ore vital interests at [illegible]re [illegible] to think that in our [illegible] reached. In the [illegible]mpion of Imperial [illegible]g nations 'have [illegible] Imperial e[illegible] They had, he [illegible]ems due to a regular [illegible] [illegible]he result had purposes of agriculture and in[illegible] [illegible]at Britain, last in the field, has thirteen so-calle[illegible] [illegible] carefully of a million square miles and a popula[illegible] [illegible]empting almost all of it tropical, with a white popu[illegible] thousands only. So far the German colonial [illegible] [illegible]d by with the exception of the settlement, which is not a [illegible], a in the southern province of Brazil, must be reckoned a fa[illegible] [illegible]e But German aspirations can by no means be measured by what has been accomplished. No European Government seems more eager than that of the German Empire to acquire colonial dependencies, or more firmly persuaded that their exploitation will be justifiable, and may be used for the purpose of acquiring a larger share of the carrying trade of the world. Sentiment in this case, as in others, is a powerful factor, and has a basis in the truth that the German population is large, rapidly increasing, and prone to emigration; eight million souls were lost to the Fatherland from this cause in the last century, and twenty millions may be lost to her in the present century, unless territories can be acquired in which a northern people can live. Unfortunately for Germany and for the peace of the world no such territories remain which are not either settled or claimed by her competitors. The absorption of Holland and her rich but unprogressive dependencies might appease the craving for tropical colonies, but then the aggrandisement of Germany in Europe would not be welcomed by her Continental neighbours. German ambition for expansion, not less than Russian ambition in a similar direction, must be reckoned with. If it can be kept within the bounds of moderation it is difficult to say that, situated as Germany is, with an immense home market as the foundation of a great foreign trade, and with a redundant, educated, and energetic population, there would not be an economic justification for a considerable colonial expansion.

Such, very briefly, are the general considerations which explain, if they do not justify, the recent remarkable developement of colonial annexation. It has without doubt been largely inspired by the spectacle of the vast extent and flourishing condition of the British Empire, and the belief which Great Britain has fostered by the eagerness with which she has joined in the scramble for territory in every portion of the globe, that Imperial expansion is the true road to commercial prosperity. The conquest and government of India are undoubtedly the most splendid example of true Imperialism which the modern world has witnessed. In its origin the work of a handful of commercial adventurers it has come to be carried on in a very different spirit and with different objects from those of mere commercial gain. To England primarily, but also to the rest of the world, it has been a source of economic prosperity that this great open market should have been acquired and developed; and the possession of India has afforded to generations of the British upper and middle classes a field for profitable employment, while it has ministered to the sense of pride natural to a governing race. But to all those engaged in the work of administration the supreme object has long been the advantage of the Indian population, and the desire to preserve and extend the blessings of peace, justice, and material prosperity. The direct gain of Great Britain is small indeed compared with that which she may be believed to confer upon the subject races. The self-governing Colonies owe their existence to the naval supremacy of this country, which enabled her to annex islands and continents across the seas, and to the natural impulse of Britons to settle and colonise new countries. They have never been a source of direct profit to the mother country, except in so far as commerce and carrying trade are concerned (the measure of which, however, it is not easy to estimate), and, like India, they impose upon her the burden of immense naval and military armaments. But even in the 'benighted' seventies and eighties of the last century the burden of empire was gladly and proudly borne. It was not only ungracious but unnecessary for the mother State to count too closely the cost of supporting a splendid progeny in whose life her own traditions of civilisation and freedom were to be carried on. Nevertheless there are limits to the useful action of a state in the direction of expansion, and it must at some point become a question how far a particular nation assuming the arduous task of pioneer will itself derive benefit, immediate or remote,

from the undertaking. It is quite as likely that the benefit may fall to rival nations, or be confined, if benefit there be, to the savage or semi-civilised inhabitants of conquered regions, and that the parent state may overtax her own strength whilst she neglects far more vital interests at home. Some observers are beginning to think that in our case the limits thus indicated have been reached. In the opinion, for instance, of so approved a champion of Imperial principles as Sir Edward Grey the competing nations 'have 'already bitten off more than they can chew.' They had, he says in a recent speech, 'forced the pace, and the result had 'not been very satisfactory; and, as regards Great Britain, 'what we had now to do was to go on quietly and carefully 'and develope the parts we already had without attempting 'to expand our possessions any more.'

The truth of Sir Edward Grey's remarks is confirmed by an examination of the character of the new expansion, a salient feature of which is that almost the whole of the territory thus acquired is tropical, or so near the tropics as to practically preclude genuine colonisation by British settlers. In those few areas where Europeans can work and live, as in parts of South Africa and Egypt, the free occupation of the country by large native populations of lower races precludes any considerable settlement of British workers and the safe bestowal of the full self-government which prevails in Australasia and Canada. 'Politically,' therefore, Mr. Hobson concludes, 'the new Imperialism is 'an expansion of autocracy,' and not a 'natural overflow of 'nationality' or 'international enlargement of the stock 'language and institutions of the colonising nation.'

The statement is for the most part true, though an exception must be made as regards the coming consolidation of South Africa, which is undoubtedly destined to become a self-governing state on the pattern of Australia and Canada, differing, however, from these commonwealths by reason of the existence of a great negro population and of the fact that the white population will not be predominantly of British origin. The work of settling the temperate regions of the world—the work of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—is in fact accomplished. The rivalry for the possession of the white man's lands has been decided overwhelmingly, as it would appear, in favour of the English-speaking peoples. And the fact to which we have drawn attention of the vast annexation of tropically situated countries by England and France points, as Mr. Benjamin

Kidd has shown in his very suggestive work on the Control of the Tropics, to the inauguration of a new era of struggle, which will make immense demands on the energies of the states engaged in it. 'If,' he writes, 'present indications are not entirely misleading we are 'about to witness an internal rivalry for the control of the 'trade of the tropics on a far vaster scale than any which has 'hitherto been imagined.'

Nor is the new rivalry in his opinion so irrational or purposeless as writers like Mr. Hobson would seem to assert. The latter dismisses the question of the commercial value of the new tropical acquisitions in a few contemptuous sentences, pointing out that the tropical trade is in quantity the smallest, the least progressive, the most fluctuating portion of our export trade, and in quality the lowest, consisting for the most part of the cheapest textile goods of Lancashire, the cheapest metal goods of Birmingham and Sheffield, and large quantities of gunpowder, spirits, and tobacco. Very different is Mr. Kidd's method. Taking the whole trade of this country and of the United States with tropical countries and possessions, he asserts that their 'combined trade with the tropics actually amounts to some '44 per cent. of their total trade with the rest of the world,' showing by these figures how much more largely than is supposed 'the complex life of the modern world rests upon 'the productions of the tropics.' He emphasises the fact of the extraordinary fecundity and richness of the vast territories comprised in the tropical regions, as yet practically undeveloped, and he reminds his readers that

'it is in an interchange of commodities between these regions and those at present occupied by the European peoples that it is possible to have permanently operative on the largest scale upon which it could be made operative in the world the great natural principle underlying all trade—i.e. that the interchange of products between peoples and regions possessing different natural capacities tends to be mutually advantageous.'

Such conceptions as these, dimly realised, would account for the conscious action of states towards tropical acquisitions, as well as for the movement of capital, to which Mr. Hobson draws such marked attention, in the same direction. But even if the truth lies with Mr. Kidd's anticipations it would still be necessary for a state like England to count the cost of the new venture. The developement thus foreshadowed will be no automatic process involving little

expense to the mother country. It will be a laborious, uphill, discouraging, if successful, creative labour like that in which England is engaged, without having in any sense completed, in India; it will involve growth of militarism both to hold down savage or semi-civilised populations and to meet probable contest with rival empires; and if it is to be conducted in the spirit indicated by Mr. Kidd, as the fulfilment of a trust undertaken in the name of civilisation, a duty which 'allows the country to surround her own 'position therein with no laws or tariff operating in her own 'interests and which allows her to retain to herself no 'exclusive advantage in the market which she has assisted 'in creating,' it will imply in the ruling race the possession of moral and intellectual qualities which can only be produced by ideally perfect conditions, economic and political, at home. The reward might indeed be great, but will the effort be possible to a country situated as Great Britain is to-day; will it, above all, be compatible with the maintenance of the traditions in finance and government which have given her greatness as the free mother of free nations?

The free trade school of statesmen, who were, at all events, intimately acquainted with the condition of the popular life of this country, held a very decided opinion to the contrary. Many years ago one of them, the late Sir Louis Mallet, himself from his official position familiar in his later years with Indian problems, noted how we were

'carrying on side by side an imperial and a democratic policy; in one part of our dominions proclaiming self-government and free institutions, with the widest popular franchise; in another maintaining our hold on vast populations only by a powerful administrative despotism supported by military force—at once a great Christian nation and the greatest Mahomedan power in the world—in England so far secure in the strength of a loyal and united people; in India trembling at the mere whisper of a Russian pedlar in a native bazaar!' (Free Exchange, p. 113).

Passage after passage might be quoted from the writer of the above words, and from those who thought with him, to show their sense of the difficulty of playing these two inconsistent *rôles*, and their fears that the ideal which they had set before themselves, viz. to raise the masses of the people at home to the level of human beings, to force through by allowing the unimpeded action of natural laws the just distribution of wealth, to co-operate with other nations in the arts of peace, to undermine and neutralise the reactionary forces of Europe by promoting the material

agencies of civilisation, and to send swarms of free men to found English institutions in our foreign possessions—that these worthy objects would be frustrated by the demands which the Empire, even as it existed in the seventies, would impose upon the people.

'Of all the dreams,' wrote Sir Louis Mallet in 1885, 'in which modern Radicals indulge there is none so idle as that any country, and least of all an old and thickly peopled country such as England, with a limited territory, can be a great military power rivalling in its schemes of aggrandisement and influence the fighting organisations of Europe, subjugating and ruling and aspiring to civilise vast continents of subject races, and at the same time accomplish the very different task, requiring all its energies, all its available wealth, and its highest ability, of "raising the condition" of its people and securing to the children of toil their due share in the reward of labour.' (p. 206.)

A few words may be necessary to explain further the grounds of the opposition of this school of political thought to a policy of colonial expansion and foreign adventure, as being fraught with danger to the principles of industrial and political freedom with which, in their opinion, the progress of the country was identified. It has never been sufficiently recognised that the free-trade policy had a far wider significance than that which usually attaches to the name and work of Richard Cobden. Some of his followers, and notably Sir Louis Mallet—as may be seen from the volume mentioned at the head of this article—discerned and expounded, with but little general acceptance, the full bearing of his doctrines. They drew from history and experience the lesson that both the forces of capitalistic monopoly and the industrial 'enslavement' of the masses were the products of a protective system, and that they could only be overthrown by free exchange. They knew that protection was the necessary outcome of national exclusiveness and of international rivalries, with their train of wars, of armaments, and of taxation; and that these burdens had always led, and would again lead, to a fatal severance between the interests of capital and those of labour. The selfish and short-sighted reliance of capital on legal restriction would certainly tend to a reaction, equally selfish and short-sighted, by which labour would endeavour to clip the wings of capital and turn the engine of state interference against its oppressors. The task of the free-trade school, in one of its most important aspects, was to combat socialism by removing its predisposing uses, and so successful was their work that in fifty years

the prosperity of the working classes was doubled and the growth among them of the temper and dogmas of Continental socialism was almost entirely prevented. They believed that, given a continuance of a policy of abstention from further entanglements and commitments abroad, England would have the chance of carrying through a great experiment and proving that, under natural conditions, labour could more than hold its own with capital in the economic field. This conception was in harmony with British traditions. Great Britain will live in history for one supreme achievement, the establishment at home and in her offshoots of civil and political liberty. The free-traders would have solved the economic problem on the same lines. It is only when the meaning of free trade in its broader aspect is fully realised that the importance they attached to the tariff question can be understood. Protection, in their eyes, was only an aspect of socialism, and protection was inevitable with a policy of expenditure on foreign adventure. Hence their almost passionate protest against the occupation of Egypt with its corollary of an African empire, as a turning point in the history of Great Britain and a renunciation of the ideal which had seemed to them fraught with splendid promise for the future. For up to that point they had hoped that 'our insular position, our economical condition, 'our maritime supremacy, and our colonial possessions had 'laid the foundation of a system of our own strong enough 'to stand aloof from the alliances and political complications 'of Continental Europe, and if true to ourselves to carry 'through the greatest experiment in government which the 'world has ever seen.' *

Mr. Hobson's pages afford a striking commentary on these anticipations. Speaking, as he does, with Cobden's voice of free trade, of armaments, of internationalism and of empire, he yet turns his back on the most essential part of Cobden's teaching, the reliance on the free play of economic forces, and discards the solution of the social problem offered by a policy of free exchange in favour of the methods of socialism. Both in his hostility to capital and in his theories of taxation he foreshadows the developement which the free-trade school expected and feared when they set their faces against imperial expansion.

The new industrial era in Europe has been marked by two phenomena of almost equal importance, the rise in the

* Free Exchange, p. 118.

rate of wages and the fall in the rate of interest on capital, the latter caused, as M. Leroy Beaulieu has described, by the increase of security in business, the increase of capital by accumulation, and the lessened productivity of freshly accumulated capital in old-established societies. Of the two factors in the work of production and distribution 'capital,' wrote the late Mr. David A. Wills, 'has become relatively 'more abundant than labour and has accumulated faster 'than it can be profitably invested, and in accordance with 'the law of supply and demand, the compensation for its use, 'interest or profits, has necessarily declined as compared 'with the compensation paid to labour.' Broadly speaking, the rate of interest declines because the stored up wealth of the world is increasing, and this wealth is being diffused throughout the community in the shape of higher wages and lower prices.

Such was the theory upon which free traders based their belief that conditions were tending towards equalisation, and that the capitalist and *rentier* class were gradually losing part of their advantage over the rest of the community. Looking to the progress which has undoubtedly been made it is certain that the free play of economic forces might, under normally peaceful conditions, be relied upon to bring about a beneficial solution of this great problem. But it must be recognised that events do not appear to be moving in this direction with the certainty at one time anticipated, and that while there are on the one side signs of dangerously large accretions of capital in the hands of the few, the conditions existing in the urban centres, which comprise three-quarters of the population of the country, go far to justify Mr. Hobson's strictures on the 'absurdity of spending 'half our financial resources in fighting to secure foreign 'markets at a time when hungry mouths, ill-clad backs, ill-'furnished houses, indicate countless unsatisfied material 'wants among our own population.' Mr. Rowntree's investigations at York, with all the qualifications which may be considered necessary, seem conclusive on this point; and the probability that something like a third of the income of the country is in the hands of about one forty-fifth part of the total population gives plenty of material for socialistic agitation. However this may be we have undoubtedly, in the fact of the growth of capital and of the foreign investments, an explanation of the recent colonial expansion of this and other countries.

I need not here follow Mr. Hobson in his estimates of

the amount of the foreign and colonial investments of Great Britain, which he plausibly sets down at 2,000 millions, or, say, about one seventh of the total capital of the nation, but it is certain that in dealing with these sums we are, as he says, facing by far the most important factor in the economics of imperialism. 'While the manufacturing and 'trading classes make little out of their new markets, 'paying, if they knew it, much more in taxation than they 'get out of them in trade, it is quite otherwise with the 'investor.'

'It is not too much to say,' he writes, 'that the modern foreign policy of Great Britain is primarily a struggle for profitable markets of investment. To a larger extent every year Great Britain is becoming a nation living upon tribute from abroad, and the classes who enjoy this tribute have an ever increasing incentive to employ the public policy, the public purse, and the public force to extend the field of their private investments, and to safeguard and improve their existing investments.'

With much of Mr. Hobson's indictment, scathing as it is, of the motives which unite various classes of capitalists and the 'parasites' upon imperialistic expenditure in a policy of foreign adventure it is difficult not to sympathise. The manner in which the investing classes are willing to use the instrument of the State for private business purposes is exemplified by the Italian economist Loria in the process which has led to the French conquest in Tunis and to British predominance in Egypt. That the whole recent history of South Africa testifies to the same influence is becoming increasingly plain. To admit the existence of such manifestations of the power of capitalists is not necessarily to endorse the attitude of Mr. Hobson as regards capital. This attitude, however, is most significant. The writer treats the struggle for markets, the greater eagerness of producer to sell than of consumer to buy, as the crowning proof of a false economy of distribution. Distribution, he considers, has, in the present economic state of society, 'no fixed relation to needs, but is 'determined by other conditions, which assign to some 'people a consuming (i.e. spending) power vastly in excess 'of needs or possible uses, while others are destitute of con-'suming power enough to satisfy even the full demands of 'physical efficiency.' The automatic saving of the surplus income of the rich, 'derived from rents, monopoly profit, and 'other unearned or excessive elements of income,' goes indeed into productive channels, but it results in a chronic congestion of productive power, a congestion which it is the objec-

'We have undertaken to defend the frontier of Asia Minor and the northern limits of Afghanistan. We have made ourselves practically responsible for the government and defence of Egypt. We have entangled ourselves in infinite liabilities in Southern Africa, and are preparing on the dark continent an empire vaster far than any which we have founded in Hindustan. We have annexed New Guinea and Burmah, and sown the seeds of another British India in North Borneo. We have resumed our place in the political system of Europe and identified ourselves with its rivalries, its ambitions, its alliances, its military aggressions, its social dangers, and the economic convulsions with which it is threatened.' ('Free Exchange,' p. 211.)

These words may have seemed exaggerated in 1885, but they were at least prophetic of the situation as it is in 1903. We have undoubtedly reached a point at which the absorption of great territories yields no corresponding advantages in trade and commerce, however dazzling the prospective gains of the future may be. Immense demands are being made both for the capital and labour which can ill be spared at home, and whose employment abroad will not be directly or immediately profitable to this country. Great Britain has been forced, not only or solely by her own action, into a position of antagonism to every great State, except America, which will necessitate a great and increasing expenditure on armaments, even if it does not lead to ruinous warfare; and as a natural result of the new policy financiers have had to fall back on the revival of the shilling import duty on corn and an increase of the national debt. As a further result we find the whole energies of the best minds in the country bent, not on the domestic reform so urgently called for, but on the grave task of preparation for a life and death struggle with one or more of the great armed nations of the Continent whose undying hostility we are assumed to have incurred.

It is as true now, in spite of schemes of the military and fiscal federation of dissimilar and widely scattered elements, as it has been at any time during the last hundred years, that Great Britain must depend upon herself alone for safety and self-defence. Sir Robert Giffen has shown that in consequence of the vast growth of the nation's wealth she should be better able to bear a great burden of debt and taxation than she was during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, and his figures may well seem conclusive. But figures can hardly measure the extent of our present liabilities, and this country has no longer the proved disputed mastery of the sea, the monopoly of sea-merce and of manufacturing industry at home,

which enabled her to survive the Napoleonic struggle. And in these days, when if wealth has increased the desires to be satisfied by it have increased in even ampler measure, it remains to be seen whether British capital and British labour would submit to the conditions which were forced upon them as the result of that struggle. If one seventh of the realised wealth of the country is even now invested out of this country it need not require any very severe pressure to drive a much larger portion of it abroad, and labour would assuredly follow, to seek relief from taxation and poverty in Canada and the United States. The destiny of England as the mother of free nations might, indeed, be fulfilled, but in a sense very different from that imagined by our Empire-builders.

Distrusting as we do the consolations suggested by comparisons either with our own past or with the no less unfavourable situation of our Continental rivals, we hasten to add that we see but little reason to believe that the older traditions of British policy have as yet necessarily been so hopelessly compromised by recent developements as would appear from the opinions quoted, or from the language now habitual in the mouths both of ministers and journalists. But it is worse than useless to avert our gaze from the real truth of the situation. It would be little less dangerous to ignore the fact that we stand no longer in the comparatively unassailable position of thirty years ago than to rush to an opposite extreme, and assume that we are now called upon to renounce the fundamental bases of British policy and transform the Empire into a mere fighting machine. We cannot too strongly express our conviction that it still lies absolutely within the choice of the British people to work out their noble destiny as the champions and founders of constitutional and industrial freedom at home and abroad, and that there is no mysterious compulsion which obliges them to descend to the level of mediæval conceptions of empire.

In the material prosperity of Great Britain there is as yet no sign of a real check, and while the trade returns, the growth of capital, and the rate of wages maintain their present level it is impossible to attribute such disquieting symptoms as may exist to anything but an excess of prosperity. It is difficult to understand complaints as to the too rapid increase of capital, the essential foundation of all prosperity, especially when the inevitable result of such increase is that a growing share of its advantages goes in the long run to labour. Recent indications, such as

an apparent rise in the rate of interest, seem indeed to point to a diminution of this increase. If surplus capital goes to foreign countries or foreign possessions it goes in the shape of the produce of British labour in manufactured iron, wool, and cotton, no less than in gunpowder and spirits. The visible expenditure in this country on building, whether of houses, ships, or railways, shows the immense field capital finds at home for profitable employment, a field so great that American capital eagerly competes for it with our own. The one serious evil is the prevalence of the gambling spirit in British enterprise, a spirit which is undoubtedly fostered by the possession of all the great gold fields in the world; and the economic danger which we should deplore is rather the waste and misapplication of capital resources than either their too rapid increase or their concentration, too great as that is for political stability, in the hands of a small minority of the population.

Turning to labour, we should note that, for one reason or another, the British working man has undoubtedly failed to respond so fully as was hoped to the opportunities offered by the free-trade policy. The congestion of the population in the large towns has produced evils which threaten the very life of the nation, evils which may well require the most drastic intervention on the part of the State. But the mere improvement of the working-class dwellings, accompanied by lower rents, which the taxation of ground rents is relied upon to accomplish will certainly not stop the rush to urban centres, and may well accentuate the difficulties of the problem unless the whole level of living and aspiration can at the same time be permanently raised. Long-continued prosperity has done less in this direction than might have been expected; in some respects it has even demoralised the working classes of the community. The free-trade financiers may justly be reproached with having in some degree sacrificed to the desire to remove every possible fiscal burden from the shoulders of the working man not only the chance of materially reducing the national debt, but also the opportunity of raising the moral and educational level of the people. Higher wages and lower prices have failed to produce either the moral self-restraint or the habit of saving which might by this time have placed the poorer classes, as in France, in a position of unassailable strength. Mr. John Burns has lately told us (in the 'Daily News,' December 18, 1901) that 'the time spent in drink, betting, and sport represents from thirty to fifty days per worker per annum.'

Mr. Carnegie puts the same fact, and points out in very impressive language the wide scope for improvement.

'That the drink bill of this country, now reaching the incredible figure of one hundred and sixty millions sterling, should be cut in half, or only a quarter or less of it left, or, better still, if only twenty millions were left, implies not the degradation but elevation of the people. That the sums risked by both masters and working men in gambling and the greater injury wrought in their time and strength should become evils of the past would improve the poor slaves of this habit. That they should smoke less would not render life less happy nor health less robust. Thirty-two millions per annum are now spent upon tobacco; better if half or more were saved; and so with many of the rude sports, better if these were abandoned. From these evils the Continent and America are comparatively, and in some cases almost entirely, free.'

If the adversity caused by strong competition is needed to enforce such lessons as these, adversity will be an undisguised blessing, and it is surely idle to contend, with these facts before us, that socialistic methods are alone capable of dealing with the evil of the unequal distribution of capital and its rewards, or the neglect to cultivate a fruitful home market. The salvation of the working classes lies in their own hands, and, it may be added, the salvation of the country, for upon the efficiency of labour, and upon that alone, the future of the British Empire must in the last resort depend.

Nor can it even be plausibly contended that the necessities of the revenue at present depend upon the adoption of either protective or socialist taxation. In spite of the ominous breaches which have been made in our fiscal system, breaches only too likely to be widened in the future, it still remains, from the point of view of social justice, the best which any heavily taxed nation has devised, and the most solid result of the labours of the free-trade statesmen. The manner in which it has responded to the claims of a huge warlike expenditure is the most convincing proof of its strength and elasticity, and of the wisdom of the reliance upon a few great sources of taxation rather than upon a multitude of hampering imposts. The one seeming weakness of the present system, the fact that the whole burden of the taxation which presses directly on the individual falls upon the upper and middle classes, about one-tenth of the total population, should be a strong point in its favour in the eyes of those who, like Mr. Hobson, consider that the policy of Imperialist adventure draws all its

support from the wealthy minority of the people. It is surely far easier to influence these classes in favour of moderation in public expenditure by maintaining, and if need be extending, the present methods of taxation than by impracticable schemes for the confiscation of unearned increments and profits, schemes which short of revolutionary magnitude could not, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, be made to produce more than a trifling augmentation of the revenue. It is more difficult to meet the objection so strongly felt by Liberals like Mr. John Morley, that the existence of taxation is not sufficiently brought home to the working classes to make them realise the necessity of economy in public expenditure. From this point of view there is much to be said in favour of the somewhat heroic remedies of reducing the limits of exemption from income tax to the original figure of 100*l.* per annum—a change favoured by Mr. Gladstone—and of placing the burden of rates directly instead of indirectly on working-class occupiers. But there is, in our opinion, a good deal of exaggeration in the somewhat petulant complaints of this school of politicians, disappointed as they are at the failure of their appeal in times of prosperity—to their warnings and solicitations. We believe that the working classes are perfectly alive to the fact that they contribute largely to Imperial and local revenue, and that they will not quietly submit, especially if bad times come, to a large increase, such as Mr. Hobson anticipates, of indirect taxation. The chief danger probably lies in ignorance, which a Liberal party, jealous of the Gladstonian tradition in finance, would make it its chief business to dispel by popularising serious and well-considered estimates of the burden of taxation borne by individuals in the different classes of the community. If however it can be shown, which we think improbable, that the working classes either do not contribute sufficiently to the revenue, or that they do not feel the weight of their contribution, it will be difficult to resist the pressure to extend the indirect taxation of the country, in spite of the serious risk from such a course of overburdening the poor and hampering their productive energy, and in spite of the wastefulness to the exchequer and to the people which, as the generation of Peel and Cobden were well aware, and as recent experience in America is again demonstrating, is its inevitable accompaniment.

There is, in short, singularly little food for pessimistic ·xion either in the commercial situation as it is to-day

or in the fiscal system which has so well responded to an unprecedented strain, and there would therefore be the more reason to deplore a weakness which, under the cover of supposed necessity, would yield the outworks of the free-trade position to the opponents of direct taxation. We need not here insist on the economic necessity for a country situated like Great Britain of a tariff based in essentials on free-trade principles. Neither need we waste words on showing once again the impracticability under present conditions of a fiscal federation of the Empire, which must imply a sacrifice of the interests of the British consumer and therefore impair the productive resources of the country. It is the political aspect of the tariff question which is vital in this connexion. It is impossible to overrate the importance of maintaining in all their force influences which make for economy in public expenditure, and of these influences the first is the wholesome pressure of direct taxation upon the classes which, in spite of constitutional theory, still bear rule in this country. A large increase of the customs duties, which might swell the revenue and which would certainly lessen the feeling of personal responsibility, would facilitate the policy of an Imperial Zollverein. It is indeed advocated largely on that very ground. But a Zollverein would add indefinitely to the political dangers with which the Empire is threatened, if not from within at all events from without. No one who has followed the course of recent political literature in Germany can have failed to note that German hostility to England has been largely inspired by the belief that England is about to embark on a course which would have disastrous effects on German commerce. The fact that wherever the British flag flies the commerce of every nation is welcomed on equal terms with that of the mother country has so far been the greatest safeguard of the Empire, and the same fact will divide its enemies if any attack upon it should be contemplated by them. To go back on this policy, which will always stand to the credit of the Whig founders of our Colonial Empire, would be to invite aggression by uniting the world against a common enemy. For all legitimate purposes, and for withstanding an aggression which the jealousy or ambition of rivals may conceivably inspire, the resources of this country are, or could in our opinion easily be made, sufficient without departing from the main lines of a fiscal and commercial policy which is consonant with the needs of Great Britain and with the genius of her people. We should be far from denying the

general truth of Sir Robert Giffen's contention, in the present temper both of this and other nations, that our whole position has been 'revolutionised internationally, so as 'to make it necessary for us to prepare as if we were exposed to even greater dangers than any of our Continental neighbours.' We need not, perhaps, assume the permanence of this phase of international feeling. But, granted that the danger is great, our diplomatic position, rightly understood, is incomparably stronger than that of many of our rivals. Upon the strength and wisdom of our foreign policy during the next few years the future of the Empire more certainly depends than upon the multiplication of fleets and armies. And even as regards military and naval preparation a nation which has enjoyed a record year of commercial prosperity at the close of an enormously costly war, and which has spent without visible ill effects eighty millions a year upon its army and navy, may surely be considered to have done something to show the essential soundness of her commercial and fiscal organisation. Difficult and critical beyond all precedent as are the tasks which lie before British statesmen, we are entitled to hope that, given moderate political ambitions and economy and efficiency in expenditure and administration, they may be capable of solution without tampering with that organisation, and so striking at the roots of the economic life of the Empire.

ART. V.—*Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary.* Being a Survey of the Condition of Europe at the end of the Sixteenth Century; with an Introduction and an account of Fynes Moryson's Career by CHARLES HUGHES. London: Sherratt & Hughes. 1903.

IT would not, we think, be easy to find an instance, before our English Renascence had in the fulness of the Elizabethan age attained to its flower and crown, of a literary traveller proper, whom we can claim as a fellow-countryman by birth and breeding. By a literary traveller we mean not so much one of literary or (which is often, but not quite always, the same thing) of academical tastes and training, as him who fares forth with the twofold purpose first of seeing the cities and learning the ways of many men, and then, after he has returned home again, of turning his experiences into a book. Raphael Hythlodaye, we remember, who, though his voyages had carried him to localities unexplored by the most adventurous of his contemporaries, 'had given himself wholly to the study of 'philosophy,' was a 'Portugall borne.' The Oxford scholars who, in the middle and later years of the fifteenth century, crossed the Alps, and of whom a select group helped to inspire Thomas More himself with his enthusiasm for classical studies, can hardly be described as travellers; their purpose was as distinct and definite as was that of the Cambridge men who, at the advent of the new (Lutheran) learning, were wont to meet in a 'Germany' of their own at home. On the other hand, it was not a literary but a mercantile impulse which already under the early Tudors, and with a tenfold force in the critical years of Elizabeth's reign, when political ambition and religious antipathy added their stimulus, stirred the enterprise of our English mariners. How unmindful they were after their navigations had ended of the secondary task of narrating these, was borne in upon Hakluyt, and led him to remedy the defect with a success very imperfectly supplemented by Purchas. And yet Bacon, writing not long before his death, could note it as strange that 'in sea-voyages, where there is nothing 'to be seen but sea and air, men should make diaries; but 'in land-travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the 'most part they omit it.' In the later Elizabethan and

early Jacobean period, in the comparatively peaceful interval between the religious wars of the sixteenth century and the Thirty Years' War, grand tours had become far more usual, and even fashionable, among young Englishmen of rank and education. Various causes contributed to this result; and one of them no doubt was the respect which Queen Elizabeth now enjoyed abroad, and the comparative safety with which her subjects could accordingly visit other countries.* Yet even of these travellers few could be called literary in the narrower sense of the term, though Italian and French were now taught both at Oxford and at Cambridge, and not only novel-readers, but, in the person of Thomas Nashe, a novel-writer, went forth into the land where plot and intrigue were to be had for the asking. Of course the talented Johnian in his 'Unfortunate Traveller' deplored, with all the unction bestowed on the theme by Roger Ascham a generation earlier, the perils of foreign corruption for our ingenuous youth. But the fashion continued, till already early in the next century it found its caricature in the best-ridiculed book, or perhaps we should rather say the best-ridiculed book-maker, of a demonstratively literary age. Yet the Oxonian Thomas Coryate, though Ben Jonson ridiculed him as Puntarvolo, while Shirley carried on the jest against him as Jack Freshwater, and in the laudatory verses prefixed to his 'Crudities' all the wits of the age combined to make a fool of him, was a traveller of

* Several illustrations of this will be found in the volume of which the title is prefixed to this article. As far from home as Constantinople Fynes Moryson found that 'the heroick virtues of Queene Elizabeth, her great actions in Christendome, and especially her prevailing against the Pope and King of Spaine, her professed enemyes, made her much admired of the Emperor [Sultan Mohammed III.], and of all the great men of that Court, which did appeare by the letters and guiftes sent to her Maiestie from thence, and by the consent of all strangers that lived in that tyme at Constantinople' (p. 31). At Florence he was told that the reigning Duke Ferdinand I. (de' Medici) 'kept the picture of Elizabeth Queene of England and expressed as much reuerence and loue towards her as he might well doe towards the Pope's professed enemy' (p. 100). At the same time the *Civis Romanus* plea could not as yet be used with effect by Englishmen everywhere, and even as near home as Denmark an English sea captain in difficulties is stated to have jumped overboard, 'doubting that the Queene of England, having her hands full with warr on all sydes against the Spaniard, would not easely be induced to write earnestly to the King of Denmarke' on behalf of himself and his crew.

good faith and intelligence, and in the end lost his life in a long and arduous journey to the Far East. Four years after Coryate's 'Crudities'—in 1614—was published George Sandys's 'Relation of a Journey begun A.D. 1610,' of which a portion, the 'Relation of Africa' (i.e. Egypt) re-appeared in Purchas's 'Pilgrimes.' Sandys, as became an Archbishop's son educated at Oxford, was a man of considerable literary pretensions; and the most characteristic note of his printed travels is his fondness for classical quotations, always Englished (and often very gracefully so) for the benefit of his readers or for his own delectation. He is very precise in his account of the Holy Land, where, as elsewhere, his narrative is accompanied by admirable woodcuts; but except occasionally (as in his account of the Turks) he introduces not very much in the way of historical or political surveys into his journal. Of a different type was another Oxford traveller, James Howell, the author of the celebrated 'Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ,' whose first journey abroad was undertaken in 1616, and who was at Madrid during the sojourn in that dangerous capital of Charles, Prince of Wales, and his companion Buckingham, but whose 'Instructions for Forreine Travel' were dedicated to another Charles, Prince of Wales—the one that may without flowers of speech be said to have had more of foreign travel than was good for him. James Howell's career has a wholly modern character about it; for he was a man of business before he became a man of letters, and acquired celebrity as a sort of forerunner of Our Own Correspondent.

Midway, more or less, between the sensational publication of Coryate's 'Crudities' and the beginning of James Howell's long service as a writer on foreign affairs and other subjects of public interest, there appeared so much as was up to our own day to see the light of the 'Itinerary' of another literary and academical traveller— Fynes Moryson, for many years a Fellow of Peterhouse, in the University of Cambridge. Fuller, who makes mention of Fynes Moryson as a worthy of Lincolnshire, to which county he belonged by descent, renders no more than justice to him in saying that 'of so great a Traveller, he had nothing of a Traveller 'in him, as to stretch his reports.' But he commits a strange mistake in adding that this 'exactly travelled' writer died about 1614. Inasmuch as the first three parts of Fynes Moryson's 'Itinerary' were published in 1617, it would, if Fuller's statement were correct, have been a posthumous work; and as such it was incontinently set

down by Anthony Wood. Seemingly the mistake remained unrectified till as late a date as 1861, when, in a communication addressed to 'Notes and Queries,' the editors of the 'Athenæ Cantabrigienses' pointed out that in the printer's licence, inserted in the original and only edition of the 'Itinerary,' Fynes Moryson is stated to have the intention of soon 'perfecting' one or two further parts not included in the volume. Messrs. C. H. and Thompson Cooper, while adding a very useful summary of the known events in Fynes Moryson's life, mentioned that a manuscript was preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which contained a fourth part of the 'Itinerary,' with the *imprimatur* of Thomas Wilson, dated June 14, 1626. But neither at Oxford nor at Cambridge does the announcement appear to have received much attention; and half a century more elapsed before it occurred to Mr. Charles Hughes, of Manchester, to rescue this 'fourth part,' or at least the more important sections of it, from an oblivion to which no portion of the work of Fynes Moryson's life deserved to be consigned. The original of the whole work was written in Latin by the author, and the first part of it is extant in this form among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum; but the English version, which was likewise his own, forms a notable contribution to the literature of Elizabethan prose. The portions of the book which have hitherto slumbered in dignified repose in the library of an Oxford College—the inheritor by some unexplained good fortune of these valuable literary remains of a former Cambridge Fellow—contain the very quintessence of his political and social researches, and of the mature reflexions suggested to him by a singularly diversified experience. In recalling, in the first instance, the general course of his life and of the travels which form its chief interest, we propose to make free use not only of Mr. Hughes's valuable biographical and critical introduction—Elizabethan in its sympathies, and Victorian in its vivacity—but also of the text of the portions of the 'Itinerary' first printed in the volume before us.* Mr.

* Vol. xxxix. of the 'Dictionary of National Biography' contains a terse account of the life of Fynes Moryson, and of that of his brother, Sir Richard Moryson, by the editor, Mr. Sidney Lee, written, of course, before Mr. Hughes's publication of the Oxford MS., which Mr. Lee was quick to encourage. In citing Mr. Hughes's volume, we have in each instance referred to the page number; where a quotation is taken from the earlier parts of the 'Itinerary' printed in the folio 1617, the designation 'Fol.' is added.

Hughes has christened this volume, a little fancifully but not altogether inappropriately, 'Shakespeare's Europe;' as a matter of fact, Moryson's travels, which began in 1591 and (with the exception of two sojourns in Ireland) ended in 1598, coincided with that earlier period of Shakespeare's activity in which, whether or not he ever paced the platform at Elsinore or 'swam in a gondola' at Venice, no impression of travel that man or book could convey is likely to have been lost upon him. Perhaps Moryson would have been better entitled to the compliment posthumously paid to his book by associating it with so great a name, had he shown in it a more developed literary sensibility; yet, had the former shareholder in the Globe Theatre lived to peruse the work, he would have been gratified by the free recognition given in it to the indisputable superiority of English plays and players.* Although, however, Fynes Moryson's 'Itinerary'

* 'The Citty of London alone hath foure or fiue Companyes of players with their peculiar Theaters Capable of many thousands, wherein they all play euery day in the weeke but Sunday, with most strang concourse of people, besydes many strange toyes and fances exposed by signes to be seene in priuate houses, to which and to many musterings and other frequent spectacles, the people flocke in great nombers, being naturally more newe-fangled than the Athenians to heare newes and gaze upon euery toye, as there be, in my opinion, more Playes in London then in all the partes of the worlde I haue seene, *so doe these players or Comedians excell all other in the Worlde.* Whereof I haue seene some stragling broken Companyes that passed into Netherland and Germany, followed by the people from one towne to another, though they vnderstoode not their wordes, only to see theire action, yea marchants at Fayres bragged more to haue seene them, then of the good marketts they made' (p. 476). This happened at Frankfort, a favourite resort of the English comedians in the seventeenth century, both before and after the war (p. 304). Fynes Moryson speaks of the German plays of the time (as well as of the players) with deserved contempt; and at Leyden he saw a play on the taking of Gertruydenberg so rudely done 'as the poore Artizans of England would haue both penned and acted it much better. So as at the same tyme when some cast Players of England came into those partes, the people not vnderstanding what they sayd, only for their Action followed them with wonderfull Concourse, yea many young virgines fell in loue with some of the players, and followed them from Citty to Citty, till the magistrates were forced to forbid them to play any more' (p. 378). Although Fynes Moryson never alludes to anything in Shakespeare, he must be supposed to refer to Marlowe's tragedy when, notwithstanding his appreciation of so many things appertaining to Germany and the Germans, he says of their language that it is 'such as would make our children affrayd to heare it, the very

supplies no contribution to the Shakespeare allusion-books, it is equally difficult to forget the dramatist in reading the traveller's lifelike account of Italian society, or in learning that Ulric, the younger brother of Christian IV. of Denmark, was about 1592 a student at Wittenberg, and that 'a grey-'bearded old Senator' at the Danish Court was named George Rosenkrantz.*

Fynes Moryson was born in 1566, as the younger son of a well-to-do Government official—Thomas Moryson, Clerk of the Pipe, and member for Great Grimsby in several of Elizabeth's parliaments. The family, which was of Northumbrian origin, but settled in Lincolnshire, was very well connected, and Fynes or Fiennes appears to have derived his baptismal name from the celebrated Earl of Lincoln, who held an important public position under four of our Tudor sovereigns, and was Lord High Admiral under the last three. That, as a younger son, he was entitled to no landed inheritance, was a grievance which he could never bring himself to forget.† Both he and his younger brother Henry, between whom and himself a devoted attachment obtained, were sent to Cambridge, where Fynes was a student of Peterhouse; and of this college he was on March 13, 1587 (N.S.), by royal mandate elected a Fellow. This academical preferment came to him young, shortly after, having entered on his eighteenth year, he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He remained in residence during the usual three years before proceeding to the degree of Master; and he has a curious story to tell how some time before the date of the 'commencement,' for which his mother had promised to visit him at Cambridge, he and his brother Henry, lying asleep side by side,‡ dreamt the same dream of their mother's passing by with a sad countenance, and saying that she should not keep her promise; and how, though neither of them took much heed of the dream, the very next carrier brought them the tidings of her death. Two years later, being then at Prague, Fynes Moryson was similarly warned of the death of his father, at the very hour, as he ascertained on satisfactory evidence, when the event actually

familyer speeches and pronuntiations sounding better in the mouth of Tamberlin, then of a Ciuill man' (p. 322).

* Pp. 175, 176. Prince Ulric died as Bishop of Schleswig.

† He returns to it in the present volume, where, speaking of the Poles, he observes that 'our strange law of giuing all the land to the eldest sonne is not practized among them' (p. 87).

‡ There is no other evidence that Henry was also at Peterhouse.

occurred. These are not the only passages in the 'Itine-'rary' implying that its author, though a man of strong common sense in most things, was not insensible to apparent signs of supernatural agencies. As a child of his times he was, of course, a believer in witchcraft.*

Though an ardent admirer of our national universities and their collegiate system, Fynes Moryson was not blind to their incidental defects.† Thus he thought that, in the case of English graduates, 'the injoying of Fellowships (being 'a Competent mantenance, and a pleasant easye life) per-'petually or during theire owne pleasures in our Universities 'causeth much losse of tyme, idle and carelessly spent.'‡ He had, however, so far as he was himself concerned, made up his mind from the first not to be an idle Fellow, and had, as he tells us, some years before obtained from his parents permission to travel abroad—the special line of activity on which his ambition was set. A year after his election as a Fellow of Peterhouse he had been admitted by his society to 'a vacant place of privilege for the study of the Civil Law' (which still met with some measure of favour at Cambridge); and in 1589, in accordance with the College Statute allowing two of the Fellows to travel, he obtained a licence to pass beyond seas, which was renewed on several subsequent occasions. The first renewal, in 1590, extended over five years, and was made at the request of Archbishop Whitgift, who had been in various ways connected with Lincolnshire, and among the earliest of whose many Cambridge preferments had been a fellowship at Peterhouse. Fynes Moryson's original licence to travel was, he states, granted to him partly 'for the ornament' of his intended profession, partly because of his 'innated desire to gain experience by travel-'ling into foreign parts.' We may shrewdly suspect the latter motive to have been the dominant one in his own mind;§

* See p. 17.

† For his admiration of the English Universities, to which he thought only that of Paris came near, see especially pp. 471 and 478. For his remarks on the incompetence of private tutors at our Universities as compared with those in the German, see p. 312.

‡ P. 309.

§ Dr. Caius, it may be noted, in the Statutes which he drew up for his College, allowed only the holders of medical fellowships to carry on their studies abroad (many of them no doubt went to Padua, cf. p. 434); 'for theology and the civil law may be studied just as well here as there.' Mullinger, 'The University of Cambridge,' vol. ii. p. 165.

and his College certainly met his wishes in no grudging spirit. The allowance made to him during absence was, he informs us, the handsome annual sum of twenty pounds.

We may suppose him to have devoted the interval between going out of residence and setting forth on his first Continental journey to the acquisition of modern languages as well as of the elements of the civil law. He was evidently much interested in linguistic studies, and in the newly printed portion of the 'Itinerary' has some excellent remarks which might be commended to the attention of those English headmasters who are, or profess to be, puzzled as to the proper method of teaching modern languages to their pupils. He is for learning one or two, and for learning these thoroughly, as a classical language is learnt, at the outset.* He has some other shrewd observations on linguistics, such as that, to which he recurs, on the difficulty of speaking with purity and perfection two or more languages 'derived from one roote,' such as French and Spanish, both derivatives of Latin.† But in etymology he is, of course, far to seek, and it would be nothing short of cruel to give instances of the flounderings in which, like many more learned men of his age, he on this head indulges.

Before starting on his travels Moryson was, in 1590 or early in 1591, incorporated M.A. at Oxford, no doubt with the object of making assurance doubly sure in case of difficulties abroad. It appears from the Peterhouse records that a special allowance was made to him so long as his name was on the buttery-books of an Oxford college; but there is no explicit statement of his ever having joined either Corpus Christi or any other college in the sister University, nor, of course, was it necessary for the purpose of incorporation that he should do so.

Fynes left England for his first journey abroad on May Day, 1591, and was absent from this country for rather more than four years. Within this period he saw many parts of Germany, Switzerland, the United Provinces, Denmark, Poland, Italy, and France, without penetrating into Northern Scandinavia or Russia, while the Pyrenean peninsula necessarily remained closed to him. His first sojourn was, as became an academical traveller, at Wittenberg; his first winter was spent at Leipzig; he then devoted some time to Prague (whose colleges he found deserted), and some to Heidelberg (still almost at the

* Pp. 320 seqq. † P. 436.

height of its academic prosperity), and wintered at Leyden. Throughout his travels he never missed an opportunity of familiarising himself with the features of Continental university life, and contrasting them with the remembrances of his Peterhouse days. He describes decadent Louvain and flourishing Douay, and speaks of Basel, Bologna, and Paris. But it is to the German universities that he devoted most time and attention; and his picture of their life forms an interesting supplement of the details with which it has been illustrated by Zarncke in reference to a rather earlier period. He notes that in the German universities there are 'no Taxers (or Clarkes of the Markett) for the price of 'vittles (as our vniversityes haue),' and no Proctors 'to 'keepe the night-watches,'* and is much exercised by the contempt shown for the degree of Master of Arts, which is left to schoolmasters 'or men of like quality.' † On the other hand, he has much to tell of their customs both official and semi-official, from the taking of degrees which since good Melanchthon's days are denied to no man at Wittenberg, though the ill-qualified are admonished to make up for lost time afterwards, ‡ to the 'salting' of freshmen.§ The jests which are customary on this occasion, and of which the like may be read in 'Friar Bacon' as well as in 'Doctor Faustus,' have a cosmopolitan flavour, but would not gain by repetition. Some relief was necessary after such professorial lectures as had become habitual at Wittenberg, whose best days had evidently passed not only with regard to the numbers of its students‖:—

'These Professors reade continually through the yeare, without any vacations, as wee haue in our vniversities, for they reade in the very Dogdayes. In theire Lectures they doe not insist vpon a worde for ostentation of learning and elequence, but in a convenient tyme soundly and grauely absolue the booke they vndertake to expounde. . . . The Students of Germany haue little learning from priuate reading, but take the most part thereof vpon trust or heareasay from the lectures of these graue Professors who dictate theire Lectures with a slowe and tretable voyce, which they write out word by word, their many penns sounding like a great shower of rayne, and if the Professor vtter any thing so hastily that the students cannot write it, they knocke vpon the Deskes till he repeate it agayne more tretably.' ¶

During the winter of 1592–3 Moryson disposed of the

* P. 316. † P. 310. ‡ P. 311. § P. 317.

‖ These had, according to Moryson, dwindled within living memory from 4,000 to 800.

¶ P. 308.

slender inheritance which had come to him as a younger son on his father's death, and then continued his travels. He saw most of the north of Italy, especially Venice and Padua (where he wintered), and Tuscany, besides something of the south, but at Rome his stay was limited to four days, though into these he put as much sight-seeing as the most conscientious of modern creation tourists. Easter was at hand, and the priests attended at the lodgings of the travellers to take down their names, merely with the object of ascertaining whether any of them were not receiving the Sacrament at the approaching holy season, 'which when 'we heard, we needed no spurres to make haste from Rome 'into the State of Florence.'* (George Sandys, who visited Rome some twenty years afterwards, likewise stayed there only four days, 'as longe as he durst.') Moryson was one of the sturdiest of Protestants, as appears both from his Irish chapters and from other parts of his work; he upholds 'our gracious Soueraignes wise invencion of the Oath of 'Aleagiance,' as having 'pinched the Papists' by depriving them of the pretence of suffering as religious martyrs; † and nothing could be more scornful than his description of a religious ceremonial at Rome, during the whole course of which he insists that he never saw the Pope kneel.

'The Roman Catholikes,' he adds, 'will say that the Pope prayed at the tyme of the Sea fight against the Turkes at Lepanto many howers by the Clocke with his windowe open (whereof I beleeve that if he prayed the window was open) and that he prayes and kneeles when he is a priuate Auditor and when himselfe sayth not masse.' ‡

Equally prejudiced is his ridicule of the Roman practice of exorcism, which, as he must have known, was stoutly maintained by orthodox Lutheranism, in a period of its history of which he supplies an interesting account. § But though he had to leave Rome in haste, Moryson, who was one of the most determined of lion-hunters, carried out his purpose of interviewing Cardinal Bellarmine. He had previously waited on Cardinal Allen, who had formerly shown himself most unfriendly to Englishmen coming to Rome, but had 'changed his mind, since the English had 'ouerthrowne the Spanish Nauy in the yeere 1588.' ‖ On his

* Fol. part i. p. 141. † P. 285. ‡ P. 440.

§ P. 454. Cf. the account of the Calvinistic changes under the Elector Christian I. of Saxony and the Lutheran reaction, pp. 262 seqq.

‖ Fol. part i. p. 121.

way home to England, after wintering at Padua, he paused at Geneva, where he paid his respects to the third great man of his 'Itinerary,' 'the reuerent Father Theodore 'Beza,' who warned him against the use, even in a moment of self-oblivion, of holy water.* The last personage of consequence whom Moryson saw on this journey was King Henry IV. himself, to obtain a sight of whom he made a very fatiguing *détour* to Fontainebleau.† Altogether, there can have been few contemporaries of Moryson who had the satisfaction of beholding so many crowned heads as he,‡ while at the numerous universities visited by him he must have in succession looked upon a whole 'Minerva' of professors.

In December, 1595, rather more than half a year after his return home from his first journey abroad, Fynes Moryson started on his second expedition, this time in the company of his favourite brother Henry. As their travels were intended to take them as far as Syria and the Holy Land, and as their expenses would accordingly be considerable and their risks many, they had recourse before their departure from England to the strange recuperative expedient to which, as Mr. Hughes reminds us, Shakespeare makes allusion in 'The Tempest,' and which is set forth by Ben Jonson, with characteristic elaborateness, in 'Every Man 'out of His Humour.' The younger Moryson 'put out' a sum of about 400*l.*, and the elder the smaller sum of 100*l.*, the borrowers of which undertook to return to the lenders the sums of 1,200*l.* and 300*l.* respectively in the event of their safe return from Constantinople and Jerusalem; should either of them perish in the journey, the sum lent by him would be forfeited. Fynes, by way of a further investment, which he thought a disadvantageous adventure, 'put out' another 100*l.* among five friends for 150*l.* Unhappily, Henry Moryson's money was forfeited, while Fynes did not recover quite the whole of the gains due to him. This practice, which furnishes a curious illustration of the betting propensities of Englishmen, had, by the time of the publica-

* Fol. part i. p. 181. † Ibid. p. 195.

‡ Besides the Emperor (Rudolf II.), the Pope (Clement VIII.), and the Sultan (Mohammed III.), he saw King Henry IV. of France, King Sigismund III. of Poland, King Christian IV. of Denmark, the Elector Palatine Frederick IV., and Duke Ferdinand I. of Tuscany, and attended the funeral of the Elector of Saxony, Christian I.; nor do we pretend that this list is exhaustive.

tion of the 'Itinerary,' come to be more honoured in the breach than in the observance.*

The Morysons, who set about their journey to the 'Near 'East' in some other respects with less forethought than was evinced by George Sandys, took the precaution of leaving their rapiers behind them at Venice, 'hearing what 'Asses patience they must have except they would perish 'in the iourney'; and 'travelled through all Turkey with 'their hands in their hose.'† From the experience of the dangers which he actually incurred in the Holy Land, Moryson contracted a curious personal habit which recalls that for which Chaucer was 'chaffed' in his day.‡

'It cannot be expressed,' he writes in the same connexion, 'what great iniuryes the Turkes will doe vnto Christians vppon the lightest causes. When we came neere vnto Hierusalem, a horseman of the Army crossing our way, rann a full course at one of our Company with his Launce in rest, who only escaped killing, by the slipping of the Launce into the pannell of the Asse wherevppon he rode, and with like force he was ready to assaile each man of vs, and that only (as our interpreter told vs) because wee did him no reuerence as he passed, so that we were glad to tumble off from our Asses, and bend our bodyes to him, which done, he rode away with a sterne proud looke. For a Turke will not abide any Christian to looke him full in the face without striking him, so as I then vsing to walke with my eyes cast on the ground, as going about some busines, tooke that ill custome which I could neuer leaue, though I haue often bene reproued by freindes for the same. Neither may a Christian carry Armes, yea Woe to him that drawes a knife against a Turke. . . . At Hierusalem wee were forced to beare a thousand iniuries, hardly keeping the very boyes from leaping vppon our shoulders from the Shoppe and higher parts of the way while their Parents looked on, and commended them for so doing, besides many wrongs done vs in the way by Mores and Arabians.' . . . (Pp. 62, 63).

Thus morigeration served their turn during the first part of their Asiatic journey; but in the second, when having sailed from Joppa to Tripoli in Syria they were proceeding

---

* Fol. part i. pp. 193, 199; and cf. Gonzalo's speech in 'The Tempest,' act iii. sc. 3, and Puntarvolo's in 'Every Man out of his Humour,' act ii. sc. 1, as well as the humorous scene of the signing of a speculative bond of this description in act iv. sc. 4 of the same play.

† P. 63.

‡ 'What man art thou? quod he;
Thou lookest, as thou woldest finde an hare,
For ever upon the ground I see thee stare.'
Prologue to 'Sire Thopas.'

by caravan to Aleppo and Antioch, Henry Moryson succumbed to an attack of dysentery, and his brother had to undergo the most tragic experience of his life, and one of which, as we may readily believe him, he never overcame the effects upon himself. His description of his beloved brother's sufferings and death, and of the despair which befel him as he sat by the dying man surrounded by 'the 'rascall multitude of Turkes and Moores,' is very pathetic, all the more so that he shrinks from using many words 'in 'a case from the remembrance whereof my mind abhorreth.' He buried his brother within a high enclosure of stones, to guard his remains from the 'cursed iawes' of the jackals, and pursued his journey alone.* After a laborious visit to Crete, he sailed by the Ægean and the Black Sea to Constantinople. Here he remained long enough to attain to an insight into Turkish institutions and the foundations as well as the incidental features of the military empire which renders his account of them, in the first of the supplementary chapters printed by Mr. Hughes, a valuable contribution to our historical information on the subject.† The admirable lucidity of the picture may no doubt in part be attributed to the first-hand knowledge derived by him from the English 'leiger' ambassador to the Porte, Edward Barton, a most intelligent and efficient public servant, who died at his post in 1597. Moryson tells us that Barton, 'the Lutheran 'Elshi,' as he was called at the Turkish Court, enjoyed great favour there, and 'notwithstanding he was poore, 'had power in his tyme both to treate and depose Princes' under the Sultan's supremacy. He brought about a pacification between Sultan Mohammed and Poland, and but for his untimely death would, in Moryson's opinion, have succeeded in further making peace between the Sultan and the Emperor. But he was subject to many accusations on the part of the English merchants, by whom (and not by the Queen) his salary was paid; and, unfortunately for himself, 'though he understood the Ottoman Court, he did not understand the English, and managed to give offence to its capricious mistress.' ‡

From Constantinople Fynes Moryson returned home by Venice, reaching London about midsummer 1597. His last adventure was, on having laid himself down on a bed at the 'Cock' in Aldersgate Street on the morning of his arrival, to be mistaken by the constable and watchman for a Jesuit,

* Fol. pp. 248, 249. † Pp. 1–71. ‡ Pp. 27–31.

'according to their ignorance; for the crafty Priests would 'neuer have worne such clothes as I then did.'* But, though back in 'Shakespeare's England,' he escaped being 'exami-'nationed' there.

Fynes Moryson's travels beyond the shores of these islands thus came to an end in the middle of the year 1597, just before a well-marked epoch of European history closed with the death of Philip II. of Spain, and at home the negotiations began that had for their purpose the settlement of the succession to Queen Elizabeth. For some reason unknown—except that in those days the training of a traveller was held to go a long way as a qualification for employment as a diplomatist—Moryson was employed in these negotiations; for there can be little doubt that Mr. Hughes's conjecture is warranted, and that Moryson's sojourn at Berwick-on-Tweed, which extended over several months from April 1598, was not due to the extraordinary cheapness of 'Salmons and all kindes of shell-fish' in that interesting borough.† Inasmuch as before returning South he waited upon King James VI. at Falkland, we shall not go far wrong in assuming that he was the bearer of communications—which for safety's sake were verbal only—to that prince from his well-wishers in England; and a connexion between Moryson and the Essex faction may, as Mr. Hughes thinks, be indicated by the circumstance that his younger brother Richard held a captain's commission in one of the regiments which Essex took over with him to Ireland in 1599, and was knighted by the 'Lieutenant and Governor-'General' at Dublin. On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that the Cecils, who stood at the head of the opposite faction, were connected with Lincolnshire and (by marriage) with Moryson's family, and that his subsequent patron Mountjoy, both before and after his departure for Ireland, is said to have 'adored' Robert Cecil 'as a saint, 'and counted him his only Mecenas.'‡ On his return from the North Moryson 'passed an idle yeere' at the houses of his two married sisters in Lincolnshire, and here found a 'pleasing' opportunity of 'gathering into some order out of 'confused and torne writings, the particular obseruations of 'his former Trauels, to be after more delibrately digested at leasure.'§ It is a narrative of these travels, which with

* Fol. part i. p. 271. † Ibid. p. 272.
‡ See Sir Robert Naunton, 'Fragmenta Regalia' ('Mountjoy').
§ Fol. part ii. p. 4.

some perfunctory observations on travels in Egypt, Scotland, and Ireland, and a chapter on English and foreign moneys (a subject irresistibly fascinating to him), fills Part I. of the work published by Moryson in 1617 under the title of his 'Itinerary.' This narrative at the same time indicates the materials which were to serve as the basis of the survey of the political and social state of Continental Europe contained in the later portions of the work.

With Part II. of the 'Itinerary,' which was reprinted in 1735 at Dublin under a title which corresponds to its general contents and character,* we cannot concern ourselves here, though it is full of an interest of its own. Moryson's public life began and ended with his services under Mountjoy from 1600 to 1606. On being assured of an appointment under the new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he, in August 1600, resigned his fellowship at Peterhouse, being allowed two years' income by the Society from the date of his resignation, 'to knit up their loving course 'towards him.' It is much to be regretted that no portrait of him should have been preserved, to take its place among those of the worthies of his most ancient college. Moryson was unmistakeably drawn into the public service in Ireland by his Protestant sympathies and his desire to co-operate in introducing there a more thorough system of government and policy than had hitherto been pursued, notably by Essex himself. At the same time Mountjoy, as whose secretary he acted, was sufficiently established in the Queen's favour to be an excellent patron to follow. Mountjoy, however, had his own difficulties to contend against, especially after the outbreak of Essex's plot in February, 1601; and he thought it wiser, in view of Moryson's indirect connexion with the ill-fated earl, to exclude him from his more intimate councils. It is probable that we owe to this caution on the part of Mountjoy, which his secretary regards as in the circumstances fully warranted, the result that he found time for those duties as a historiographer which he had originally understood would form the chief part of his employment. Part II. of the 'Itinerary' is such only in name; it is, in fact, a full history of Mountjoy's Irish government, prefaced by a meagre summary of previous Irish history and including, as a purple patch upon

* 'A History of Ireland, from the year 1599 to 1603, with a short Narrative of the State of the Kingdom from the year 1169; to which is added a Description of Ireland.' Two vols. 8vo.

a pragmatic and statistical texture, an elaborate character of Mountjoy, after the manner of Plutarch, with a touch, perhaps, of Suetonius. Yet Moryson, besides being wounded in the field, was not altogether outside the transactions which he narrates, and played a part of some consequence on the important occasion of Tyrone's submission, by contriving to keep back the news of Queen Elizabeth's death.* He accompanied the Lord-Lieutenant with his prisoner to England, and remained in the service of the Earl of Devonshire (Mountjoy's title from 1604) to his death in 1606. As a recompense of his public services Moryson had, in 1604, been awarded by the Crown a pension of 6*s.* a day, on the surrender of other pensions to the same amount. It may be added that several years later, in 1613, he paid a second visit to Ireland, at the request of his brother, Sir Richard Moryson, the Vice-President of Munster. He found the country much changed, the North possessed by new colonies of English, but especially of Scots, and the 'meere Irish 'in the North and ouer all Ireland still in absolute subiection, 'being powerfull in no part of the Kingdome excepting onely 'Connaght.'† The 'next combustion' to be apprehended he thought to be from 'the degenerate English Irish,' a scathing account of whom forms one of the most striking passages in the remarks on Ireland included in Mr. Hughes's volume.‡

Moryson was now at last free to settle down to the fulfilment of his personal ambition. This was to complete the arrangement of the notes of his travels in the form of a continuous 'Itinerary,' and to include in it 'Discourses' or comprehensive surveys of the several European countries (twelve in all) over which he had successively travelled. Formal completeness and symmetrical co-ordination and subdivision were among the literary ideals of his age; and in order to attain the first of these he began by abstracting the histories of the dominions through which he had passed in order to prefix them to his 'Discourses.' These historical abstracts, however, he afterwards suppressed, as likely 'to 'make his gate bigger than his citie,'§ and thereby afforded much relief to his present editor, in whose opinion he is 'a painstaking but meritorious historian, and in com-'piling from books loses his Elizabethan freedom and force 'of style.' In the 'Discourses' there are, however, suffi-

* Fol. part ii. p. 177. † Ibid p. 299. ‡ Pp. 206–208.
§ Fol. 'To the Reader.'

cient indications, not only of familiarity with some of the best existing authorities both general and special (from Botero to Guicciardini), but also of an independent historical judgement, occasionally warped by prejudice, but hardly ever clouded by dulness. Of course he is here and there hampered by mere tradition—as, for instance, in the matter of national genealogies—but his actual slips are, so far as we have noticed, extremely rare. When in 1617 Moryson actually put forth his 'Itinerary,' with a dedication to the celebrated Earl of Pembroke—to whom, among many other books, was dedicated the 'First Folio of the Works 'of Shakespeare'—Part III., containing the 'Discourses,' remained incomplete, and was announced to be so both in the King's licence and in the table of contents. The author excuses himself for the slowness of his workmanship on the ground that, in the first place, he wrote his book at leisure and not as a piece of taskwork; and, furthermore, that he wrote it first in Latin and then very carefully translated it into English, and that, in order to save expense, he wrote most of the text with his own hand, and nearly the whole of the remainder 'with the slowe pen of his servant.' As, however, it stands in the Folio, Part III. consists of nearly three hundred pages. From a general introduction on travel, and a series of aphorisms on the salient characteristics of the several nations of Europe and the chief differences between them, followed by a further series of practical hints, the author passes to what may be called the systematic portion of this division of his work. Here he sets himself to furnish information concerning the twelve countries included in his 'Itinerary' (viz. Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland), from the two points of view of geographical description, with a special regard to 'trafficke' and 'diet,' and of 'apparell,' treating both topics with a completeness and variety which would supply material for many a chapter in histories of civilisation, and 'local colour' for many an historical novel yet unwritten. The third head to which he proceeds is that of 'The Commonwealth,' under which he includes, besides dynastic genealogies and an account of the Courts, a survey of the financial, military, judicial, and penal system of each country, together with an enquiry into the diversity of classes obtaining in it. Of this division he completed in the portion of his work included in the Folio so much as concerned Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, furnish-

ing in the first of these a very lifelike picture of contemporary German society—of which he perceived some of the ugly as well as some of the commendable aspects, among the former the 'Junkerthum' of his day and the servile subjection of women—in the second an instructive treatment of a difficult theme, the earlier constitutional history of Switzerland. With a brief account of 'the Netherlanders' Common-'wealth' the volume came to a stop.

There remained for publication at a later date than 1617 not only the large majority of the 'Commonwealth' discourses, but also a second and third series which were to deal with each of the twelve countries visited by Moryson under the two further aspects of religion and of 'Nature 'and Manners, Strength of Body and Witt, Manuall Arts, 'Sciences, Vniuersityes, Languages,' ceremonies, and sports. In the 'Fourth Part' of his 'Itinerary'—really the second division of the Third Part—our indefatigable publicist actually achieved this completion of his encyclopædic survey, which essayed to accomplish in the case of twelve different countries and peoples what in our own generation Mr. Bryce has done in that of the United States, and Mr. Bodley is doing in that of France. Of course Moryson achieved his task after a fashion only; but, so far as we can judge from the sections of his work now printed by Mr. Hughes, it may be said that his promise was not left unredeemed. The *imprimatur* given to the MS., of which a large portion is now at last in print, by Moryson's Cambridge contemporary, Sir Thomas Wilson, Keeper of the Records, bears date 1626; but Mr. Hughes concludes that the MS., which is partly in Moryson's own handwriting, partly in that of two other scribes, with passages (such as Italian quotations) interlined by the author, was completed by 1619 or 1620 at the latest. It concludes somewhat abruptly: 'And so I gladly ende this 'discourse and worke'; and the 'Commonwealth' of England is wanting. Whether Moryson ever composed it remains unknown; so that it is unnecessary to speculate on his reasons for abandoning the crowning part of his complex literary undertaking. He died on February 12, 1623; and Mr. Hughes's zeal enables us to infer from the traveller's last will, which is otherwise uninteresting, that he died in comfortable circumstances, but, so far as worldly goods were concerned, appropriately enough, 'in light marching order.'

In the preceding pages we have endeavoured to illustrate Fynes Moryson's experiences mainly from the sections of his work now first brought to light; and we must, therefore, be

brief in our concluding remarks concerning them. We have already commended the insight with which in his survey of the polity with which Englishmen of his day were best acquainted—that of the Ottoman Turks—he goes to the root of the matter in deducing all its institutions from its military origin and purpose. There is not a little in this chapter that possesses genuine historical value, as amplifying and constituting our knowledge on the subject, in part on excellent authority. Nor could he have summarised more effectively than in its concluding words, for which we must make room as an example of Moryson at his best, the causes of decay which he found already at work in a power at which even after Lepanto Christian Europe had not ceased to tremble.

'Howsoeuer this power of the Turkish Empire may seeme dreadfull to all Christendome, yet the Emperors of late being giuen to pleasure and nothing Warlike, the whole force being not possibly to be vnited for feare of Christians, and other subiects rebelling, the greatest part of the Army consisting of baser kindes, of horsmen and footemen, the best horsemen generally being corrupted with rurall sloth and dilicate liuing in Cittyes, the best footemen the Janizaries having lost the old seuerity of manners, and therewith the old valor of their Predecessors, many of them being now marryed, and all prone to insolent mutinyes, the soldiers generally wanting defensive Armes, and for offence having few musketts or shott . . . the particuler soldiers of Asia being more effeminate then the rest, the iustice of State being growne to the height of extortion, and oppression, the zeale of their religion being generally in all degrees abated, and the great Commaunders having of late made strong rebellions against the Emperors. For these reasons, and because as Tyranny (especially so great as this) hath neuer been durable, and lastly because the Empire is so great, as by his owne weight it seemes to threaten ruine, Christians may well hope, that the power of this great enemy is declining, if not sodeinely falling, which God in his mercy graunt.'*

Moryson, although a traveller who rarely writes without his book, not only has the courage of his opinions, but is capable of flights of political speculation which show him possessed of a certain species of imaginative power. His remark that Philip of Spain 'might with lesse charge 'and efusion of blood, have conquered all Greece, and 'Palestine itselfe,' than were the cost of his wars with Christians† recalls the great 'Egyptian design' of Leibniz, which was to have diverted the ambition of Louis XIV. from becoming the scourge of Europe.

* Pp. 70–1. † P. 34.

When from the Turks he passes to the nation whom of all their adversaries they, as he states, fear the most, because 'of its strength in horse,' and commends the Poles for their 'constancy in councils,' we have to remember how, at the time of Moryson's visit, the orderly succession of the Jagellons had only recently come to an end. Of greater interest is the account of Italy, whose social and more especially economical condition (see the passages on 'Tributes') is treated both instructively, and here and there with picturesque force, while some noteworthy remarks are made on the policy of Venice after 'the League 'of Cameracum' and on that of Genoa, hanging on Spain 'as a dore upon the Hinges.' But the sections on Italy and on France, 'drawn drye' by the House of Valois before it was left 'all in ruine' to the House of Bourbon, alike prove that Moryson's sympathies were not with the Latin races. We may smile at a scepticism which goes so far as to impugn the time-honoured traditions of the valour of the ancient Romans, and suggests that they, like the Italians of the sixteenth century, carried on their wars largely by employing foreigners. But we cannot at the same time refuse to see that Moryson's distrust of the Italian character springs from a deeper source than even abhorrence of sensational crime and flagrant immorality. In an impressive passage concerning the Italians of his own day he declares that

'they are so diffident in all their spirituall hopes, as they feare nothing so much as death, according to their proverb, Ogni Tormento pia presto che la Morte, that is, all torment rather then death. Then how can these men haue true valor.' *

But he acknowledges the irresistible charm of Italian manners in the same spirit of justice in which when treating of the Germans, towards whom he is not less manifestly drawn by community of moral and intellectual characteristics, he makes no attempt whatever to conceal their corresponding defects. But why should we speak of defects when a perusal of Moryson's account, or the review of any other accessible contemporary evidence, suggests that

'in this search, the wisest may mistake
If second qualities for first they take.'

The master passion of sixteenth-century Germany was no other than that of drink. By this vice every rank of society was tainted; there was hardly a Court whose life was not

* P. 402.

half dedicated to it; in the universities examinations could not be held without homage being paid to it; and, worst of all, there was not a pulpit where a voice was raised against it. We may be amused to find Moryson, who is at the pains to argue grossly that the inability of the Germans to bear thirst is due to custom and not to nature, attributing the fact that they 'seldome or neuer pronounce any thinge by 'heart,' to their memories being weakened by continual drinking. But it is indisputable that this pernicious habit affected the national intellect as well as the national morals, and would have done so irredeemably but for the fortunate rigour which absolutely prohibited women from indulging in so manly a vice. Moryson notes how it was beginning to creep from Germany into Switzerland; of the Dutch he quaintly says that 'howsoeuer theire excesse in drincking be 'no lesse, yet it is not so frequent and continuall as among 'the Saxons,' or Low Germans, whom he, probably with justice, regards as on this head the greatest offenders.

It might be amusing to note how many features in Moryson's pictures of Italian and German social life, which are the most elaborate to be found in this volume, are still more or less observable in it at the present day; but we have left ourselves no space for such details. His remarks on the educational activity of the Germans, which probably above all other things attracted to them the goodwill of our academical traveller, have a quite modern sound; but even in such matters he preserves his independent judgement. Thus he informs us that 'there is one thinge he cannot 'commend in the Germans, that for desyre of vayneglory, 'being yet without Beardes and of small Knowledge, they 'make themselves known more then praysed, by vntimely 'Printing of bookes, and very toyes, published in theire 'names.'* Whether he dispenses praise or blame he shows himself throughout to be neither an inaccurate nor a superficial observer, and he secures our respect by his ready and cordial recognition of the qualities that most ennoble a nation, as when he speaks of the spirit of tolerance that prevailed among the Bohemians, little thinking as he wrote that a ruthless religious reaction was about to pass over the doomed land. But it must not be forgotten, either in this or in other passages of the volume before us, that the writer is describing not the Europe which witnessed the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, but that of the last decade of the sixteenth century—a difference of nearly a generation.

* P. 299.

Moryson's English has the vigour without the ornateness of Elizabethan prose, but while he always writes like a gentleman, he shows no anxiety, like so many of his contemporaries, to remind the 'gentlemen readers of both 'Universities' that he too has been bred a scholar. The chief adornment of his rather pedestrian style is a pregnant recourse to proverbs or proverbial phraseology,* and his vocabulary, though he treats 'de omnibus rebus et qui-'busdam aliis,' hardly anywhere calls for the assistance of a glossary.† Thus the last portion of his 'Itinerary,' though not printed till nearly three hundred years after his death, may, in an age as 'Crittick' as his own,‡ still find readers enough to make good his assertion that the English 'much 'esteeme their owne Countrymen being travelers, wisely 'iudging that the experience of Ulisses could not but add 'much to his naturall vertues.'§

* Here are a few: At Constantinople he reflects: 'Happy are the leane, for the fatt are still drawne to the shambles' (p. 39); and in view of the fact that among the Turks the strict observance of laws is deservedly called tyranny, 'What is iust must be done iustly' (p. 60). Ferdinando de' Medici was wont in his passions 'to desyre the first gathering of the Rose, but neuer after to care for the Tree' (p. 96). It is true of all men, but especially of the Genoese, that 'the hart is where the treasure is' (p. 113). The temporary security of the small Italian States reminds the writer that 'a crazed shipp may be safe in a calme Sea' (p. 118). Tax-gathering in the Papal States suggests that 'hungry flyes sucke more greedily than those that are full' (p. 121); and the exactions of the Crown in France that 'he that clenseth the bodye too much shall at last fetche bloud' (p. 173). The censurable system of changing the Deputies in Ireland frequently leads to excessive activity on their part, as 'the Deuill rages more because his time is shorte' (p. 189). German inn servants take care of horses from human kindness and without supervision, though 'the Master's eye maketh the horse fatt' (p. 293). And to end with an ancient saying, the Italians think no revenge worth taking short of death, for 'the dead bite not' (p. 403).

† P. 1.

‡ One or two *curiosa* may perhaps be noted. He states 'plumpe' to be a synonym of 'blunt' or 'rude' (p. 370); and '*kranck*,' which in German means 'sick or 'ill,' to signify in English 'healthful' or 'lively' (p. 323). For 'vails' he uses the fuller form 'availes' (p. 19); and repeatedly employs the English word 'stove' as equivalent in meaning to the German '*Stube*.' He makes use of the word 'fletcher' (a maker of bows) (p. 9), but has to paraphrase 'skating' as 'sliding on pattens' (p. 384). His spelling of foreign names is usually quite recognisable; but 'Melvin' (Elbing) (p. 383) may at first sight puzzle some readers as it puzzled ourselves; 'Guesna' (p. 89) is mistaken for 'Gnesna' (Gnesen).

§ P. 465.

ART. VI.—Works of EDGAR POE. London. *Through a Glass Darkly*, &c., by SHERIDAN LE FANU. London. *Stories*, by FITZJAMES O'BRIEN. Boston. (1) *Twice-told Tales*, (2) *Mosses from an Old Manse*, by NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. *Le Horla*, &c., by GUY DE MAUPASSANT. Paris. (1) *Spirite*, (2) *Nouvelles*, by THÉOPHILE GAUTIER. Paris. *Spiridion*, by GEORGE SAND. Paris. *Countess Eve*, by J. H. SHORTHOUSE. London. *A Beleaguered City*, by Mrs. OLIPHANT. London. *Flames*, &c., by R. HICHENS. London. *La Peur*, par MOSSO, tr. par F. HÉMENT. Paris, 1886. *Psychologie de la Croyance*, by CAMILLE BOS. Paris, 1901. *Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, by GEORGE WOODBERRY. Boston, 1885. &c.

THE element of the supernatural in the fiction of the nineteenth century has sprung from such varied roots, and been developed after such various methods, and with such different aims, purposes, and sentiments that any classification under a single heading must be obviously more or less arbitrary. Yet as we have the fiction of philanthropy and religion, the police novel and the novel of adventure, the novel of character and the romance novel, each comprising in its own group works of widely separated tendencies, so there has grown up a fiction of the supernatural—or, more accurately, a supernaturalism in fiction—which allows in some measure of specialisation as a study in literary history.

The briefest and most cursory review of the fiction of the nineteenth century supplies a list of notable writers, writers of divergent sympathies and belonging to every level of intellectual capacity, who, in the course of their career, have turned aside from other paths of invention to hinge a narrative upon events abnormal, preterhuman, or phantasmal; who have chosen as their theme the possible agencies of occult forces, the possibilities of communication between the world visible and substantial and the world invisible and spiritual. And as a phenomenon of literature the inclination towards the supernatural seems in no manner of means to be on the decline. In more remote ages the belief in what may broadly be termed magic was, one might conjecture, too vivid to admit freely of such tamperings with the occult. The grim picture presented by M. Michelet in his records of the sorcery of past days * may well con-

* 'La Sorcière,' Michelet.

vince us that in the centuries of faith men would have been backward to handle in fiction what was in truth a living terror of daily life and experience. Belief in witchcraft, in unseen, intangible yet always formidable influences of evil, and in spectral apparitions, held too firm, inward and terrorising a hold on the popular mind to allow of trifling. Perhaps, moreover, the supernatural, in its whole breadth and inclusiveness, was too deeply imbedded in thought at large to invite objective treatment. For the most part, we are taught, belief must put on self-consciousness before it submits itself to that form of inspection which leads to expression as the subject-matter of fiction, and belief, with the cult of the supernatural, when it rose to the surface, when it reached that stage of self-analysis and self-examination which projects it towards expression, suffered a too precipitate and total eclipse to register the intermediate results of exteriorisation. The axe of pure reason fell with a sudden shock; no mental loiterings were suffered amongst the educated classes. Culture and intellectual emancipation were the order and the fashion of the eighteenth century; both abjured the superstitions of the generations who had lived and died according to nature rather than according to book—whether that book were the grammar of philosophy or the encyclopædia of science. The author would have been bold indeed who made his appeal to the fears, the practices, the assumptions of past credulities. Fiction was in the hands of the Marivaux, the Smolletts, Sternes, Fieldings, and all their rational confraternity. Eschewing romance, assimilating to itself the prose realities of life and action, the early novel was as free from the least tincture of supernaturalism as were the first realistic *novelle* of the Italian Renaissance with its fund of sceptical paganism and its overplus of naturalistic philosophy.

But sudden as had been the extinction of educated curiosity in occult practices and occult thought, its revival, like the revival of interest in the myths of extinct creeds, was within the predestined swing of the pendulum. The nineteenth century, with its craving for mental sensationalism to supply its deficit of religious emotion, with its half-denials and half-beliefs, with its increase of nervous tension and the morbid reaction of minds constantly at work under high pressure, was not likely to leave the blank, occasioned by the withdrawal of the supernatural from men's practical creed, unfilled. In the preceding

century the votaries of Swedenborgianism—Swedenborg's revelation dated from 1745—had spread far and wide their founder's doctrine of spiritualistic manifestations. They supplied Balzac ninety years later with the plot of his 'Séraphita.' Even in the Voltairean epoch Mesmer and Cagliostro and all their brotherhood of dupes and impostors had haunted the Courts of Louis XVI. and Frederick the Great. And Swedenborg, Mesmer, Cagliostro had not vanished without leaving behind them the germs of new, or resuscitated, superstitions. On all sides, as the decades of the centuries passed, emanating it is difficult to say from where, a tide of new supernaturalism, less denominational than Swedenborg's, less defined than that of the pseudo-scientist, more insidious and more subtle than the crude supernaturalism of the romantic school, crept out from unsuspected byways and lurked in the shadowy thoroughfares of unacknowledged thought. And before the legitimate scientist could bottle the demon and seal it with the pentagram of rationalism and experimental research, phenomena which bore the name of mesmerism—dealings with the unknown, the phenomena of spiritualism—dealings with the unknowable, were become the subject of popular discussion, and the doctors of their cult recruited as disciples all the human driftwood cast up by the wave of materialism.

Fiction reflected, as it was bound to reflect, the movement. Life makes its own books, the author is but its amanuensis. He may shake the kaleidoscope into fresh combinations, but he tints no atom of the many-coloured glass splinters which form the shifting pattern. And as the supernaturalism of the mesmerist and the spiritualist gained ground, as, now there, now here, in obscure groups, men's lives and women's lives were swayed by new apostleships of the potencies of unexplored powers, the novelist was provided with a theme of growing popular importance. Within its narrowed boundaries the Romance School initiated after its own fashion the literary tendency towards abnormalism of incident and episode. In the later decades of the eighteenth century, Mrs. Radcliffe, M. G. Lewis, and 'Beckford, presently followed by Maturin, founded what has 'been called the School of Terror, in the form of romantic 'novels, in which fear was treated as the dominant passion.'* 'Frankenstein' was composed by Mary Shelley during her

* 'Modern English Literature,' E. Gosse, 1898.

first sojourn abroad with Shelley,* and although in 1817 she writes that 'Gifford did not allow this courtly bookseller '[Mr. Murray] to purchase it,' it was accepted in the following year, and the attention accorded to it was evinced by reviews in 'Blackwood,' the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' the 'Edinburgh,' and the 'Quarterly,' in which it was unfavourably criticised as the work of a 'man of talent.' Maturin's once famous story 'Melmoth the Wanderer,' with its demonology, made its appearance in 1820, and shared the popularity of others of its kind. It was not, however, in the school of melodramatic romance, nor in that section of it to which 'Frankenstein' belongs, that supernaturalism was destined to take its modern imprint, and only in the next decade did the use of the supernatural receive its true impetus towards a new goal. In 1830 Balzac produced the 'Peau de Chagrin.' Here, if the magic talisman itself savours of the romance of the romantics, the more or less symbolic stage-property finds its place in a psychological fiction of the greatest of then living novelists; and a few years later to the same series 'Etudes Philosophiques' was added that strangest of strange conceptions, Balzac's Swedenborgian novel 'Séraphita,' with its dual hero-heroine (Séraphita-Séraphitus) to play the *rôle* of the central actor. George Sand, the modern woman of her day and generation, wrote her spectral chronicle of 'Spiridion.' Théophile Gautier produced 'Spirite,' where the supernaturalism is placed in the everyday environment of Paris streets; and the elect short-story writer of the time amongst his fellow-countrymen—Prosper Mérimée—in one of his best-known novelettes resuscitated the mediæval legend of the abiding power of the lost gods over the sons of men in the somewhat coarse realism of his 'Vénus d'Ille.' But it was in America that supernaturalism was most completely shorn of its romantic adjuncts and disguises, for if Nathaniel Hawthorne still retains if not the framework yet a large measure of the fantasies of romance, his contemporary, Edgar Allan Poe, was accepted in England (as at an earlier date he was recognised in France) for the originator of realistic supernaturalism. With him the school which counts Sheridan Le Fanu and FitzJames O'Brien amongst its masters, and to which Bulwer Lytton's 'Strange Story' also properly belongs, the school of the 'Tale of Terror,' sprang full-

* Mr. Gosse seems to have mistaken the date of its publication, as he refers to 'Frankenstein' as the work of Shelley's *widow*.

grown into existence and created traditions which remain vital and active to this day.

Within or without this school modern novelists of the supernatural arose and multiplied. George MacDonald, with his bent towards the moral mysticism of unorthodox Christianity, Mr. Shorthouse, with kindred proclivities bereft of their heterodoxy and bound in the strait limits of ecclesiastical beliefs, have both, as one would anticipate, trespassed beyond the barriers of actuality, but, as one might also anticipate, in both writers there is an unacknowledged reversion to the atmosphere of romance, and their *modernité* is superficial rather than radical. Mrs. Oliphant, to cite another type, temporarily deserted the domestic hearth of her customary heroes and heroines to invent the tale of 'A Beleaguered City.' Mr. Marion Crawford likewise uncharacteristically touched upon the ground of the unknown in 'Mr. Isaacs.' Mr. Henry James, both in his earlier and later writings, when he is not engaged in photographing the prose of realities, is the frankest of supernaturalists. Amongst Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson's short stories are two essays at the supernatural, with the longer and more detailed narrative of 'Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.' Later still, Lucas Malet's full-fledged novel 'The Gateless 'Barrier' is an excursion into the same region, and the singularly impressive study—for despite its melodramatic sensationalism it merits the name—of Mr. Hichens's 'London 'fantasy "Flames"' may exemplify the various uses of the supernatural in its most recent developements. Without adding further to the catalogue, which can be almost indefinitely prolonged by names whose only claim to recognition lies in the perplexing fact of their popularity, it is in truth more than sufficiently evident that the supernatural in fiction has, for the present at least, established itself amongst us, and that, moreover, no one school of writers has been suffered to monopolise its use.

The new supernaturalism, so called in distinction from the supernaturalism of romance—the ladies white, grey or brown of 'The Monastery,' 'The Betrothed,' and 'My Aunt 'Margaret's Mirror,' with the white or black magic of pseudo-chivalrous romances, has, broadly speaking, drifted into three rather indefinitely circumscribed species, each determined by the aim and object with which the author has introduced it as a main thread or an incidental circumstance into his narrative.

As an ingredient in the 'Tale of Terror' it appears in its

crudest, most ordinary, and continuous form, and, one would be inclined to say for the most part, on its lowest level as a motive in art. In its more markedly modern developements it has become an element in the psychological novel, where the workings of character and the realistic study of human life are allowed to reflect the influences of agents invisible to the workaday world, and the authors, not content with penetrating below the surface of life, have essayed to pass beyond it. While between the supernaturalism of terror and the supernaturalism of realistic psychology lie manifold works—the attempts of writers who, with various degrees of success, have incorporated supernaturalism of event or influence, in novels of idealism, emotion, of fantasy, and of religious, moral, and spiritual sentiment, aspiring to embody in their fictions what may be designated as the spirit of lay mysticism. But while for convenience such a threefold classification may be admitted as a basis for the study of treatment and method, it must always be remembered that in many instances affinities of thought efface all such theoretical divisions, that the supernaturalism of terror obtrudes itself into the supernaturalism of the psychologist, that the psychologist's analysis is to be found in the 'Tale of Terror,' that both are often intermingled throughout the inventions of the idealist, the sentimentalist, the emotionalist, and the religionist.

In the stories, long or short, of which the main object is to evoke the sensation of imaginative terror, the supernatural has inevitably been largely drawn upon to contribute to the desired effect. The pleasures of fear count amongst the most popular attractions of the bookstall, and the spectral fears of the nursery are resuscitated freely for the amusement of maturity. The fact is a curious one. But there are certain apparently aimless tastes which, so far as our present experience of human nature goes, seem almost ingrained in the race. The taste for danger, for and in itself, apart from the notoriety or fame achieved in its encounter, the taste of the true-born gambler whose interest in the chances of loss or gain is based, not on the stake, but on the risk, present to those without the adventurer's spirit, or the dice-thrower's temperament, the spectacle of an insoluble enigma. Both are classified vaguely as phases of an attitude of mind specified as love of excitement, a love with which men of more phlegmatic dispositions are rarely in sympathy. Equally widely spread, though passive instead of active in operation, as the passion for peril or the

gambler's madness, is the delight, no less aimless and purposeless, in the aroused sense of terror which fiction of a certain order is designed to stimulate and intensify. 'Fear 'is a disease, cure it,' says the physician. Fear is an intellectual indulgence, provoke it, says the novelist.

The appeal to terror has been made after many manners. There have been writers—M. Villiers de l'Isle Adam in his 'Contes Cruelles' may serve as an example—who have sought to elicit the sensation by the representation of scenes of savage barbarities, of criminal violence, and bodily torture; others who, to quote Mr. Gosse's criticism of Barbey d'Aurevilly, reach the same goal by aid 'of a 'monstrous fact or have recourse to some audacious feat of 'anti-morality'; when the recoil of the instinctive and intuitive conscience takes the place of the recoil of the sympathetic nerves. But where the object is imaginative terror pure and simple, undiluted with any effort to indulge those perverted physical or moral tastes which seek their gratification in the shambles of literature, the supernatural has been the ultimate resource of most terrorist authors. Guy de Maupassant, whose judgement in such matters carries its own credentials as the judgement of a proficient in the craft, has gone so far as to assert, in a story fitly named 'La Peur,' * that without the element of the superhuman true fear cannot exist for the man of average courage. 'La vraie peur,' he says, discriminating between fear and fear, 'c'est quelque chose comme une réminiscence 'des terreurs fantastiques d'autrefois.' The assumption is, perhaps, sufficiently near the truth in life to justify its application in works of fiction. Yet like all such generalisations it allows of many exceptions. Taking the writings of the master who, in the School of Terror, has been counted first and greatest, Edgar Allan Poe, it is noteworthy that only a comparatively small number of his tales of the first rank (their inequality of merit is conspicuous) pass, strictly speaking, beyond the boundary line of the normal in nature. His stories—the burlesques omitted—as a matter of fact supply models in brief, from which writers of all sorts and conditions have drawn, not illegitimately, their several inspirations. The police novel epitomised is to be found in the 'Murders of La Rue Morgue' and 'Marie Roget.' 'Arthur Gordon Pym,' Poe's longest narrative and one of the most revolting in incident, with 'The Gold Bug,' antici-

* Contes de la Bécasse.

pate many later novels of adventure in tone and treatment. The 'Descent into the Maelstrom' and the section of kindred tales where the design (Poe here laid express claim to originality of invention) was to make a fiction plausible by the use of scientific facts and principles, struck another vein, a vein in which Mr. Wells has since sought distinction. In the appalling semi-psychological stories of 'The Black Cat,' 'The Tell-tale Heart,' and 'The Pendulum' (the last has a far more powerful counterpart in L'Isle Adam's 'La Torture 'par l'Espérance') the appeal chiefly is to instincts of physical repulsion. Their aim is the gratification of the pleasure in witnessing scenes of horror belonging amongst the educated either to natures too blunted and insensitive, or to temperaments too coarse-grained, to respond to more immaterial and subtle emotional stimulants. But, however repellent the detail, the ladder of ascent from the grosser aspect of his plots to the psychological is always discernible, and he sees most incidents under a dual aspect. So accurate, indeed, is his observation that science itself quotes him as an authority—

'Edgard Poë . . . peut être regardé comme un des observateurs des effets de la peur. Nul ne l'a plus minutieusement décrite, nul n'a su mieux analyser et faire sentir avec plus de déchirement la douleur des émotions qui stupéfient, les palpitations qui brisent le cœur, qui ébranlent l'âme, l'oppression qui suffoque dans l'agonie.' *

Yet while in the greater number of these groups of stories the element of strict supernaturalism lacks, there is no abrupt line of demarcation discernible when Poe passes in things material from the normal to the abnormal, in things spiritual from the human to the preterhuman. Without direct reference to the printed text it is difficult to recall where and in which instances he has crossed the limits of the possible. His mind would seem to be so perpetually leaning over the verge of actualism that only a turn of the head determines whether his eyes fall on the phantoms that people the abyss, or upon the passers-by who tread the solid levels of the earth. For the atmosphere, the medium through which we gaze, is always the same. One taint of moral ugliness and squalid crime, one mournful apathetic preoccupation of spirit with the diseases, the disillusions, the graveyards, literal and figurative, of humanity, one continuous emphasis, an obsession of the mind by the body, is imprinted on every page which bears his signature. Every

* 'La Peur,' Mosso.

picture he draws is the hieroglyphic of a distorted brain, a half-wrecked genius, a wholly wrecked life. The strange nightmare of death, dwelt upon until it satiates his soul like an indulged sense, left its stamp, an indelible stamp, upon his autobiographical imagination. His vision of life is epitomised in his description of the human drama.

'That motley drama! Oh, be sure
It shall not be forgot,
With its Phantom chased for evermore
By a crowd that seize it not,
Through a circle that ever returneth in
To the self-same spot;
And much of madness and more of sin
And horror, the soul of the plot.

. . . . . .

'Out, out are the lights—out all!
And over each quivering form,
The curtain a funeral pall,
Comes down with the rush of a storm.
And the angels all pallid and wan,
Uprising, unveiling, affirm
That the Play is the Tragedy "Man,"
And its hero, the Conqueror Worm.'

Such was Poe's permanent literary mood. His mind dressed itself in many costumes, but to each he imparted the same folds, and each he wore according to his own, and no other man's, fashioning. Few have given a more deeply dyed print to their individuality. In some eight or ten lyrics he set himself apart from, if not above, every poet of his time and language. To him the world, with its beauty as with its foulness, with its moving rivers as with its stagnant pools, was nothing but a wilderness peopled with images of death; and by the extraordinary quality of his rhythmical effects he accentuated the morbid languor, the fungus-coloured monotony of his opium-tinted vision. His verse was a translation of impression into sound. His prose is devoid, for the most part, of any definite appeal to the ear, but his verbal skill, without the aid of metrical adjustment of words, creates an analogous atmosphere; and the mental imagery of surroundings, sentiment and sensation infects it with kindred qualities. Permeated with these qualities his transitions from the actual to the preternatural pass unnoticed. When he turns from 'The Black Cat' to 'The Case of M. Waldemar,' from 'The Tell-tale Heart' to 'Ligeia,' from the suggested identification of

the material fabric of the House of Usher with the race who inhabit it to the embodiment of the Plague in 'The Mask of 'the Red Death,' to the 'Double' in 'William Wilson,' to the spectre horse in 'Metzengerstein,' no change of style reminds us that he is modulating from plane to plane of the possible and the impossible. No better appreciation of Poe is to be found than that of M. Baudelaire, the translator, editor, and analyst of his writings *—

'Ce tempérament unique,' he says, '. . . lui a permis de peindre et d'expliquer, d'une manière impeccable, saisissante, terrible, l'exception dans l'ordre moral . . . chez lui toute entrée en matière est attirante sans violence, comme un tourbillon. Sa solennité surprend et tient l'esprit en éveil. On sent tout d'abord qu'il s'agit de quelque chose de grave, et lentement, peu à peu, se déroule une histoire dont tout l'intérêt repose sur une imperceptible déviation de l'intellect, sur une hypothèse audacieuse, sur un dosage imprudent de la nature dans l'amalgame des facultés.'

And resuming in one memorable phrase the supreme characteristic of the man, he adds 'Poë est l'écrivain des nerfs—'et même de quelque chose de plus—et le meilleur que je 'connaisse.' 'L'écrivain des nerfs'—with an extra nerve; for method: to extend the precincts of the actual, to 'de-'grade' the tones of the abnormal till the lines of demarcation are crossed unawares, and to materialise the preterhuman so that no spiritual attributes betray its alien presence in the gross world of matter where Poe's realism sombrely revels; for aim: terror. 'The Case of M. Waldemar' illustrates the lowest rung of the intellectual ladder to which the aim in the hands of genius can descend, and from which at best it is only removed by difference of degree—a terror stimulated by every detail inciting to bodily repulsion and the instinctive recoil of mental sanity from horrors morbid in conception and revolting in presentment. With this 'extra nerve,' this method, this aim, Poe remains master of his art, as, with perhaps one exception, no other author has been.

But the question arises of itself, does the 'Tale of Terror' demand the employment of such means to the attainment of such effects? Poe has lived, written, and most tragically died. The almost perfect art of his best poems, the brilliancy of his constructive talents, the extraordinary powers of realisation in his landscape sketches—the realism of nightmares, the singular combination of morbid wildness, verging on insanity, in his ideas, with his peculiarly lucid

* 'Edgar Poë, sa Vie et ses Œuvres,' Baudelaire, Paris, 1885.

faculty for abbreviated expression, for concentration and condensation of style, have won him—more especially amongst men who are themselves adepts—a high, if not the highest, rank amongst *genre* writers.

> 'Tel qu'en Lui-même enfin l'éternité le change,
> Le Poëte suscite avec un glaive nu
> Son siècle épouvanté de n'avoir pas connu
> Que la mort triomphait dans cette voie étrange.' *

But does his genius point to the only path of success in the special school over which it may be held to preside? Are the most penetrative effects unattainable without the subordination of spiritual to material horrors? The question resolves itself into a study of the comparative excellence of other stories of the same class of composition. Sheridan Le Fanu's is the name which will at once present itself to most English readers as Poe's fellow in that particular domain of literature. And undoubtedly the author of 'Uncle Silas' possessed in a high degree the power of playing upon the nerves of his readers with sinister suggestions of shadowy perils emanating from evil human influences or ghostly monstrosities—*revenants*, vampires, were-wolves. But without depreciating his talent, which for the most part is free from the sordid moral squalor of Poe's outlook, and which never descends to his extreme ugliness of morbid detail, it must be conceded Le Fanu rarely creates that susceptible receptive attitude of mental emotionalism it is the triumph of Poe's greater genius continually to evoke. The same want makes itself felt in the companion tales of a writer less known in England than in his adopted country—America—FitzJames O'Brien. Junior to Poe by some twenty years [Poe was born in 1809, O'Brien about 1828], living, as Poe lived, the life of a spendthrift's penury, James Russell Lowell discerned in this new soldier of literary fortune a rival talent 'equal to Poe in many 'things, superior in a few.' The equality Lowell may have found in the brilliant ingenuity of O'Brien's inventions, the originality of his ideas, and the conciseness of his execution; the superiority in the fact that there is not one of his stories in which the interest is centralised on any incident of bodily horror. In the most famous, 'The Diamond Lens,' where the fanatic of the microscope is doomed to fall a victim to his passion for the marvellously beautiful nymph-animalcule enclosed in the slowly evaporating waterdrop on the slide,

* 'Le Tombeau d'Edgard Poë,' Stéphane Mallarmé.

and disclosed to his view by means of the ill-gotten lens, the whole poignancy of the situation consists in the impossibility of establishing the faintest personal link between the microscopist and the living, moving, radiant vision he beholds in its infinitesimal perfection and inaccessible remoteness. In the 'Wondersmith,' where O'Brien touches on a viler and brutalised strata of fancy, the element of Hoffmannesque fantasy still dominates the savage squalor of the human passions. The animation of the evil-faced doll-mannikins by their infection with the 'bottleful of souls,' and the scene of their midnight raid on the feathered and caged occupants of the bird-fancier's shop, has as true a touch of inspiration as the inimitable battle-of-the-mice scene in Hoffmann's 'Nutcracker'; it has the same irresistible reality of presentment, the same violent and vindictive suggestiveness; and though it borders on the confines of the *conte cruelle*, its fantastic extravagances in part redeem its barbarity. 'The Lost Room' approximates far closer to Poe's manner of thought and execution. The dreariness, the intangible oppression, the unfamiliarity of the familiar attained by the over-accentuation of the known until it has become the unknown, have the true ring of the 'Tale of Terror' at its best. Yet it is significant that in no other instance does O'Brien convey the evasive impression of shadowy dread essential to the perfection of the art.

It is in French fiction that Poe found his more formidable compeer, and perhaps amongst French novelists alone effects as sombre, as disquieting, as conclusive, have been obtained without recourse to the sensationalism of physical repulsion Poe summoned to his aid. In the most famous of Guy De Maupassant's stories of the supernatural—'Le Horla'—the suggestion of terror could scarcely be surpassed and the bounds of the extreme are touched; beyond, the tension could only snap. Yet there is no material unsightliness of incident or descriptive detail. There is terror of the intelligence, of the imagination, of the emotions, terror supreme and dominant; there is terror, too, of bodily danger, for the 'Horla'—evil, invisible, malevolent—has hands to strangle and destroy; but for the reader the sense of horror is throughout devoid of its coarser and cruder elements, and the level of art, so gained, is on another plane. It is the terror of the endless possibilities of night as compared with the terror of foul darkness in some shut cellar of a city street. Few have painted, with a profounder appreciation of the mysteries beyond, the limitation of the senses.

'Je m'éveille plein de gaîté, avec des envies de chanter dans la gorge. Pourquoi? Je descends le long de l'eau; et soudain, après une courte promenade, je rentre désolé, comme si quelque malheur m'attendait chez moi. Pourquoi? Est-ce un frisson de froid qui, frôlant ma peau, a ébranlé mes nerfs et assombri mon âme? Est-ce la forme des nuages, ou la couleur du jour, la couleur des choses, si variable, qui, passant par mes yeux, a troublé ma pensée! Sait-on? Tout ce qui vous entoure, tout ce que nous voyons sans le regarder, tout ce que nous frôlons sans le connaître, tout ce que nous touchons sans le palper, tout ce que nous rencontrons sans le distinguer, a sur nous, sur nos organes et, par eux, sur nos idées, sur notre cœur lui-même, des effets rapides, suprenants et inexplicables. Comme il est profond, ce mystère de l'Invisible! Nous ne pouvons le sonder avec nos sens misérables, avec nos yeux qui ne savent apercevoir ni le trop petit, ni le trop grand, ni le trop près, ni le trop loin . . . avec nos oreilles qui nous trompent, car elles nous transmettent les vibrations de l'air en notes sonores . . . avec notre odorat, plus faible que celui d'un chien . . . avec notre goût qui peut à peine discerner l'âge d'un vin.' *

On such a temper of mind Maupassant's imagination built those of his stories (they are few and unfortunately dispersed amongst stories of another texture) of the supernatural, of which one other, 'Sur l'Eau'—the water of a river, 'la plus sinistre des cimetières, celui où l'on n'a point 'de tombeau'—illustrates with equal power the extra-normal sense impressions as they overtake and suspend the sanity of the perceptive faculty.

And as Maupassant reigns in the circle of mental terror, so Gautier is as Saul amongst his brethren in his masterpiece of emotional terror, 'La Morte Amoureuse.'† Le Fanu rendered the vampire tradition in its customary form. 'Carmilla,' ‡ skilful as it is in treatment, is little more than a re-edited, modernized version of an old and hideous fantasy, But Gautier transfigured the monstrous features of a grim mediæval grotesque into the tragic beauty of a Medusa head. He has so riveted the attention upon the emotional agony of his terrible love story that if a measure of loathsomeness remains provocative of physical recoil, it is eclipsed by the many-coloured shadows of that supervening passion, and in that eclipse the grosser aspects, inseparable from any presentment of the vampire theme, are obscured. The two stories should be read side by side. Le Fanu has done the work of a thoroughly competent story teller, Gautier that of a great imaginative artist.

* La Maison Tellier. † 'Nouvelles,' T. Gautier.
‡ 'In a Glass Darkly,' Sheridan Le Fanu.

It is in this latter capacity that Poe's contemporary, Nathaniel Hawthorne, approached the supernatural, and, in America, with Hawthorne, supernaturalism passed into a new phase. No two writers ever employed more opposite methods. In the intensely prosaic reality Poe endeavoured to bestow upon the intangible, in the materialization of the spectral, in the logical consistencies of inventions whose base is some bold assumption of the impossible, he effaces the distinction between the facts and the nightmares superadded to the facts, until for the reader nightmare and actuality are merged in one. Moreover, he overthrows the understanding by surprise, and with a shock of terror takes credulity by violence. Hawthorne's method is in all things the reverse. Terror is seldom a feature of his dealings with things unknown. Shock and surprise are heedfully avoided. He effaces distinctions after another fashion between things of sense and substance, and things extra to sense and substance. His most successful attempts are, as it were, atmospherically conceived. He bestows an unreality upon the familiar, he grafts a strangeness upon the commonplace, gives an evasiveness to certainties. He tones down, one might say, the level of life to a dream-impression, and then lets the dream glide into it before the onlooker is aware of its presence. Where substance is painted as shadow, shadow may well bear the likeness of substance. In 'Howe's Masquerade,' the most perfect perhaps of all his tales, Hawthorne has literally exemplified this process. The crisis of the story bears so close an analogy to the crisis of Poe's 'William Wilson' that Poe's generous admiration gave way for a moment to suspicion; but his obviously unjust charge of plagiarism, brought against the rival story-teller, serves only to emphasise the wide disparities of treatment. In the one we are confronted by a psychological study; in the other we are under the spell of romance. In both the theme is the well-worn idea of a man confronted by his own wraith or 'double.' Hawthorne has invested the whole scene with a dignity which is always delicately light-handed, while the lightness never for an instant detracts from the dignity. But beyond so ordinary a characteristic of all his writings he has here significantly given us the key to his method. He has put the living actors into fancy dress before he introduces those other masqueraders upon the stage whose pantomime is voiceless, and whose feet are soundless on the stair. And whether his concern is with 'The White Old Maid,' 'The Birthmark,'

'Rappucini's Daughter,' 'Young Goodman Brown,' or 'The 'Hill of the Seven Hollows,' one is still always conscious of that fancy-dress element, that faintly fantastic clothing of earth and sky and tree and man which was the spontaneous impulse of Hawthorne's art. Poe demands more—he would extort, not solicit, faith. He confuses our intelligence—the automatic reason of the imagination—as with the gloomy darkness of a shadowed street, where the flare of naphtha or the heavy yellow gaslight leave in blackness the recesses of sombre archways. Hawthorne throws mist over that imaginative rationality. His world is moonlit; his inventions—as he himself tells us—require to be read in the same illuminated twilight in which they were written. 'Opened in sunshine, they are apt to look exceed-'ingly like a volume of blank pages.' He does not ask his readers to take him at more than his own valuation. He appeals to their sentiment, to their moral being, to their sympathies; he takes them into his confidence: the author is rarely out of sight in his tale. Whatever the figures, factors, or incidents, we are to see them as Hawthorne saw, we are to think through his thoughts, see through his sensitive vision. It is impossible to feel oneself face to face with any single object described. They are, as he hints, stories of dream-substance; and is there anything more rigidly personal, more incommunicably individual, than a dream? He is the Hans Andersen, as Poe is the Hoffmann, of the supernatural. He aspires to no realism; his charm lies in his unrivalled grace of unconcealed artificiality.

Both Poe and Hawthorne were men possessed of ultra-perceptive capacities. Hawthorne's sensitiveness amounted to an extra sense. Poe had, one is convinced, the extra nerve ascribed to him. To their genius was likewise accorded—an advantage or demerit as men view it—the particular excellence which is induced by working in a limited area, not indeed of subject but of thought. With Hawthorne the sphere in which he sought his effects was narrow; and the effects were of unvaried, or but slightly varied, kinds. Supernatural or unsupernatural, the colours assorted on Hawthorne's palette are the same, and are equally well adapted for the portrayal of a spectre or a man; and, as with Poe, only by an effort of memory can the reader recall where and in which of his works the normal slides into the abnormal. Possibly—though both Maupassant and Gautier might be instanced as proving the contrary—it is to their restrictions, voluntary or involuntary, that both owe

their pre-eminence in their own school of fiction. Other men of equal talent as story-tellers—for it is a question not of the greatness, but of the quality, of genius—have made experiment in the *genre*, but rarely with success. Mr. Stevenson made his adventure with 'Markheim' and 'Thrawn 'Janet.' But, though he worked with skill and vigour of pen, we are distinctly aware that the author of 'Treasure 'Island,' of 'Will o' the Mill,' of 'Prince Otto,' has shifted his anchor for the moment, and is applying a new tool to a new craft; while in his longer effort of 'Dr. Jekyll' Mr. Stevenson as a moralist carries more weight than Mr. Stevenson as a supernaturalist. As Balzac, by force of his psychological veracity, extorts faith in his 'Peau de 'Chagrin' with a high hand, so Mr. Stevenson by force of moral terrorism compels belief in the abnormal conditions of Dr. Jekyll's dual existence. But a suspicion will linger in the mind of every reflective reader that, were the moralism eliminated from the story, the superhumanism would carry little conviction with it. It is a case in which the pill has been shrewdly used to conceal the gilding.

The attempt to combine the human-life science of the moral or emotional psychologist with a main thread of supernaturalism was one of the earliest, as it has remained one of the most recent, efforts of the novelist. With Maupassant the 'short story' of the supernatural may be held to have said, if by no means its last word, at least a word which will not be surpassed as a work of consummate art. But the modern novel of the supernatural, as distinguished from the short story, chronicles a somewhat different record, and its literary genealogy is far less evident. It has, generally speaking, other and wider aims; it effects success or failure under other and more diverse conditions. It may be questioned whether any one endeavour gave a special impetus to literary fashion. Possibly the novel form is not favourable to the use of the supernatural as subject-matter. Le Fanu reserved his short stories for its treatment. Hawthorne's longer works, 'The House of the Seven Gables,' 'The Scarlet 'Letter,' 'Transformation,' are almost without a hint of the abnormal. Poe adhered firmly to the doctrine that a perfect work of art must be of a length to be read at one reading. His principles inhibited the novel altogether, if artistic perfection were the goal sought. 'Having conceived with de-'liberate care a certain unique or single effect to be wrought out, he [the author] then combines such events as may best aid him in establishing this preconceived effect. If his very

'initial sentence tend not to the outbringing of this effect, 'then he has failed in his very first step. In the whole 'composition there should not be a word written of which 'the tendency, direct or indirect, is not to the pre-established 'design.' Unity of effect, moreover, was not, according to his dictum, only a matter of conception and performance on the part of the author, but was equally dependent on the unbroken continuity of the reader's attention; hence it follows that all stories must be within the compass of a 'single 'hour more or less of study.' Undoubtedly terror-effects, as Poe designed them, could be attained by no other medium. Though the supreme moment is approached by graduated stages, it is always so contrived as to come swiftly and take the reader's credulity by storm. Suspense cannot be prolonged without diminution of the acute mental anxiety which should preface the catastrophe, and the catastrophe once over it is evident that no dying echoes should be permitted to blunt the sensation of horror, no lingering over the scene should be allowed to accustom the eye to the sight, of which the terror consists—how often—merely in the unfamiliarity.

Thus terror, unless used incidentally—as the tapping hand at the window in the opening chapters of 'Wuthering 'Heights'—has usually been outside the novelist's province. It has been an episode, but rarely a theme. George Sand, who may be considered one of the originators of the supernatural in moral fiction, discarded almost every semblance of terror in 'Spiridion.' Her method differed further from that of other authors in so far that she makes no attempt to introduce the supernatural as if it were contraband cargo. 'Spiridion' is a story of living souls to whom the world of dead souls has opened a window. She makes no slightest effort to deprecate scepticism or solicit belief. She expects her readers to volunteer a sympathetic and passive acceptance to possibilities that transcend experience. Her ghost masks himself in no futile disguises. He has his own reason for earthly re-existence, and his reason for re-existence is the justification for its abnormalism; he is a ghost, so to say, with a purpose—a theological, or rather anti-theological, purpose; he is an apostle risen from the dead to propagate the doctrines of an illuminated and philosophical creed. The faint glamour of romance, which in the earlier stages of the narrative clings round the figures of Spiridion and his monk-disciples, evaporates as disquisition follows disquisition, and the web

of a fanciful and beautiful legend gives way at length under the weight of controversial dogma and metaphysical speculation. Its chief interest, however, is unimpaired by its undeniable tedium; it lies in its position in the tables of literary ancestry. For even more than 'Séraphita' it is the type of the religious and moral novels of supernaturalism which were to succeed it—novels, that is, where the moral or religious element predominates over the emotional, psychological, or personal elements, in constituting the material of the fiction.

'Spiridion,' it may be, inaugurated a school, of which the later products may fairly be illustrated by examples drawn from the works of two notable modern novelists—Mr. Shorthouse and Mrs. Oliphant.

In 'A Beleaguered City' Mrs. Oliphant's story is a parable of modern life illustrating the scriptural axiom that the man of little faith 'will not be persuaded though one rose 'from the dead.' Here the dead of a certain city do arise, inspired with missionary zeal, and return, an invisible host compassed by darkness, to the abodes of the living. Their presence, felt if unseen, drives the legitimate occupants from their homes, and the streets are abandoned to the silent intruders. The evicted citizens camp around the outer walls until, tardily convinced that conversion by miracle does not necessarily imply the reorganisation of the spiritual and moral man, that it will not, in fact, lead to any 'true appreciation of the import of life,' the dead at length evacuate the city and the siege—if siege it can be called, where there is neither attack nor defence—is at an end. There is a breach in the darkness, and, after certain preliminaries of peace are negotiated, the living re-enter their homes and life resumes its common course. In this narrative there is no complication of thought and no obscurity of fact. Mrs. Oliphant has neither the help nor the hindrances of the true-born mystic. She portrays a marvel; she does not descry a mystery. And to a certain extent she achieves an effect. The opening chapters, the intimation of the inclosing darkness, the encompassment of night has, if not the extraordinary disquietude of Maupassant's 'La Nuit' (which, to those who recall it, makes other kindred efforts insignificant), still a fair measure of impressiveness. The evidence of the ensuing occurrences given by the matter-of-fact average man, in whose delineation Mrs. Oliphant here, as elsewhere, is at home, leaves little to be desired. But, and this is the point at issue,

when she supplements his testimony with that of the visionary, the spiritual idealist who alone remains in that city tenanted by the dead; when, that is to say, she tries to bring her readers into close quarters with the invaders, the collapse is entire, and one is tempted to say that except where genius, like love, laughs at locksmiths, literary talent cannot set us face to face with the Unseen.

And as Mrs. Oliphant, so also Mr. Shorthouse fell into a like snare. As a novel, in the ordinary sense of the word, 'Countess Eve' can scarcely be considered a success. Mr. Shorthouse seeks, after the manner of Hawthorne, some species of fancy dress for his romance. He, with Mrs. Oliphant, finds it in a theatrical *décor* of French Catholicism. French terms and phrases seem to supply to the pens of both authors a more convenient medium of sentiment than their more prosaic-sounding English equivalents. But, particularly with Mr. Shorthouse, the landscape, religious as well as material, which is the *mise en scène* of the story, produces that indefinable effect of merely stage portraiture. Moreover, the grasp of character is too slight; the actors—the countess, the abbess, the player, the violinist—are, as one might say, too ornamental, to incite us to belief; they are unreal as regards life, without the compensation of imaginative vitality. On the other hand, as the conception of a plot in which the supernatural was to serve as a main factor, there were possibilities of an interest subtler than any Mrs. Oliphant conceived of. The idea of the story, if we understand it aright—which the obscurity and confusion of the narrative make dubious—is full of latent suggestiveness, full of promised, but unrealised, developements of thought and action.

To take the idea detached from the action, it would seem to be deduced from a supposition that thought may, under certain conditions, become so intensely vital that, severed from the thinker, it may enter upon an independent existence of its own; that in that phase of existence it may obtrude itself upon the consciousness of another person, enter within the spheres of other lives, and may even become, from an influence a presence, apparent to the senses of certain elect individuals. Applied by Mr. Shorthouse, the theory dramatises itself. Countess Eve's husband has sinned a pre-marriage sin. His sin has materialised its spiritual essence, and, thus embodied, the sin becomes in its turn a Tempter. In the form of the spectral Abbé it whispers new desires into the young wife's ears, and instigates the

play-actor to seek the gratification of his and her fugitive passion in the consummation of evil. Such is the theme. The thought and the form of thought are in themselves singularly complete. But the workmanship is defective. The figure of the ghost-abbé, visible to three of the actors in the little drama, hangs rather like a broken thread in mid-air; it comes on the stage an unaccounted-for personality, and only by an effort of attention does the reader discover the legitimate connexion of the phantom with the husband's prematrimonial intrigue. Moreover, whenever we are brought face to face with the apparition, whenever, as in 'A Beleaguered City,' suggestion is abandoned for direct presentment, there is the same anti-climax of impression, and the conviction is re-enforced that the author's art is inadequate for the author's aim.

Yet though such writers of undeniable excellence have both, according to our estimation, failed, it is more than possible that other methods of treatment exist by which the difficulties they found insuperable may be overcome—methods by which the supernatural may be introduced and pass unchallenged the sympathetic or imaginative incredulity of intellectual sceptics. Modern psychology, at least, hints at some first principles for the guidance of authors. It has taught us that the origin of all belief—and it is belief in his fiction as possible, that the novelist must compel—lies in sensation. 'Plus ou moins masquée, la sensation est la 'condition, sine quâ non, de la croyance, et il nous est 'impossible de croire à ce dont nous ne pouvons immédiate-'ment ou médiatement avoir une perception sensible.'* Science has gone further, it has attempted—it is for the scientist to say with what success—to determine the degrees of conviction induced by the evidence of the several senses of hearing, seeing, and touching. For, setting aside the more indistinct perceptions of taste and smell, we are told that (though opinions differ as to the order of merit) the testimony of the ear stands lowest, that of the eye next, that of touch—at a greatly increased ratio—foremost in the scale. It would seem to follow, without entering into scientific details, that according to the author's power of depicting sensation, according to his power of awakening the echo of sensations depicted, of forcing his readers sympathetically to see, to hear, to touch, so will be his power of engendering a preliminary belief. But this talent is not enough; to

* 'Psychologie de la Croyance,' Camille Bos.

it must be added that of delineating emotion with equal vigour. Belief is a complex process. Once engendered, if it is not to die still-born, if it is not to remain 'un non-être, 'un mot vide,' the vitalising presence of an emotion is requisite. The terrorist was aware instinctively of this. Fear, the emotion which above all others unhinges the will and disorganises the resources of reason, is in his stories the vivifying principle. Who trembles believes. Where fear has ceased to be the accompaniment of the supernatural, belief must seek, as it were, its nutriment in some other emotional envelopement.

It is doubtless improbable that any novelist has yet worked consciously upon the principles of psychological analysis, and when the scientist adds to sensation and emotion further conditions essential to belief, of memory, will, habit and expectancy, the lay mind is left with an uneasy suspicion that it is being conducted round a circle expressed in the formula that if man must see to believe, he must no less believe in order to see. Yet some initial and elementary axioms remain for the guidance, if not of the writer, of the critic. It is more than possible that it is the deficiency of emotional power that leaves us wholly unimpressed by the supernaturalism of the moralist and the religionist in the novels cited of George Sand, of Mrs. Oliphant, and Mr. Shorthouse; more than possible that it is the vividness with which Gautier has drawn the reciprocal passion of Guy de Malivert and the dead girl, that gives the hazardous supernaturalism of 'Spirite' its singular hold upon the reader's mind.

Gautier's theme is more or less identical with that of a book which, being of recent date, will be better remembered—Lucas Malet's 'Gateless Barrier.' Each novel deals with the love of a living man for a dead woman whose affections, surviving death intact, still seek in a phantasmal embodiment of her former semblance the happiness of a union life had withheld. Beyond the bare outline of the subject-matter, method and treatment are radically reversed. Where the English novel at one stroke sets us face to face with a pink-gowned ghost-figure in the traditional haunted chamber of fiction, the French artist preludes Spirite's apparition with gradual manifestations—manifestations always allowing the possibility of a natural interpretation, until doubts are resolved by the reflection in the mirror of that one face in all the world which brings with it to Malivert its revelation of predestined passion. But it is not alone in the delicate deliberateness of Gautier's handi-

craft that the two works afford a curious contrast. In 'Spirite' the intercourse between the two lovers has for its key-note the spiritualisation of the man's whole nature, his estrangement from material desire by the infection of the fair soul whose fugitive human semblance eludes not the touch but the grasp of sense. The climax of the story is reached when Spirite repents that she has overtaxed Malivert's strength of soul, leading him to love her, not as a spirit with the desire of the eternal marriage of pure souls, but as a woman, very fair to behold, with the desire of earthly union. Extraordinarily pathetic is the scene when, renouncing the last poor vanity of mortal affection, she resumes the remote ethereality of her spiritual semblance. 'La *femme* a voulu être aimée—et j'ai failli te perdre à 'jamais,' she cries, in terror of the penalty which awaits the unworthiness of material passion. And the beauty which was the delight of his eyes, the feminine tenderness of those faint caresses, the gaieties of a too mundane happiness are withdrawn from her lover, and no surface veil of the girlhood which is dead is again suffered to humanise the austerer radiance of the soul which is alive.

In the 'Gateless Barrier' the outlook is reversed. There the whole endeavour of the lover is not to divest himself of materiality, but to re-endow the spectral existence of the gentle soul he loves, with matter, with the needs, the desires, the passions of the dust and the clay of human nature. He would 'establish her in this earthly life she 'was re-entering, and chain her spirit to this recovered 'human body by some corporeal act.' The catastrophe is centred in the supper-scene, where, inverting the position of our primeval parents, the man tempts the phantom to eat of the fruit of the earth outspread before her, and to become not as the gods, but as other women are.

In both novels the love-interest predominates over all other interests. Whether—to return to psychological principles—it provides a sufficiently strong emotional current to open a passage for the supernatural facts represented, whether the emotion has impetus enough to carry the abnormalism of the narrative beyond the bar where imagination rejects the impossible in art no less than in life, is an open question. The only criterion of success is the infinitely varying susceptibility of the individual reader, and judgement founded on such necessarily conflicting testimony must merely represent a personal opinion. For the public at large possibly no emotion in relation to the supernatural

can quite vie with the emotion of terror as used by the earlier novelists; no other emotion can give so vivid an hallucination of reality to the unreal. 'Si l'homme in-'trépide peut quelque fois se tromper, celui qui a peur se 'trompe toujours;' and, in fiction, this deception by fear reigns so far paramount over the deception by love.

The most powerful novel of the most modern school of the psychological supernaturalist, and one which reflects most closely the temper of the day, seems to corroborate this conjectural theory of the principles underlying the successful presentment of the preterhuman. In 'Flames,' Mr. Hichens has interwoven a double thread of emotion with his supernaturalist plot. He has reinforced the concentrated sentiment of terror belonging to the main episodes of the story, with the sentiment of a girl's—a girl of the London streets—absolutely selfless and self-sacrificing passion for the man whose honour, whose whole moral being, is falling a prey to the malign influence clothed in the semblance of his dead friend. In the skilful interchange of one master emotion with another, in the alternation of love with terror, or in some scenes by the fusion of both, he has prolonged the tension of nerve and the tension of sympathy beyond the possible duration of either as an isolated sentiment; and in so doing, above other authors, he has created for many readers that condition of mental receptivity which admits of a passive acquiescence in what is abnormal. And, further, it may be noted that his terror is mainly an incorporeal terror: it is the terror of 'Le Horla,' of 'Sur l'Eau'—a horror realistically human, but intellectual rather than physical; while, in what we may call the secondary emotional element, the passion of the girl, though equally and recognisably human, is of the nature of those loves the soul has made holy with the whiteness of its everlasting fires. But once more the predestined failure of the supernaturalist overtakes Mr. Hichens, as it has overtaken his fellows in the craft. In his direct presentment of the re-incarnated Tempter his actuality of touch forsakes him. When the mask is withdrawn, when suggestion is supplanted by description, when the evil counterfeit is unveiled before our eyes in his acts and thoughts, his aspect is more that of a pictured devil in a Danse Macabre than an evil reality of distorted manhood.

So terrorist, moralist, religionist, emotionalist, and psychologist have, each after his kind, taken up the parable and evolved out of the raw material of the abnormal and preterhuman a feature—never more prominent than now—

of literary art. The radius embraces too wide a circle to allow criticism to follow its branches to their ultimate bifurcations, and each man can supplement for himself the list of authors cited. But, theorising yet further upon the conditions favourable or adverse to the production of the best work of their particular school, it would seem that the attitude of mind of the author should admit of no neutrality of belief in the supernatural. Secure credulity or secure scepticism would appear—either the one or the other—to promise a greater measure of success, a sharper touch, a clearer outline than the waverer between faith and unfaith can ever attain. The believer will work on the basis of his faith, the disbeliever will work on the basis of his imagination. Both will work with certainty of hand, certainty of reality in the conception will invigorate the believer, certainty of imaginative invention will stimulate the sceptic, while both forms of certainty will be denied to the agnostic, whose conception of what cannot be is crossed and recrossed at every turn by his conception of what, after all, may be. The attitude of mind of believer and unbeliever, thus bracketed together in antithesis to the attitude of mind in which the agnostic stands alone, is in truth but a further practical application of the teaching of philosophy to literary art, 'l'incroyance est encore une forme, souvent une forme 'supérieure de la croyance.' Believer and unbeliever, even in the authorship of fiction, stand confessed as the two ends of the same pole, and dogmatic negation will produce work of one blood and race with dogmatic affirmation.

ART. VII.—1. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham.* By GEORGE LIPSCOMB, Esq., M.D. In 4 vols. London: J. & W. Robins. 1831–1847.

2. *Magna Britannia.* By Rev. D. LYSONS and S. LYSONS, Esq. New Ed. London: 1806.

3. *The History and Antiquities of the Town, Hundred, and Deanery of Buckingham.* By BROWNE WILLIS, Esq., LL.D. London: Printed for the Author. 1755.

4. *Memorials of Old Buckinghamshire.* Edited by the Rev. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A. London: Bemrose & Sons. 1901.

NEW investigations are constantly affording fresh material to the local historian, and are consequently causing a critical eye to be cast upon histories of the English counties which have hitherto been regarded as of standing and of authority. The four volumes of Lipscomb's History of Buckinghamshire have for many years held a high place among county histories, but it is impossible at the present day to turn over the pages of this work without perceiving not only its many imperfections, but its absence of historical proportion. Lipscomb is by no means always accurate in his dates, and his pages are filled with an immense number of transcripts from the monuments of unimportant persons. His architectural information is not only scanty but vague, and he seldom endeavours to trace the architectural history of a church. Of the literary and historical interests of the county he has no broad conception, and any one who perused his pages would find it difficult to form a general idea either of the social, historical, or scenic characteristics of Buckinghamshire. Nevertheless his work which was completed in 1847 preserved a vast amount of information, and remains of great value in spite of its defects. It is one of the melancholy curiosities of literature that while these four goodly volumes are now worth a considerable sum the industrious and patient but unfortunate author was ruined by the production of them, and died a bankrupt as the result of his antiquarian zeal. The first volume of the Lysons' 'Magna Britannia,' which includes in its pages the county of Buckingham, has little value from an architectural or social point of view, and the scheme of the work was too large to permit of minuteness of detail. Since the date of the publication of Lipscomb and Lysons numerous works, touching on some part of the

county, have been published, but there yet remains an opportunity for a county history which will answer the modern test, which demands accuracy, original research, and an appreciation of modern knowledge in many branches of learning. Of monographs on various places in Buckinghamshire there have been several, concerned chiefly with Olney and Cowper, or Jordans and William Penn. Of the latest of these, the 'Memorials of Old Buckinghamshire,' there is not much to be said; it is a collection of miscellaneous essays, which, however interesting, adds little to our knowledge of the county, being inferior in importance to the papers published, now for quite a number of years, by the Buckinghamshire Archæological Society, which have thrown not a little light upon the antiquities of the county, and have, if we may say so, continued to improve, becoming more definite in aim and more precise in the treatment of local subjects. Such works as the publications of this Society become every day more valuable, since it is on the careful examination of localities that the general historian must depend for his foundations.

Buckinghamshire is remarkable rather by reason of the absence of certain characteristics than by their presence, but it is almost unique in one respect, that the shire can be regarded for its own sake; it is not dominated by some important town or noteworthy building. Cheshire is an important county, but most people associate it in their minds with the ancient Roman city of Chester. Oxfordshire is a delightful county, but what would Oxfordshire be without Oxford and its University? And if we go further north we may perhaps say that to most people the name of Durham represents a great cathedral town in the North. But Buckinghamshire does not possess a single community which is really worthy of the name of a town in its modern signification; its towns—though we may except High Wycombe—are little more than large villages; Buckingham, its county town, has 3,152 inhabitants, whilst Aylesbury, Winslow, and Newport-Pagnell are of the smallest description.* It does not possess a castle or cathedral, and its churches, interesting as many of them are in particular details, are so scattered over the rural districts, so inter-

* At the Census of 1901 the population of the county of Buckingham was 197,046; of Buckingham, 3,152; of Aylesbury, 9,243; of High Wycombe, 15,546; against 185,284, 3,364, 8,922, 13,435, respectively at the Census of 1891.

mingled with the village life of the county that they are essentially parts of the shire. Eton, it is true, is in Bucks, but Eton belongs to England, and it is almost impossible to associate the place merely with Buckinghamshire as a county.

The social condition of Buckinghamshire is in keeping with its architecture, and, if we may say so, town life. Its inhabitants are entirely engaged in agricultural pursuits. Agriculture is the main occupation of its inhabitants—from the cornfields of the Bedfordshire border and the meadows of Olney to the extensive pastures of the Vale of Aylesbury, and from the summits of the Chilterns to the banks of the Thames. It is true that that agriculture varies greatly in character, and that nothing can be more in contrast than the enormous pastures, the immemorial grazing-grounds which stretch about the brooks which wind between Winslow and Aylesbury, and the flinty ploughs which are to be found on the southern slopes of the Chilterns, and upon which meagre crops of corn are raised among the still numerous woodlands. From the latter springs the most important of its town industries. Two of these are peculiar to the county. One—that of chair-making—is in truth part of the pursuit of the woodland industry created by the extensive beech woods of South Buckinghamshire; the rise of the other—the lace-making industry of Buckinghamshire, essentially a homely handicraft, harmonising well with the tranquil character and scenery of the county—has been attributed to two different causes, the first that it was established by a number of Flemish lace-makers who emigrated to England from the Low Countries to escape from Spanish tyranny. They settled in the north-east of the county, chiefly about Newport-Pagnell and the surrounding villages, and in an adjoining part of Bedfordshire, and the industry gradually extended to Hanslope on the west and Olney on the east. But it is hardly likely that foreign lace-makers would have settled in this particular part of England had they not known that there existed in it an industry similar to that which they carried on in their own land; it was evidently this knowledge which caused French emigrants to come to Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire in 1794. For the other cause we are referred to the residence of Katherine of Aragon at Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, from 1531 to 1533, pending her appeal to the Pope. She was a proficient in the art of needle-work, and there is good reason to suppose that she solaced herself not only by practising the art but by

spreading it among the surrounding peasantry; and until the latter half of the nineteenth century 'Cattarn's' Day, November 25, was kept as the annual holiday of the lace-makers.* As time went on a knowledge of the art of lace-making extended throughout the county of Buckingham, and De Foe, who used to travel over every part of England, says of Aylesbury: 'Many of the poor here are 'employed in making lace for edgings not much inferior to 'those of Flanders, but it is some pleasure to us to observe 'that the English are not the only nation in the world which 'admires foreign manufactures above its own, since the 'French, who gave fashions to most nations, buy "d'Angle-'terre" or English laces;' and of Newport-Pagnell he says, 'The town carries on a great trade in bone lace, and the 'same manufacture employs all neighbouring villages;' while Don Manuel Gonzales, in 1730, speaks of its lace as little inferior to that of Flanders. It was practised alike by men and women, and in 1801 out of the 1,275 inhabitants of Hanslope 800 were lace-makers, and in several of the larger villages schools existed for its teaching. So long ago as 1626 Sir Henry Borlase founded and erected the free school of Great Marlow for twenty-four boys and for twenty-four girls to knit, spin, and make bone lace; and though this industry has decreased, to this day the homely lace-maker may be seen sitting at the cottage door pursuing her quiet industry.

Buckinghamshire lace is, and has been always, pillow lace, but there are two kinds, differing in pattern but not in their manner of manufacture—bone or bobbin and pillow point. But this use of the word point is inaccurate, since point lace is, strictly speaking, lace made with a needle on a parchment pattern; each kind is, however, by no means difficult of imitation, and the demand for it is so fluctuating as to prevent it at the present time from being a large or continuously flourishing business. Fashions have so changed that a king, as was the case with William III., is never likely to order several hundred pounds' worth of lace, and the demand for it must depend partly upon prevailing fancies and partly upon the energy of those who are anxious to maintain the village industries of England. But now, as two or three centuries ago, the manner of working is the same, and in many parts of Buckinghamshire it is still usual to see a woman having on her lap the large round pillow to

* Palliser, 'History of English Lace,' 4th ed. 1902, p. 383.

which the paper, whereon the pattern of the work is drawn, is fastened by a number of pins round which the thread is worked by quickly moving bone bobbins. It is an industry which appeals little either to youth or intelligence, and has never been better described than by Cowper, with his singular power of depicting the local life around him.

> 'Yon cottager, who weaves at her own door,
> Pillow and bobbins all her little store,
> Content though mean, and cheerful if not gay,
> Shuffling her threads about the livelong day,
> Just earns a scanty pittance, and at night
> Lies down secure, her heart and pocket light;
> She, for her humble sphere by nature fit,
> Has little understanding, and no wit.'

North of the Chilterns there are still to be found quarries which have been used from very ancient times, such as that of the well-known Portland stone at Hartwell, where a clay between the stone and the Kimmeridge clay was obtained by the Romans for pottery, and is now used for bricks. But these are mere sporadic occupations and give no character to the county, which, in spite of its length and of its differences of soil and scenery, is thus singularly homogeneous.

Of the successive periods of the history of Buckinghamshire there are various evidences. Of the age of the Britons there remain only the so-called camps, mere grassy mounds near which are indications of rude ditches. Of these the best known is the striking earthwork which is popularly called Cymbeline's Mound or Kimble Castle, close to Ellesborough, tradition having rashly connected it with the rule of King Cunobelinos. It is possible enough that this chief, whose headquarters were at Camulodunon (Colchester), but who also possessed Verlamion (St. Albans), should have had a fortified post on the spurs of the Chilterns, which project northwards into the vale of Aylesbury and dominate the fertile fields at their feet. But to identify this fort with a particular chieftain is to venture from surmise to unfounded assertion of a fact.

Indeed any critical consideration of the history of Buckinghamshire constantly reveals glaring instances of guesses being formulated as facts. Of this the so-called Whiteleaf Cross is the best example.

This curious object was long popularly considered a relic of the Anglo-Saxons and as a monument of a battle between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes. It is, however, now pretty clear, not a little from the entire absence of any mention

among early authors, that it is more probably an indication of the crossing of the Icknield Way at this spot by the road which here descends the escarpment of the Chilterns and connects Hampden, Missenden, and Wycombe—in fact, the whole district south of the Chilterns—with Thame and Oxford. It has also been surmised that it had some connexion with the defence of the Chilterns during the Civil Wars, a natural barrier, as it was, between Middlesex, London, and the Midlands against the Royalist army. But this explanation has less to recommend it than that it was a mark for travellers of a place of considerable importance, for we have to remember that it was only here and there that in by-gone ages it was possible to pass through the wild and dangerous woodlands of the Chilterns, though it may very well be objected to this explanation that the cross cannot be seen from the north or east, and is not therefore a conspicuous object from all sides. It is possible, however, that these surmises of antiquarians are all erroneous, and that this cross and the small cross at Bledlow may be only private landmarks which the nature of the soil rendered easy to make and to see.

Of the Romano-British Age there are no remains that can be regarded as important, either from an historical or from an archæological point of view. The Roman 'villas' at High Wycombe and Latimers, the sites of which after being cleared are now again grass-grown, coins and vases discovered here and there indicate the effect of Roman civilization on the county, but they are without any peculiar value or suggestiveness.

Of the Saxon age little is visible to the eye. It is shown in the nomenclature of many towns and villages, telling of the existence of numerous communities—Buckingham, Aylesbury, Chalfont, Denham—taking these places as examples in a line from the north to the south of the county, every one Anglo-Saxon in its origin, that we have the best indications of the age in question.

The devotion of the Normans and their immediate successors to the Church of Rome is visible throughout the richest portions of Buckinghamshire, from the valley of the Ouse to the valley of the Thames. The fragments of Medmenham, Notley, and Burnham Abbeys, the churches of Stewkley and Wing, are striking indications both of the religious zeal and of the flourishing state of the Norman landowners during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but of the numerous religious houses before the dissolution of the

monasteries with which the county was studded—Biddlesden, Lavenden, Ravenstone, Missenden, and Quarendon—hardly a trace remains.

Of the amazing change which was caused in the social and proprietarial condition of England by the Conquest Buckinghamshire affords many examples—as in the north, where Geoffrey, Bishop of Constance, and William's half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, became the possessors of some of the most fertile land which before had belonged to Saxon landowners. It may, indeed, be said with some certainty that the study of county history helps best to the realising of the results of the Conquest, for in no other way are its effects so completely grasped.

Of the later period of English history the chief characteristic of the county may be considered to be its devotion to what in these days would be called Nonconformity. That in the fifteenth century the people of Buckinghamshire should be deeply influenced by the teaching of Wycliffe and of his assistants is not surprising. This county was at no great distance from the two centres from which Wycliffe and his preachers started on their journeys—Lutterworth, his own living, and Oxford, his own University. Ludgershall, in Buckinghamshire, between Oxford and Aylesbury, was a living which he obtained and exchanged for Fillingham in 1368; but during the time that he held this preferment he seems to have been a non-residential rector, the not distant Oxford being his place of abode. Still the mere tenure of Ludgershall would be sufficient to give to Wycliffe a peculiar interest in Buckinghamshire, and to strengthen his influence among its landowners and its peasantry, even after he had settled down in Leicestershire. And among the dismal stories which attach to the town of Amersham are those of the executions of numerous Lollards.

When we come down to the age of the Stuarts the same tendency is seen in the adherence of the majority of the Buckinghamshire squires, among whom Hampden is immortal, and of those in social circumstances beneath them, to the cause of the Parliament. Aylesbury during the Civil War was more than once the headquarters of Essex's army, opposed alike in position and religious feelings to Oxford, where the King's army was lying. Half a century later Buckinghamshire produced enthusiastic adherents to the cause of George Fox, and from Aylesbury to Chalfont there was not a village in which were not to be found steadfast supporters of Quakerism willing to suffer all sorts of pains

and penalties for their cause. Of a later age, of the politics and letters of the eighteenth century, memories are recalled not only by the melancholy magnificence of Stowe, but by Beaconsfield, Bulstrode, Dropmore, and Stoke Pogis. But the associations which belong to these and other places in modern times do not alter the main characteristics of Buckinghamshire in the past.

Unquestionably the most striking natural feature of Buckinghamshire is formed by the hills which, known as the Chilterns, have had a marked influence both on the scenery and the character of the county—part of the range which, commencing in Yorkshire, extends down England to Dorsetshire, and is known as the Wolds in the north and the Downs in the south. It enters Buckinghamshire on the east by the Hertfordshire border and continues, as far as Buckinghamshire is concerned, to the Thames, and reaches in several parts a height of over 800 feet. The effect of this range agriculturally has been to make most of northern and central Buckinghamshire a grazing and pastoral county from an early age, the famous Creslow pastures having furnished the royal tables with beef in the time of Elisabeth. On the other hand it has caused South Buckinghamshire to have a poor and chalky soil, resulting in lighter crops of grass and in pastures only in the valleys or in the waterless bottoms which are characteristic of the Chiltern group. It has affected the county architecturally as well as agriculturally in a manner that will be presently pointed out, and in early days it created a marked contrast between the wide and easily governed tract of the north and the impervious beech woods to the south, full of outlaws from the adjoining counties. Even the sportsman notes the difference caused by the range. The Vale of Aylesbury has long been renowned for the facilities which it affords for hunting; it is almost useless to the shooter, whereas on the south of the Chilterns the condition is reversed, and partridge and pheasant shooting is excellent. For the lover of the picturesque the secluded valleys and bottoms, the flint-built farms and thatched cottages in quiet nooks around the small grey church are very attractive, though the northern portion of the county with its wide views, its pleasant undulations, and its church-crowned hills has many charms. But, pleasant as it is, it resembles other parts of England, and it is unquestionable that it is the district of the Chilterns which is the distinguishing part of Buckinghamshire.

Nowhere in England so well as on the southern sloping

summits of the Chilterns can the beech be studied; the tall green stately trunks rise from a perpetual carpet of fallen leaves, leaves at one season red, at another brown, from which here and there the white flints emerge. In these silent spaces the beauty and the antiquity of this range is realised. Through the narrow woodland aisles—for the beech is the most architectural of trees, and with its well-defined, smooth, and pillar-like trunks much resembles a Gothic pier—there comes a glimpse of the light plough-land in the 'bottom' below, and, if the western sun attracts the eye, through the long intervening aisles are visible indistinct groups of cottages, villages in the wide outspreading vale which extends towards Oxford and the borders of Northamptonshire. Sometimes in winter or spring the wayfarer will find his path barred by the long spare trees laid low on the dry leaves; around their heads are the clean thin branches, now separated by the axe of the woodman, but still encircling the trunk. The beech is the most delightful of trees, for it is at once changeful and beautiful. Only in the Chilterns can it be seen in its completeness; in spring one may look down on acres of a peculiarly light delicate green, which when June has come take a shining soberness of colour. With the last weeks of September patches of yellow and red begin to break the continuity of colour, and, as in the spring so in the autumn, the hues deepen till a rich brown overspreads the hollows and the hill-sides, until, under the influence of the early frost, the leaves fall to make a rich carpet from which rise the shining green trunks.

Another phase of beech life is found at Burnham, where the huge short pollarded stems have thrown out thick short branches, almost as fantastic in shape as the olive. But the Burnham Beeches, famous as they are, are in a sense artificial. The wide-spreading solitary beech of the park or the garden, of which magnificent specimens are to be seen in the valleys of the Chilterns and on the edge of many woods, cannot give the impression of quiet grandeur which belongs to an extensive beech wood.

These beech forests, whose density can still easily be realised by one who will look down from Penn or Combe Hill over the level and far-spreading masses of woodland, affected the social character of the county. They became the hiding-place of bands of lawless men—a rural Alsatia which was a danger to the surrounding district. It was this lawlessness which caused the appointment of a functionary

known as the Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds—of Stoke, Desborough, and Burnham—that is, of the district lying between the Chilterns, the Thames Valley, and the borders of Hertfordshire. The office would probably by this time have been forgotten had it not served by reason of a Parliamentary fiction to enable the retirement of members of the House of Commons. It is regarded as an office of profit under the Crown the acceptance of which makes a person ineligible any longer to sit in the House without a new election. This curious use so far as regards the particular office seems to have been first practised in 1740, and since that date the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds has become part of the recognised Parliamentary practice.

The natural character of the county, as has been said, has largely affected the architecture of Buckinghamshire, for we find a marked difference in it to the north and to the south of the Chiltern range, the churches which are to be found in the more fertile part, and therefore in the Middle Ages the richest, the most populous, and the most secure, being the more noteworthy. From Olney to Monks Risborough—that is, from the meadows of the Ouse to the southern edge of the Vale of Aylesbury—there are a succession of ancient churches, mixed in style, it is true, but generally of some distinction and nearly always marked by some feature of importance, though, with the exception of the Norman church at Stewkley, the Decorated churches at Olney and Milton Keynes, and the Perpendicular churches at Maids Morton and Hillesdon, not one can be pointed to as an example of a single style. They number more than two hundred, and are clustered within a few miles of one another. Of details of Early English work the best examples are the chancel of Chetwode, the towers of Haddenham, Aylesbury, and Monks Risborough. In the chancel and windows at Emberton, the spire at Olney, and the east window and other parts at Great Horwood we find interesting instances of Decorated architecture, while at Maids Morton there is a good Perpendicular tower, and at North Marston a rich chancel in the same style. These are but some of the most noteworthy examples of details belonging to different periods, but they emphasise the fact that though Buckinghamshire possesses no famous ecclesiastical building it yet possesses a number of Gothic churches, hardly one of which is without some feature of interest and value.

On the northern spurs of the Chilterns raised above the low ground there extends from Ellesborough to Monks Ris-

borough a line of churches of great antiquity, not large in size, but uniform in general architectural treatment, the main features of which are of the late Decorated style or of the Transitional period before the more rigid features of Perpendicular architecture had become established. They form an interesting study, being a link between the high-standing churches of the north and those which on the Chilterns are usually placed in some secluded bottom. Nothing indicates more clearly the difference between the habits of the people in mediæval times north and south of the Chilterns than the position of the villages and churches. The Vale of Aylesbury was a tract often flooded in winter, where villagers in summer days could in the low-lying meadows pasture the cattle, whilst south of the Chilterns the object of the people was to dwell in the valleys which alone afforded space for agriculture or the feeding of cattle.

The moment, however, that on the summits of the Chilterns we turn our faces towards the wooded valleys which spread out fan-like from this base we find in the meadows lying below the beech-covered slopes villages with churches without distinction, and generally built externally of flint on the site of old churches of bad construction, which, except in fragmentary details, have long disappeared. Relics of these more ancient buildings are constantly met with, but they are always isolated examples—details of a building, exemplification of the constant change in ecclesiastical architecture.

Though an admirable detail here or there cannot give character to a building such a feature is always interesting and often beautiful. Thus in the Early English doorway of the small church at Cholesbury there is seen a detail which in its simple and refined work is quite an architectural gem, and shows how greatly modern ecclesiastical architecture is behind that of the mediæval Gothic, both in conception and execution. Indeed, it is in the village church that one must look for the surest sign of the architectural feeling of an age, and an examination of the village churches of Buckinghamshire shows how great is the gulf between the average ecclesiastical architecture of the past and the present. A study too of the architecture of village churches will serve as a warning against the placing of too much reliance on arbitrary distinctions of architectural periods, since in them we are constantly brought into contact with examples of work which belong to a style anterior to that in which the building was constructed. It is thus dangerous to label some

important part of a structure, pillars or towers, as belonging definitely to a particular style, and so to give an erroneous idea of the date of its erection. And here a word must be said for the admirable and conservative manner in which in Buckinghamshire the old churches have been restored to their earlier condition and freed from the encumbrances of the last two centuries.

In some instances, more especially in the case of fonts, the contrast between the relic of a past age and its present surroundings is very noticeable. At Monks Risborough and Great Kimble, sometimes in churches which have been so much restored that they are almost modern in feature, we find Norman fonts of striking design and boldness of execution, not inferior to the fine font of the same style at Aylesbury. In fact the old fonts constitute, perhaps, the most memorable characteristic both of the Norman and earlier Gothic style in Buckinghamshire. For with the exception of Stewkley, on the east side of the Vale of Aylesbury, which is little inferior as an example of Norman architecture to the famous church at Iffley, near Oxford, and Olney in the valley of the Ouse, which is a completely Decorated church, we have, as we have said, in Buckinghamshire generally to be content with remnants of architecture illustrative, no doubt, of the continual change in ecclesiastical buildings, and with churches which gain not a little of their interest from their agreeable surroundings.

And where churches are not of the first architectural importance additional archæological value attaches to their brasses and monuments. Among the latter are in Buckinghamshire to be seen many interesting examples of the monumental art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the best known and finest of which are among the tombs of the Russells at Chenies. Once again it may be permitted to reproduce Mr. Froude's excellent description of the most admirable of these memorials.

'The material is alabaster, the pink veins in the stone being abundant enough to give a purple tint to the whole construction. The workmanship is extremely elaborate, and belongs to a time when the temper of men was still manly and stern, and when the mediæval reverence for death was still unspoiled by insincerity and affectation. The hands are folded in the old manner. The figures are not represented as sleeping, but as in a trance, with the eyes wide open. The faces are evidently careful likenesses; the Earl has lost an eye in action—the lid droops over the socket, as in life. His head rests on his corslet; his sword is at his side. He wears a light coronet and his beard falls low on his breast. The features do not denote a man

of genius, but a loyal and worthy servant of the State, cautious, prudent, and thoughtful. The lady's face is more remarkable, and it would seem from the pains which have been taken with it that the artist must have personally known and admired her, while the Earl he may have known only by his portrait. The forehead of the Lady Anne is strong and broad, the nose large, the lips full but severely and expressively closed. She looks upward as she lies, with awe, but with a bold heart, stern as a Roman matron. The head is on a cushion, but the Earl's baldric would have formed as suitable a pillow for a figure so commanding and so powerful.'

But in the mediæval effigies at Hughenden and Clifton Reynes, in the beautiful Brudenell monument which has been removed from the old to the new church at Stoke Mandeville, in the Lee monument at Aylesbury, and the realistic eighteenth-century monument to the Cheynes at Drayton Beauchamp are yet again instances of work which admirably illustrates the art of the age of those whom they commemorate, and is the more striking because they are found in small churches where they are not lost among a number of memorials extending over several centuries. Who in the quiet village church of Ravenstone would expect to see the elaborate and splendid monument to Lord Chancellor Finch (1682), the form and features of that able and tactful lawyer portrayed in marble beneath a canopy, a monument whose only blemish is the fanciful conceit of the drawn-back curtains encircling the black marble pillars? Nowhere, indeed, is it more agreeable and profitable to study ecclesiastical architecture or art than in the village churches of England, and we could wish that more of the clergy would keep their churches open, so that the passing student might have less trouble than he frequently experiences in obtaining access to what are, after all, permanent historic memorials.

Equally remarkable are the monumental brasses which are to be found all over Buckinghamshire, especially in the southern part—many unaffected by time, and contrasting vividly with their modern setting, extending over the entire period from the middle of the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth century, in which this durable form of memorial prevailed, and which commenced and ended with a singular abruptness in Buckinghamshire, as throughout the rest of England. We may be surprised to find an art of a somewhat elaborate kind so abundant in a poor secluded district, such as was the space of woodland and valley which extended from the Chilterns to the Colne. But we must remember that it was at no great distance from London, which was the headquarters of a number of artists in brasses, whose work

is to be found in the country from the metropolis to the Vale of Aylesbury, and that possibly some may have been obtained from the Continent. The Buckinghamshire brasses are usually small, and commemorate men of no great social importance, but who seized the opportunity to leave to posterity the likenesses of their relatives, honest Englishmen who in their own day in a sequestered vale of life kept the noiseless tenor of their way, but who, thanks to an art which should never have been allowed to perish, have by a somewhat singular irony of fate left to distant generations their effigies, when those of men who played a much more striking part have long disappeared. Thus though John Hampden is without a memorial there are still to be seen in the chancel of Hampden Church two well-preserved sets of brasses—one to John and Elizabeth Hampden, of whom the first died in 1496, though the brass itself is of later date—and a second to another John Hampden and his first and his second wives and three little children. This Sir John died in 1553. But though the monumental brasses recall the names of men and women who would otherwise have long ceased to be remembered except in musty parish registers and old title-deeds they also remind us that oftentimes in the past one generation cared very little for the memory of that which had gone before. The palimpsest brass is at once a memorial to the person who is chronologically most lately portrayed upon it, and is on the other hand evidence of the small degree of piety for the past in the persons by whom it was ordered. For whether a palimpsest brass be one which has had a figure drawn on the reverse or blank side (as at Denham Church), so that when placed on the tomb the original effigy is hidden, perhaps, for ever, or whether it be one which, worse still, has had the original design completely or partially destroyed (as in the brass to Sir Richard Hanson, 1545, at Chalfont St. Peter) by that of the more recent artist, it is in either case a curious instance of something approaching to impiety and want of filial feeling. It is, no doubt, an example of the artist's ingenuity, and probably also of the scarcity of the necessary metal, but it is perhaps most interesting as showing the absence of reverence for the monuments of the past in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The brasses in a county form a microcosm of the brasses of the entire country, and an observation of the Buckinghamshire brasses shows the cause of the decline of the art of the brass-worker in this as in other countries. Towards the middle of the sixteenth cen-

tury a desire grew for a more realistic treatment of monuments. We see it, if it were necessary to give an instance, in the colouring on the fine tomb of Anne, Countess of Warwick, in the chapel at Chenies, and in the recumbent figure of the girl reclining on her elbow, as in repose, in the Brudenell monument at Stoke Mandeville. This tendency scarcely requires to be pointed out, for it is observable all over England, and gradually produced the often hideous exaggerations of Jacobean monumental sculpture, of which flagrant examples may be seen in Amersham Church. Now and then it is to be found in a brass, as in that at Wendover to William Bradshawe (1537), in which there is an evident attempt at portraiture, the man's face being slightly to the left, and in which the artist has endeavoured to depict the features after life, and as in the chubby boy of the John Drake brass, at Amersham, or the curious pictorial representations at Marsworth and Tingewick. A very striking example of the pictorial treatment of brasses is to be noted in the monument (1595) in Datchet Church to Richard Hanbery, citizen and goldsmith of London, and also to his wife. The plate is oblong; the man, in a gown, kneels at an altar, opposite to him his wife in a large ruff; two books lie open between them. This is a picture in brass and emphasises the limitation of the metal-worker's range. But the tendency was fatal to the limited art of the brass-worker, which was sufficient when men were satisfied with mere outlined figures without distinctive personal or facial characteristics. What has been called the spirit of the Renaissance, which is nothing more than the spirit of modernity as distinguished from that of mediævalism, was in fact in the county of Buckingham, as in other parts of England, the cause of the cessation of brasses as a form of monumental art.

Two names among historic characters are closely associated with Buckinghamshire, and stand out from among those of other public men who must be regarded as belonging to the county. These are Hampden and Burke. Hampden was one of a line of Buckinghamshire squires. In every wise he was a Buckinghamshire man; though born in London his boyhood was passed largely at his home, among the Chilterns; he was educated first at Thame Grammar School, just outside the borders of the county, and then he was a student of Magdalen College, Oxford. But every journey that he took to and from Thame and Oxford he passed through the meadows of the Vale of Aylesbury, with which he was as well acquainted as with the woodlands

of the Chilterns. After he married, in 1619, Hampden settled down at Great Hampden, representing the neighbouring little town of Wendover in the first three Parliaments of Charles I., in the Short Parliament (April 1640), and in the Long Parliament he was one of the members for the county. At Great Kimble on a January morning in 1635 he made his protest against ship money, and in respect of the 20*s.* tax on his estate in the parish of Stoke Mandeville there ensued the famous litigation which raised the question of the validity of that impost. When the Civil War broke out Hampden raised and took command of a regiment of Buckinghamshire militia, and though he was wounded at Chalgrove Field, in Oxfordshire, and died at Thame, he was buried in the church at Great Hampden. No monument commemorates John Hampden, but one may still read in dim characters the inscription on the plain tablet which he wrote in memory of his wife; while in the seclusion of the upland fields and the thick beech woods which surround his home we are still constantly reminded of the patriot squire, and at their home among the Chiltern Hills his descendants lived long after those who took part in the Rebellion were in their graves.

With Buckinghamshire Burke had no ancestral connexion, and he became possessed of the estate of Gregories, close to Beaconsfield, by mere chance, but through it he is now inseparably associated with the county. For more than a quarter of a century (1769–1797) he obtained from the rural quiet, the country occupations, into which he entered with singular zest, unbounded satisfaction and enjoyment, by the side of which, we may be sure, any pecuniary embarrassments arising from his landed property seemed trivial. From the pecuniary point of view there can be no doubt that the purchase of Gregories by Burke was a mistake. It involved him not only in financial difficulties at the commencement of his ownership, it was also a constant burden. The history of the transaction is now clear, and there is in it nothing that was discreditable to Burke. The cost of the estate was 22,000*l.*, and of this sum 14,000*l.* was left on mortgage and was not paid off at his death. The remainder was paid in cash, 2,000*l.* being Burke's own money and 6,000*l.* an advance from the Marquis of Rockingham, a loan which he cancelled on his death bed. It is evident too that the cost of keeping up Burke's Buckinghamshire property was largely defrayed by loans om the same nobleman, for when Lord Rockingham died

there was no less a sum due to him from his friend than 30,000*l.*, the notes of hand for which were by Lord Rockingham's directions destroyed. Without the aid, therefore, of the statesman who was the leader of the group which was known as the Rockingham Whigs it now seems certain that Burke would never have been able to purchase or to live at the place with which his name is so inseparably connected. But if the purchase of Gregories was from the point of view of monetary prudence wrong it had unusual recompenses, and Burke's temperament was one which enabled him to forget troublesome details which would have harassed a smaller mind in the pleasure which he gathered every time he walked through his garden or across his fields, and every time that the coach deposited at his door some politician or man of letters. From the time of its purchase till Burke's death Gregories was the memorable resort of statesmen, politicians, and men of letters. At Gregories Johnson and the Thrales stayed at the end of September 1774, when returning from their Welsh tour, a visit which was only concluded, says Mrs. Piozzi, 'when the general election broke up the delightful society in which we had spent some time at Beaconsfield.'

Though Hampden and Burke are pre-eminent among those who are connected with Buckinghamshire there are other statesmen who belonged essentially to the county —the third Duke of Portland, his neighbour Lord Grenville, and Lord Beaconsfield. The Duke of Portland is not a man either by talent or character specially interesting to posterity, though he had more ability than some of his contemporaries admitted. It was rather to good temper and judicious common sense added to high rank that he owed his position as head of the Coalition Ministry of 1783, and though in his life there was a constant connexion between Bulstrode and Westminster and the Duke passed much of his time on his Buckinghamshire estate, we associate the place rather with the last years of his more famous predecessor than with his long political life. On the other hand Lord Grenville, who purchased Dropmore in 1792, is not only a considerable historical figure but he impressed his individuality on the place. Grenville, who had been a member for Bucks from 1784 till he was created a peer in 1790, became Foreign Secretary in Pitt's first administration in 1791, and from the following year throughout a life of much political activity he never for a moment relinquished his Dropmore sympathies. When he purchased the pro-

perty it was a piece of waste land; it is to-day one of the places in England best clothed with coniferous trees and flowering shrubs. The wilderness has been transformed solely through Lord Grenville's years of care. His restless and ambitious brother, the Marquess of Buckingham, would break off in the middle of a political letter telling him how he was forwarding him many thousands of young trees; and towards the end of his life Grenville would write interested letters to Lord Grey on his plantations. Pitt and most politicians of importance in Grenville's time were on occasions visitors at Dropmore, which must continue to recall the memory of a statesman whose propinquity to his great cousin has somewhat dwarfed him in history, but who was typical of the most cultivated and polished of the aristocracy of his age.

The elder Disraeli is often claimed as a Buckinghamshire celebrity, but he was an old man when, in 1829, after a life of literary labour and social intercourse at Bloomsbury, he went to live in the charming seclusion of the Manor House at Bradenham, which was his home till his death in 1848, and it is as the beginning of Benjamin Disraeli's connexion with Buckinghamshire that Bradenham with its picturesque surroundings is most interesting. Politically, and one may say personally, Disraeli was throughout his life intimately associated with the county. It was the place of the earliest struggles in his career. In 1832 he stood twice unsuccessfully for the borough of High Wycombe, but in 1837 he succeeded in entering Parliament as one of the members for Maidstone. At last, when his Parliamentary position was assured, he again turned his eyes to his home county, and in 1847, two years before he succeeded Lord George Bentinck as the leader of the country party, was elected one of the members for Buckinghamshire. The constituency, altogether agricultural, Tory, and old-fashioned, Disraeli—the last man in the world, one would have supposed, to be acceptable to this electorate—represented for eight-and-twenty years, till his accession to the peerage in 1875, and during that time many of his most striking speeches were addressed to Buckinghamshire audiences at Aylesbury or Slough. It was in the quiet church of Hughenden that, by his own desire, Disraeli was buried, and not in Westminster Abbey, where, however much opinions may differ of a statesman whose teaching certainly appears at present to be a stronger influence on his countrymen than that of any of his contemporaries, he was entitled to a monument and a

tomb. In 1839 he married the widow of his late colleague, Mrs. Windham Lewis, and by means of her fortune, it has been said, he was able to purchase Hughenden.* Disraeli had none of what are called the country gentleman's tastes; he cared nothing for sport, nor for the practical details of rural life. But he had that fine sense which finds an enjoyment, partly sensuous and partly intellectual, in the aspect of the country, in its colour and its stillness, in its variety and its spaciousness, in its old buildings and its historic associations. All these characteristics were to be found within a few miles of Disraeli's home; from Burke to Hampden, from Hampden to Wycliffe, and from Wycliffe to the British chiefs, the county evidenced the formation of the English people, while in the secluded valleys and among the immense beech woods, and on the steep escarpments of the Chilterns which boldly face the expanse of the Vale of Aylesbury one met with an endless and delightful series of landscapes. Thus from 1839 until the date of his death, a period of more than half a century, Buckinghamshire occupied the same kind of place in Disraeli's life as it did in that of Burke, and Hughenden was to him the same restful country home that Gregories was to the statesman to whom he is so remarkable a contrast.

Unquestionably for many, especially to citizens of the United States, a singular and unique interest attaches to that part of southern Buckinghamshire which may be called Penn's country, and which has for its centre the secluded burial ground of the Society of Friends at Jordans and the village of Penn. At Jordans, under the shade of the fragrant limes, Penn is buried, and his first and second wife and six of his children lie there. He courted Gulielma Springett at the Grange, two miles away, on the slope above Chalfont St. Peter, and, after the Penningtons were deprived of their property, at their home at Amersham. In 1672 he was married to her at Charleywood, on the borders of Hertford-

* The statements of Disraeli's biographers as to the purchase of Hughenden are different. The above statement is based on the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' Mr. Froude, however, says Hughenden was purchased from the proceeds of Disraeli's father's estate after his death. Sheahan ('History of Buckinghamshire') says Hughenden was purchased in 1846 by Isaac Disraeli. The statement in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' that it was purchased from the executors of the Young family seems to be incorrect, for the last owner of the property appears to have been Mr. J. Norris, who died in 1845.

But, descending a little by the London road, from a turn in it there is a glimpse of the white tower of Beaconsfield Church, somewhat beyond the site, indistinguishable among the frequent trees, of Burke's historic home. Southwards a gradual slope, still darkened by the summer foliage, descends to the valley of the Thames, whose reaches by Quarry Woods and Marlow are lost in the shimmering sunshine. The church, with its lack of architectural qualities, gives, by its very poverty, a character to the village. It recalls the aspect of three or four centuries ago, of a poor hamlet among the Chiltern Hills, the home of woodcutters, whilst down in the rich Thames valley could be seen the smoke of flourishing communities at Windsor and Eton. To-day Penn is interesting, quiet, and secluded, yet within a day's drive of London, impressive with its wide overlook of the surrounding country. Some places not wanting in historical association create disappointment the moment they are seen. Penn strikes the historic sense at once; one would picture it as the original home of the Penns, though as to this we must be guided rather by probabilities than by direct evidence. There were Penns of Penn as long ago as the thirteenth century, for in 1273 William de London was presented to the rectory of Penn by Hugh de Penn. Not, however, until after the middle of the fifteenth century were the actual manorial rights transferred to the Penns by the Berkeleys. This famous family never appreciated their little Buckinghamshire property, and sold it in 1485 to Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, but it was regained by Maurice, Lord of Berkeley, who succeeded his brother in 1492, and is reputed to have recovered over fifty-six alienated manors. The connexion, however, of the Berkeleys with the manor of Penn is important, since it supplies the link between the Gloucestershire and the Buckinghamshire Penns. For it is reasonable enough to surmise that some one of the Penns of Penn, animated in an earlier and more limited age by the same adventurous spirit that carried his famous descendant beyond the Atlantic, should journey to the West Country to join his feudal superior, who had his castle by the Severn Sea, bearing with him the coat of arms of the Buckinghamshire family. But it is sufficient to indicate the connexion, to raise reasonable probabilities, remembering that the personal name clearly takes its origin from the place—a village on a headland of the Chiltern Hills—and that there is actual evidence of the existence of

an ancient Buckinghamshire family, whilst in the west all traces of the Penns cease with the yeoman of Minety.*

The first of the Penns to be laid in Penn church were John Penn, who died in 1597, and Ursula, his wife. Time has somewhat injured their monument, yet still at your feet is a pleasant-featured man, of middle age, with pointed beard and ruff, and in plate armour, the figure now broken off at the waist. Opposite to him was the full-length figure of his wife, but the brass has gone from below the breast. The face is that of a cheerful woman, still young. Beneath the place to which their feet extended is one of those quaint but not uncommon groups—four children following their father and mother—whose virtues and ages are set out in still existing letters. This somewhat elaborate but pleasing memorial—for in these mediæval brasses there is a simplicity and a permanence which are the essential merits of a monument—is completed by four Latin lines—

'Horum terreno clauduntur membra sepulchro,
Sed capiunt animas sydera sola pias;
Quos Amor univit, mortis separare potestas
Non valuit, junctos cernimus hoc tumulo.'

The latest of the monuments of the Penns is that to Roger, lord of the manor, the last of the Penns of Penn, who died unmarried in 1732. Thus his sister the wife of Sir Nathaniel Curzon became his heir, and so the estate passed to another family, the two branches of which are to-day represented by Earl Howe and Lord Curzon of Kedleston—the Viceroy of India.

There is yet one other monument which should not be passed over, that to the infant grandchild of William Penn the son of Thomas Penn, who was buried here in 1753. This simple stone is a link between Penn and Jordans, between the Buckinghamshire and the Gloucestershire Penns, between two families who in thought and in life were so opposed. William Penn was born in 1644, and thus he and his children were contemporaneous with these Penns of Penn of whom the monuments still exist, but there is no indication of the least intercourse between the two families. It is not, perhaps, surprising, since apart from absence of actual relationship the one family was that of a

* Aubrey states (pp. 7 and 8) 'that the Penns had been stewards or relators to the Lord Abbot of Malmesbury,' and 'the Penns have been here a long time, but I think but yeomen.' He gives no authority for the first statement.

squire living quietly and unknown, unconcerned apparently with the religious and political movements of the age, 'satis beatus unicis Sabinis,' whilst the head of the other was the centre of the widest and most varied activities. No contrast could be more marked than that between these English gentlemen, dwelling in their manor house in the little village among the Buckinghamshire woodlands, and the four generations of Penns, the admiral, the founder of Pennsylvania, and his immediate descendants, with their restless, vigorous, and cosmopolitan existence. And yet one can in a summer's afternoon easily wander through the leafy lanes with high hedgerows, rich in roses and the trailing wild clematis, or by footpaths through the fields and beech woods, from the secluded burial ground of the Friends at Jordans to the village of Penn, from the last resting-place of men who are world-famous to that of a race of English gentry typical of many of their class who lived in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, men between the great nobles and the yeomen, taking no part in public affairs and seldom absent from their quiet homes.

> 'Along the cool sequestered vale of life
> They kept the noiseless tenor of their way.'

At Penn too a pathetic, little known incident in the closing years of Burke and of the eighteenth century has its setting. Burke, who sympathised deeply with the French *émigrés*, assisted them by every means in his power; his house was always open to them and many of the most illustrious exiles were his guests. Louis XVIII. himself and others of the Royal Family came to Beaconsfield—not three miles from Penn—to thank Burke for what he had done for them. It is, however, in his efforts to help a pitiful remnant from a foreign land that Burke and Penn are associated. In the spring of 1796 a school was by his exertions opened at Penn for the sons or near relatives of French gentlemen who had been killed in the war, in a house which until a short time before had belonged to General Haviland, whose monument may still be seen in the church. It is strange to think of the pleasant rural solitude, in which we have no difficulty in picturing the Penns riding through the flinty lanes to Amersham or Wycombe, invaded by these children of another race, speaking broken English, running to welcome Burke, who, with the same sane and wide-minded benevolence which actuated him when he befriended Crabbe, had rescued them

from poverty and distress. They and their teachers looked on him affectionately as their second father; he was a friend and a generous parent, impoverishing his own table to bring delicacies to his protégés. The roomy house held sixty blue-coated boys; an inscription on their caps told of their politics. 'Vive le roi!' was impressed on a red, if a father had fallen in battle, on a black ground if the relative was more distant. It was no easy task to find the funds for the maintenance of this charity, for Burke's own means were straitened, and he complained to Mrs. Crewe of the difficulties he encountered.

'What,' wrote this vivacious person, 'with all these dukes, marquises, Cabinet ministers, secretaries of state, and secretaries of war, cast-off lord-lieutenants of Ireland and their secretaries, cannot this miserable little affair of fifty pounds a month be done between them; with the aid, too, of all the lady marchionesses and lady knights of the shire?' *

In this charming and beautiful woman, whom Charles Fox said he preferred to every other, Burke always found a faithful ally; at last, when his patience had nearly come to an end, a few lines from Pitt placed the expense of the charity on the Treasury. This was but a year before Burke's death; he made, however, every provision he could for the French orphans, adding a codicil to his will, in which he commended them to the care of Pitt and other political friends. What was the end of it—this flourishing school, the pupils of which in the carelessness of childhood, forgetful of the tragedy of which they were the victims, and little mindful of the future—marched so proudly and joyously in military array through the back hedgerows and on the woodland paths around the pretty hill-top of Penn, we know not. Burke's personal interest gone, there was little to support public interest in this institution; the work undertaken by the kindly statesman would droop, and the homeless waifs whom he had helped and tended would be thrown again upon the world.

All signs of the house have now disappeared, but still at the end of the village, half a mile from the church, children will point out the French School Meadow, which in the minds of a few of the people of the place a vague tradition connects with some bye-gone and long forgotten seminary. Yet this episode in the life of Burke, at once singular and touching, adds to the interest of Penn, for this English

* Correspondence, iv. 334.

hamlet on its remote hill-top is associated alike with Penn and with Burke, with the beginnings of the United States and with the end of the *régime* in France.

As a conclusion to this review of the county of Buckingham, in which an endeavour has been made to present, for the most part, the essential features, whether natural or historical, of the county, a page or two must be given to the connexion between it and some men of letters. Compilers of guide books are, we think, frequently mistaken in bringing into their description of this place or that some isolated fact in the life of a celebrated man which has momentarily united his name with a particular locality. Close association either in point of time or in literary results is the true union between an author and a county, or it may be a village. Regarding Buckinghamshire and men of letters from this point of view, we find it to be identified with an illustrious group of poets, differing widely, but each representative of his age and his art. The first and greatest of these is Milton, who lived at Horton at the beginning and at Chalfont St. Giles at the end of his life. To Horton he came when he left Cambridge in 1632, and here he dwelt for the next five years—a period during which 'Lycidas,' 'Il Penseroso,' 'L'Allegro,' and 'Comus' were written. The house where Milton lived no longer exists, and one regards the general locality rather than the place itself. But after we have seen Horton, with its low-lying flowery meadows, its streams and runnels, we perceive how parts of 'L'Allegro' and 'Lycidas' were suggested to Milton. Here are still

> 'The tufted crow-toe, and pale jessamine,
> The white pink, and the pansy freaked with jet,
> The glowing violet,
> The musk-rose, and the well-attired woodbine,
> With cowslips wan that hang the pensive head.'

Here, too, in summer-time we see

> 'Meadows trim with daisies pied,
> Shallow brooks and rivers wide.'

At Chalfont St. Giles, which he must often have visited in his youth, he wrote in 1665 'Paradise Lost.'

Milton is succeeded at no great distance by the courtly Waller, whose home was close to Beaconsfield, and he again is followed by Gray, with whose personality Stoke Pogis and Burnham are inseparably united. In the north among the meadows and poplars of Olney we presently meet with

Cowper, whose genius was so suited to his surroundings; and lastly at Marlow, amidst the charming scenery of the Thames, we gain a glimpse of a quiet space in Shelley's tumultuous career—the days of his summer task of 1817. Of these poets Gray and Cowper are undoubtedly the most local, not in a narrow or popular sense, but because their delicate and sensitive natures were deeply and inevitably appealed to by their surroundings, by the character of the locality, and by the people among whom they lived. Gray would never have written his 'Elegy' if he had not been influenced by the associations of Stoke Church—by its ivy-mantled tower, its ancient elms, and its pensive beauty. The reflexions of many musing walks along the hill-sides which overlook the valley of the Thames and over the heath-covered commons of Stoke and Farnham are collected in the 'Ode on the Distant Prospect of Eton College,' which unites Eton and the woodland lanes of Buckinghamshire with Gray, and of which we are reminded at any open spot in the line of hills which are formed by the last outlying spurs of the Chilterns, from which Eton, with its Chapel and its elm-shaded playing-fields, can be discerned, however indistinctly.

There was not a natural feature around Olney, not a person whom he met day after day, who did not insensibly influence the mind of Cowper, and in his poetry he pictures with astonishing fidelity the scenery and the life of Olney and of Weston Underwood; yet the considerable volume of his verse, the applicability of his descriptions to many parts of England—for the scenery of the valley of the Ouse is somewhat that of all meadow-valleys—has made him appear less local than Gray. But especially in 'The Task' we constantly encounter lines which in vivid and accurate descriptions are incomparable.

> 'The cattle mourn in corners where the fence
> Screens them, and seem half petrified to sleep
> In unrecumbent sadness. There they wait
> Their wonted fodder; not, like hung'ring man,
> Fretful if unsupplied, but silent, meek,
> And patient of the slow-paced swain's delay.
> He from the stack carves out the accustomed load,
> Deep-plunging, and again deep-plunging oft,
> His broad keen knife into the solid mass:
> Smooth as a wall the upright remnant stands,
> With such undeviating and even force
> He severs it away.'

emerge again a century later under other forms and under changed conditions.

It has been said by Ruskin, speaking of history, that 'the things that actually happened are of small consequence—the thoughts that are developed are of infinite 'consequence.' It is through literature in its manifold manifestations, and through art in its varied forms, that the thoughts of a people find their expression, and are handed down to us through the ages; and each age has its distinctive spirit, its own outlook on the world.

Through the study of early art in the Netherlands we acquire an insight into the spirit and tone of the fifteenth century. By comparing it with Italian art of the same period we learn something of the difference between the two nations and the two races. Italian art we feel to belong to an impressionable people of lively imagination, easily stirred by varying impulses and influences from without and from within. Their conceptions are dramatic; their sense of beauty, especially in the human form, intense; their execution facile. Flemish art moves in more restricted lines—it is the art of a quiet and home-loving people; their conception, even of religious subjects, is domestic; they look upon life simply yet earnestly, and give to their art sincere devotion and patient labour. Classical and allegorical subjects are almost unknown to them, historical scenes are rare, the nude is seldom seen or studied, their type of womanhood is not beautiful, their pictures are mostly on a small scale. But within their limitations the standard of excellence is very high, their sense of purity and harmony of colour is unerring, their skill in the treatment of accessories, brocaded draperies, armour, jewellery, &c. is consummate, the delicate beauty of their landscape has never been surpassed, their perfection of execution and of 'technique' is unrivalled, their interpretation of thought and character in portraiture, their reverence and devotional feeling in sacred subjects, have never been excelled. Their ideal was truth and sincerity rather than beauty. But in their pursuit of the truth of nature the beauty of nature followed in its wake.

The school of the Netherlands possesses all the attributes of a national school reflecting the character of the people and of the country. Art, in whatever form it expresses itself, must, if it be a true and living art, develope from within rather than from without—it must, above all, strive forward, not look backward. An art that lives upon imitation of works of the past can possess neither the seeds of

vitality, nor the capacity of progress. What has once been done well, even the highest imitative skill can never do again. The great pioneers in art saw things, as it were, face to face; their followers are apt to look, not through their own eyes, but through the eyes of their predecessors, the simplicity and grandeur of first impressions is lost; detail and execution may be perfected, but the soul has departed, and their work becomes frigid and lifeless.

A modern French writer (P. Bourget) has thrown out the suggestion that in super-refined and complex civilisations, such as that of the present day, creative power waxes feeble, and is replaced by the spirit of investigation and criticism. A scientific age devotes its labours to observing and recording facts, a study which tends to repress imagination, and certainly the drift of modern teaching and training seems to move in this direction. But the creative and imaginative faculty in man cannot be stifled. The instinct to reproduce in some tangible form that which the eye beholds and the mind perceives, to give outward and visible expression to thought, is deeply rooted in human nature, and as the earth yields up her buried secrets to modern research we find traces of this instinct in the earliest dawn of civilisation in every race.

In past epochs of the world's history various ideals have successively arisen. Poets, painters, sculptors, architects, musicians have worked out national ideals, have left the impress of their work on the face of the earth, and have achieved immortality.

The question arises to the mind, Are these ideals of the past exhausted and incapable of reproduction? Has art lived its life, and is it passing away, leaving the world bare and desolate? Or will the changing world, as it closes one period, and opens out another, give birth to fresh ideals as yet unthought of? But whatever the unknown future may have in store, the already stated truth will hold good, that true and living art can never be an art of servile imitation. The old Flemings instinctively felt the truth of this; they visited Italy, and profited by intercourse with the great artists of the Renaissance, but they returned to the Northern land of their birth, remaining true to their national inspiration and their national character, looking on nature through Flemish eyes, and interpreting her according to Flemish ideals.

It is difficult to trace the art of the Netherlands to its sources. Unlike Italian art, the progress of which we can

novices, appertained the cultivation of art and literature. This large community was presided over by a long series of abbots whose despotic sway controlled and regulated the varied interests and pursuits of those who might be called subjects. The influence of the abbots of Notre Dame des Dunes spread far beyond their own domain. They played a large part in the wider field of politics and government, and so great was their power that during the frequent absences of the Counts of Flanders on distant campaigns the government of the province was entrusted to their hands.

Within the enceinte of the abbey walls, by the labour of pious hands arose gradually a stately church dedicated to Our Lady, which became, as centuries rolled on, a treasure house of art; altar-pictures, sculptures, tapestries and stained glass, the life-work of generations of monks, adorned the sacred shrine; while the library contained precious illuminated missals, and a priceless collection of Oriental manuscripts, brought over by Crusaders connected with the abbey. This was unfortunately destroyed in one of the disturbances that swept over the Netherlands during the middle ages. But many of the missals were preserved, and a selection of them formed the choicest treasure of the collection brought together last summer in the old Hotel Groothause at Bruges; while among the pictures in the exhibition which had formerly belonged to the abbey was a miniature diptych, one panel of which represents Chrétien de Hondt, thirtieth Abbot of Notre Dame des Dunes, whose reign coincided with the culminating period of Flemish art. The prelate, in the white robe of a Cistercian, is kneeling in his chamber, amid objects of domestic use and of art. On the other panel is depicted the vision vouchsafed to his adoring gaze; Our Lady, a majestic figure of superhuman stature, crowned, robed in royal red, and bearing in her arms the Divine Child, passes down the vast, many vistaed nave of his own church. This panel (a replica of which is at Berlin), is by some attributed to Hubert van Eyck. Armorial bearings in the portrait panel enable the identification of Chrétien de Hondt, and also of portraits of two other and later abbots, Robert Le Clercq of Arras, thirty-second abbot, and Robert Holman, thirty-sixth abbot, whose small portrait robed in richest vestments and kneeling in adoration before a visionary figure of Christ as the 'Salvator Mundi,' is ascribed to a painter of Bruges, Gilles Claeis, one of a family of artists who in the late sixteenth century still carried on the old traditions. Of the abbey

itself no traces now remain, but its name and some of its art treasures have been transferred to the Episcopal Seminary for Priests at Bruges. By the second half of the sixteenth century the old order had already changed and at that period the abbots of the great abbeys were no longer undisputed rulers in the land. As early as the thirteenth century a rival power had begun to arise—the towns which had grown up under the protection of the abbeys showed signs of emancipation and independence. Feudalism was on the wane—the burgomaster became gradually a more formidable power than the baron or the abbot—the character of the people, their qualities of enterprise and steadfastness, began to assert themselves; commerce with foreign nations led to manufactures at home; and for safety and protection sake these were carried on by associations of fellow-workers, which rapidly developed into the 'Guilds,' which became so marked a feature in the commercial, social, and artistic life of the Netherlands. The spirit of association seems indeed to be engrained in the Saxon race; indications of this system of co-operation, or guilds, can be discerned as early as the days of Charlemagne, when the rising power of the armed guilds, consisting chiefly of armed serfs, became a cause of anxiety to that monarch and defied his efforts to suppress them. Their political importance grew, and they gradually developed into the more peaceful, but no less powerful, mercantile guilds already alluded to.

These guilds soon monopolised both commerce and art. Every branch of trade had its guild, and craftsmen and artists alike, discovering that the protection of a monastery was no longer essential to safety, removed to towns, and, finding the position of an independent worker neither advantageous nor tenable, joined existing guilds. Thus sculptors united themselves to guilds of masons and carpenters, and painters to those of glaziers and workers in leather, until they became strong and numerous enough to form separate guilds of their own. But though no longer dependent on or residing within the abbeys, the connection between them was maintained and the artists and craftsmen continued to work for them, and to enrich them with their products. Some, such as the Cistercian Abbey of Notre Dame des Dunes, and the Benedictine Abbey of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, maintained for a considerable period their own body of art workers; but the tendency to transfer the activities of life from the convent to the town was too strong to be long fought against.

The guilds, however, preserved the religious character inherited from their monastic origin. The oath of membership required fidelity and obedience to the Church as well as the State; piety and good conduct were essential to membership. The guild undertook the care of its widows and orphans, its destitute or incapacitated members. Each guild had its own chapel or altar in the parish church dedicated to its patron saint, and as these corporations increased in riches and in power they built for themselves churches on a large scale, lavishly decorated with paintings and sculptures and coloured glass. But their first object was to build for themselves a guild hall, with a tall 'beffroi' or belfry tower, and these remain to this day types of the highest standard of the decorative secular architecture of the middle ages. The laws which governed these guilds were despotic, and aimed at honesty of purpose, excellence of work, and exclusive devotion of time and labour to the guild. Those who joined one guild were restricted to the exercise of that craft only; the painter could not illuminate missals, the goldsmith could not carve statues, the sculptor could not work metal or precious stones. Members were pledged not to undertake work at a rate of pay below that laid down by the laws of their guild, nor were workmen permitted to exercise their crafts independently of the guild. All crafts were held in equal esteem; a painter or sculptor was not considered by the public as superior to any other craftsman. It was only when art began to decline, and guild laws to be less strictly enforced, that painters began to give themselves airs of superiority. During the golden age of mediæval art they were paid for their work at fixed rates, like any other workmen. The dean and chapter of the corporation had the right of entry into the artist's studio to ascertain that the rules laid down were strictly complied with. If his materials did not come up to the standard, if the oak of his panel was gnarled or knotted, if his colours, his gilding, his mediums, were of inferior quality, they were confiscated and destroyed, even if the picture were well advanced, and the artist fined or punished. If differences arose between a painter and his patron, they were referred to the heads of the corporation, whose decision as to the proper value of the work, and as to whether it had been conscientiously and honestly executed, was final, and admitted of no dispute. If the artist was convicted of inferior and negligent workmanship, he was brought before the magistrates and severely dealt with. If, on the other hand,

his work was pronounced of greater value than the sum stipulated, the patron who ordered it was required to pay not only the estimated difference but the costs of the trial.

Artists were in the habit of taking apprentices, who lived with their master, rendering him service and obedience, and receiving in return instruction in all the technicalities of his art, the preparation of his panels, the laying on the ground-work of 'gesso,' the making of his varnishes and glazes, the mixing of his colours. After five or seven years' service the apprentice was qualified to become a master painter in his guild. For this he had to produce a 'chef d'œuvre' to prove his competency; if a painter, a picture; if a decorator of buildings, he had to colour or illuminate a statuette of the Virgin. It was also customary for the aspirant to the mastership to present to the guild an 'écuelle' or porringer of silver, with gilt edges and the 'blazon' of the trade in the centre. This custom is mentioned as existing in the Guild of Painters at Ghent as early as 1338.

For the young painter there generally ensued a period of 'Wanderjahre' spent in working under artists in other towns, extending sometimes as far as Italy, before settling down as a life member of his own guild.

Intercourse between the various guilds and schools of art was also maintained by means of periodical meetings at some central town, where they came together for the enjoyment of social intercourse and the discussion of professional topics. These meetings doubtless tended to promote the striking uniformity both in types and treatment and in art processes which marks the various schools of the Low Countries.

The constitution and rules of the mediæval abbeys, and of their offspring the town guilds, have been dwelt on at some length, for they give an insight into the influences that presided over the cradle of art in the Netherlands. We can watch its infancy in the religious and restricted atmosphere of the monasteries, its growth in the freer but yet jealously guarded membership of the guilds, till we arrive, towards the close of the fifteenth century, at the period of emancipation, known as the Renaissance, that intangible but deep-reaching movement that spread from Italy over Europe, affecting, not events, but thought, throughout the civilised world, and touching with its magic wand every phase of life and of mind. It is difficult, if not impossible, accurately to define a movement so subtle, so gradual, so varied in its manifestations, and yet so permanent in its results. It was an awakening of dormant energies, a veering round of the

compass of the human mind, a change, for better or for worse, in the ideals of religion, of literature, of art, of conduct—a revolt against feudal and ecclesiastical despotism, against long dominant ideas, and superstitions no longer in harmony with awakening desires and aspirations. The thirst for knowledge led to a resuscitation of antique and classic learning, and the application of it to modern thought.

Already, in the centuries unjustly described as the 'Dark 'Ages,' there had been signs of awakening, in the domain of art more especially. From the eleventh to the fourteenth century the dominant note of art in Northern Europe was architecture. In the Netherlands stately abbeys and cathedrals arose throughout the land, displaying perfection of proportion and limitless richness of detail. Sculpture and painting were called in as the handmaids of architecture to give living interest to the edifice, to enrich the shrines, to let in light through jewelled tracery, to adorn the walls with sacred scenes. In the thirteenth century architecture reached her culminating point of perfection; in the fourteenth painting had begun to emancipate itself from her service; by the fifteenth the schools of painting in the Netherlands had achieved independence and entered into competition with those of Italy.

The civilised world was emerging from darkness into light, and entering on a new era, ushered in by an attempt to return to the golden age of human intellect in the past. In Italy the spirit of the Renaissance in its more serious aspect may be said to have culminated in Michael Angelo; in England in Shakespeare and the literature of the Elizabethan era; in Germany it resulted ultimately in Luther and the emancipation of religious thought known as the Reformation. The barriers of the past were thrown down, the door of the human mind was opened, the modern epoch of scientific research and fearless investigation, of freedom of enquiry and liberty of opinion, had dawned upon the world. It was a season of ploughing up old fields and of sowing fresh seed, which sprang up in the new-turned earth and bore fruit an hundredfold in every department of human intelligence. In the domain of art and poetry in Italy the long-forgotten gods of pagan Greece and Rome appeared again upon the scene; men became penetrated with antique thought and antique standards of perfection; the earlier Christian motives yielded to pagan themes. Architects, sculptors, and painters sought inspiration from the long

neglected classic masterpieces that surrounded them, and the cult of beauty as revealed in the human body supplanted the spiritual cult of Christian mysteries. Men discarded the images of gloom and terror that had distorted mediæval Christianity, and in the reaction of the joyous freedom of the new culture they sought to bring back the gods of a mythical past, whose cult demanded neither self-sacrifice nor self-restraint. But the glamour of antique art and antique mythology appealed only to the Latin races and to the few who had resided in Italy and imbued themselves with her spirit; among the more stable, less impressionable races of the North, the Renaissance moved on different and more strictly national lines.

In France the spirit of the new Italian culture affected the life of the people, their literature and their art, more strongly than in Germany, where human intelligence emancipated itself through study of the Bible rather than of the classics, resulting in freedom of conscience rather than of imagination. The Low Countries, which lay between France and Germany with no natural boundaries intervening, felt the conflicting influences of both, while the highly developed mercantile intercourse with Italy brought them into close touch with Southern culture. But the Flemish temperament, strong and self-contained, not plastic or easily moulded, resisted foreign and alien influences and remained true to its own traditions and its own ideals. The religious life of the people was not crushed, but rather quickened, by bringing learning, education, literature, and art into living harmony with it, while a wave of luxury under the Burgundian dynasty brought with it a marvellous developement of artistic activity in all its branches. In painting Italian gracefulness tempered the pristine stiffness of Flemish compositions, and in architecture, while the decorations began to 's'enguirlander à l'Italienne,' the forms remained Gothic. The semi-pagan license of the classic Renaissance had but small attractions for the sturdy sons of the North, and Flemish art remained both in subjects and in feeling pure and Christian. To Hubert van Eyck and to his precursors, the patient illuminators of monastic missals, as well as to his successors, the religion of Christ was the ideal of human life and of human art, 'the outlet by which men escape from the prose of the 'world into poetry, from the weariness, the pain, the 'commonplace of existence into a serener air. Hence the 'kinship of religion with art, for here the higher life reveals

'itself, we pass from the seen to the unseen,'* hence also the explanation of the fact that it is in times of tumult and contest, when men are called upon to respond with vigour to the struggle for existence, rather than in times of stability and tranquillity, that special artistic gifts are apt to manifest themselves; in suchlike times of conflict men turn to the soothing influence of religion and seek in works of sacred art and imagination some compensation for the shortcomings of reality. So that the peaceful visions of early painters were not inconsistent with the turbulent scenes of bloodshed enacted in the streets of Ghent and Bruges.

The Netherlands were, in the fifteenth century, under the rule of the Dukes of Burgundy. Within the Flemish provinces of the dukedom, the towns of the Hanseatic League continued to preserve an almost independent government. Originally formed for the protection of its merchants from attacks by pirates while trading overseas, the League grew in importance and in wealth till it became a leading power in Europe. Bruges was the Venice of the North, the great emporium of commerce, and the leading seaport of the Hanse League. Ships brought costly merchandise from every part of the known world, from the East, the Mediterranean, Italy, and Spain. From England came vast imports of wool, wherewith were woven the far-famed tapestries of Flanders. Egypt and Arabia sent sugar and stuffs and carpets by Venice and on by pack-mules over the high passes of the Alps to the Rhine, and thence by waterway to Bruges. Thus the wealth and luxury of a rich mercantile city, and the pomp and pageantry of the Court of the wealthiest and mightiest sovereigns of the West in the fifteenth century, met together. And the result was an outburst of lavish luxury such as the world has seldom seen. The joyous spirit of the Renaissance seemed for a time to have laid its hold upon Flemish life, and inspired the inhabitants of the Netherland towns with a longing for all that gives picturesqueness and animation to life, for brilliant colour and profuse decoration within and without their dwellings, for splendour of dress, for pageants and festivities.

Bruges was the chosen residence of the Court of Burgundy. Twenty foreign Courts had their representatives, fifteen different nations their depôts and houses of commerce, and

* Edinburgh Review, January, 1903, p. 147.

sixty-eight trade-guilds flourished in the town. The palaces of her merchant princes were numbered at 500, their high-stepped gables and sculptured façades shone with gold and colour. The greatest painter of the day, Jean van Eyck, himself 'illuminated' the statuary on the exterior of the Town Hall; sumptuous barges floated on canals bordered by hanging gardens and stately pleasure-houses; the lofty belfries of town halls and cathedrals soared high into the sky and their 'carillons' resounded through the city below. Every event in life was made a pretext for fêtes, processions, and 'triumphs,' which more than rivalled those of Florence. On these occasions the streets were hung with costly tapestries, and from carved balconies and traceried windows the stately dames and fair-haired daughters of Flanders, attired in golden brocades and shimmering velvets, lined with costly furs, bordered with embroideries of Eastern design, and glistening with precious stones and pearls and jewels of chiselled gold, looked down upon the long defiles of members of the various guilds, resplendent in their guild dresses, marching with the cars of their respective crafts, on which groups of fantastically clad men represented scenes of sacred history or of allegory. Their approach was heralded by silver trumpets, in their wake followed bands of men-at-arms, religious orders, and rich-robed priests. Youths and maidens mounted on palfreys and attired in garbs of distant lands personated their patron saints, followed by princes and courtiers, nobles and high personages of State in costumes of fabulous splendour, their horses hidden under gold and jewelled trappings. When a Queen of France once visited Bruges, she wept tears of jealous envy, exclaiming, 'I imagined myself alone to be queen, but 'here I find six hundred women whose attire surpasses 'mine.' This exuberance of festive representation, this instinctive passion for decorative splendour, so characteristic of the period, so foreign to modern life, reached its height in the festivities that celebrated the entry into Bruges, in 1468, of Margaret of York (sister of Edward IV.), the second wife of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, when the leading artists of the day organised the pageants, superintended the costumes, and themselves painted the decorations. The occasion is also memorable to Englishmen from the incident of the Princess Margaret having brought over in her suite Sir John Donne, who while at Bruges commissioned Memlinc to paint for him the group of the Holy Family and saints, with his own portrait and that of his

wife, which now forms one of the gems of the Duke of Devonshire's collection. It was amid all these surroundings of court and civic pomp and pageantry, chequered with disturbances and revolutions and with hard-fought conflicts between the princely rulers and the people of the towns, that Flemish art attained its full developement. Similar surroundings influenced Italian art at the same period, but the result was widely different. Beneath the outward splendour of the Court of Burgundy lay a substratum of seriousness of purpose in the people. Christian faith and Christian morality were more deep-rooted in the burghers of Ghent and Bruges than in the citizens of Florence and Venice. The awakening influence of the Renaissance which affected the graver as well as the lighter pursuits of life, was carried on without undermining the foundations of religion; present life was beautified and expanded without losing sight of the life to come. The new elements of mundane beauty and picturesque realism gave vitality and reality to religious representations, instead of supplanting them by a restored and spurious paganism, and in the countries of the North Christianity continued to dominate art. Painters were not blind to the beauty of outward life that met them at every turn. But in their pictures it is the saintly personages that wear the gorgeous costumes and graceful jewellery of the fifteenth century, the pious donor and his wife are clad in sober and modest garments. It is, indeed, difficult to associate love of pleasure and a life of luxury with those solemn burghers and their homely spouses and the well-drilled youths and maidens who kneel with folded hands behind them.

It was partly this exclusive devotion to one class of subject, and one phase of sentiment, coupled with the influence of guild restrictions and the old traditions of the cloister, that gave such remarkable unity both of style and subject to Flemish art. In a conversation upon art (recorded by Francisco d'Ollanda, a Portuguese miniature painter) in 1538, Vittoria Colonna asked Michael Angelo what he thought of the painting of Flanders and whom it would satisfy, remarking that to her it appeared more devout than the Italian style. To which Michael Angelo, whose ideal, the glorification of the human figure as the noblest of God's works, differed widely from the devotional ideal of the Flemings, made reply :—

'The painting of Flanders, Madam, will generally satisfy any devout person more than the painting of Italy, which will never cause him to

drop a single tear, but that of Flanders will cause him to shed many; this is not owing to the vigour and goodness of that painting, but to the goodness of such devout person. . . . They paint in Flanders, only to deceive the external eye, things that gladden you and of which you cannot speak ill, and saints and prophets. Their painting is of stuffs, bricks and mortar, the grass of the fields, the shadows of trees, and bridges and rivers, which they call landscapes, and little figures here and there; and all this though it may appear good to some eyes, is in truth done without reasonableness or art, without symmetry or proportion, without care in selecting or rejecting, and finally without any substance or verve. . . . Flemish painting tries to do too many things at once, each of which alone would suffice for a great work; so that it does not do anything really well. Only works which are done in Italy can be called true painting. . . . Good painting is a music and a melody which intellect only can appreciate, and with great difficulty. This painting is so rare that few are capable of attaining to it.' *

It is interesting to compare the criticism of the great Italian of the Renaissance with that of Taine, who in his 'Philosophie de l'Art' describes in words as glowing as the colours of the pictures themselves, the characteristics of, and the impressions produced by, the works of the Van Eycks and their followers.

'Une renaissance flamande sous des idées chrétiennes, c'est là, en effet, le double caractère de l'art sous Hubert et Jean van Eyck, Roger van der Weyden, Memlinc et Quentin Matsys; et de ces deux traits suivent tous les autres—d'un côté, les artistes prennent intérêt à la vie réelle; leurs figures ne sont plus des symboles, comme les enluminures des anciens psautiers, ni des âmes pures, comme les Madones de l'école de Cologne, mais des personnages vivants et des corps. L'anatomie y est observée, la perspective y est exacte, les moindres détails des étoffes, de l'architecture, des accessoires et des paysages y sont marqués; le relief en est saisissant, et la scène entière s'impose à l'œil et à l'esprit avec une force et une solidité d'assiette extraordinaires; les plus grands maîtres des époques futures n'iront pas au delà, et même n'iront pas jusque-là. Il est clair qu'en ce moment on découvre la nature; les écailles tombent des yeux; on vient de comprendre, presque tout d'un coup, tout le dehors sensible, ses proportions, sa structure, sa couleur. Bien plus, on l'aime; considérez les magnifiques chappes lisérées d'or et brodées de diamants, les soies brochées, les diadèmes fleuronnés et éblouissants dont ils ornent leurs personnages divins et leurs saintes; ce sont toutes les pompes de la Cour de Bourgogne; voyez leurs eaux transparentes et calmes, leurs gazons illuminés, leurs fleurs rouges et blanches, leurs arbres épanouis, leurs lointains ensoleillés, leurs admirables paysages. Remarquez leur coloris, le plus fort et le plus riche qui fût jamais, les

* See 'Michael Angelo Buonarroti.' Appendix. By Charles Holroyd. 1903: Duckworth.

the Fall and before the Redemption. These powerful but brutally realistic figures are confidently assigned to Jean van Eyck, who carried on the work after his brother's death in 1426. To Hubert belongs the conception and composition of the whole, and to his sole hand is attributed the great central panel. The practice of painting these altar-pieces on separate compartments or shutters greatly facilitated their dismemberment; only the central part now remains in its original chapel at Ghent; copies replace the other portions, most of which are in the Berlin Gallery, and the Adam and Eve at Brussels. These latter were at the Bruges Exhibition, but the nearly successful attempt to bring the whole once more together unfortunately at the last moment failed.

Jean, with less creative and poetical power and less imaginative fervour, was nevertheless a worthy coadjutor and successor to his brother. Realistic interpretation of life and nature as he saw it around him, alike in portraiture and in sacred subjects, was the ideal of this true child of the Netherlands. There was no softening down of the hard facts of nature, but he could perceive and render the working of mind under the least attractive of outward semblance. Look, for example, at the figure of Canon van der Paele in the picture at Bruges, as he is introduced into the sacred Presence by St. George who salutes the Virgin by doffing his cap. What can be more uncompromisingly repulsive than the old man's large bald head, wrinkled skin, and pendulous cheeks? But the rude features are transformed by holy awe, his whole frame is quivering with restrained emotion as he kneels before the Mother of God, his trembling hand can scarcely hold his eyeglass, or support his missal. There is a majesty and a mastery, a reverence for humanity in the ugliness Van Eyck depicts that redeems its homeliness and endows it with spiritual life. Jean does not seem to have shared his brother's love of landscape; his backgrounds are generally plain surfaces or interior of rooms; nor does his art appear to have been greatly influenced by his journey in 1428 to Portugal, where he formed part of the mission sent by Philip of Burgundy to demand the hand of Isabella, the daughter of King John; he painted the Infanta's portrait for Duke Philip, and before his return visited the Spanish Court of Castille and the Moorish Court of Grenada. This remarkable man, versed in science and literature as well as ·inting, was a Court favourite, and was sent by Philip ·ther 'lointaines et étrangères marches, pour aucunes

'matières secrètes.' But he remained faithful to his art, especially to portrait painting, and thus arose that great school of portraiture in the Netherlands, of which the Van Eycks were the founders, and which in later days culminated in Rubens and Vandyck, in Rembrandt and Frans Hals. In early days intense realism was its characteristic, but the realism that penetrates beneath the outward aspect, and strives, through truthful representation of features, to reveal with equal truth the underlying soul which moulds the features and controls their expression. When Carlyle said that a portrait should be 'truer than truth' he not improbably had in his mind's eye some work of that early Flemish school whose ideal was truth—inner as well as outer truth, whose saints and angels are as lifelike as the human beings who kneel beside them. Our National Gallery possesses a characteristic specimen of Jean's power in this line—the small portrait of Jean Arnolfini of Lucca, a Florentine merchant settled at Bruges, and of his Flemish wife Jeanne de Chenany. The stress of deep but restrained emotion illumines the plain features of the husband; one hand is raised as though invoking the blessing of Heaven on the approaching supreme moment of their married life, the other clasps the hand of the young wife who stands beside him, her downcast eyes revealing the quiet serenity of a pious and modest nature. Jean van Eyck seems to have been admitted into the privacy of their home life, and to have been the accidental witness of this scene of homely pathos, for a mirror in the background reflects the image of two men entering the room and over it is the inscription 'Johannis de Eyck fuit hic 1430.' The history of this picture is a curious record of vicissitudes. From its original possessor, the Italian Arnolfini, it seems to have passed into Spanish hands, for in 1515 it was presented by Don Diego de Quevera to Margaret of Austria; from her possession it descended into that of a barber-surgeon at Bruges, who in his turn presented it to Mary Regent of the Netherlands, daughter of Charles V., receiving in return a pension of 100 florins per annum. The thread of its subsequent history is lost till in 1815, when General Hay was lying in a lodging at Brussels recovering from wounds received in Waterloo, the sick man was so fascinated by the picture that hung on the wall that he purchased it, and subsequently, in 1842, sold it to the National Gallery, where it now forms the choicest treasure of the Flemish Room.

The only known or reputed pupil of the Van Eycks is Pieter Christus, who derived from Hubert his capacity of rendering broad sweeps of landscape, and from Jean that of detail in accessories, such as are depicted with vivid realism in his picture of St. Godiberte and St. Eligius in the jeweller's shop, the first 'genre' picture of the school, and the precursor, in the ensuing century, of Quentin Metays and his followers, and in the seventeenth of Teniers and Jan Steen.

Jean van Eyck and Christus are the only Flemish painters who were in the habit of signing their pictures, a fact which adds greatly to the difficulty of identification of the vast army of the 'Unbekannt.' Jean was a master of caligraphy, and some of his inscriptions, such as the 'Leal Souvenir' in the National Gallery 'Portrait of a Man,' are models of graceful lettering.

The second half of the fifteenth century was the golden age of art in the North. Almost every large town had its schools of art, where painting, sculpture, tapestry weaving, stained glass, wood carving, illuminating, heraldry, metal and gold work, were carried on by their respective guilds. In French Flanders and in France proper there were art schools throughout the land; at Lille, at Douay (where Jean Bellegambe carried on the traditions of Memlinc into the seventeenth century), at Paris, at Tours, at Grenoble, at Lyons, and at Avignon—where French and Italian influences met, the genius of invention and clear observation of the former uniting with the feeling for beauty of the latter.

One of the most interesting results of the Bruges Exhibition has been the assignment of many important works to the hitherto comparatively little known French painters, especially to Jean Pereal of Paris, Maître de Moulins, who accompanied Louis XII. in his Italian campaign, and to whom is attributed the beautiful Liverpool panel of a Donor protected by St. Maurice. Among other men of note were Jean Fouquet, the first purely French portrait-painter, who went to Italy in 1440, and imbued himself with the spirit of the Renaissance, Michel Colombe of Tours, and Bourdichon. Both in France and Flanders portrait drawings in crayon on a small scale were greatly in favour, especially at Court; Catherine de Médicis, in ordering a portrait, said: 'Que ce soit au crayon, pour être plus tôt fait.'

Meanwhile in the Netherlands the central figure, after the Van Eycks, was Roger de la Pasture (better known by his translated name of Van der Weyden) of Tournai,

town celebrated for its school of sculpture, which early emancipated itself from the trammels of the Franco-Gothic style, becoming gradually more realistic and more human in expression. Elaborate groups of alto-relievo sculpture were first carved in wood and then reproduced in stone, and elaborately gilt and coloured. Roger was largely employed in this work of illuminating statuary. The result is a striking resemblance between his pictures and the sculptured altar-pieces of Tournai; both are alike remarkable for intensity of feeling and emotion in the attitudes as well as in the expression of the figures, combining the old religious feeling with the new naturalism. Roger's fame spread far beyond his native land; the first record of a Flemish picture ordered by an Italian is a 'Descent from the 'Cross,' which he painted for Leonello d'Este of Ferrara; and P. Santo, Raphael's father, places him above the painters of Italy. His compositions became types for his followers, and great as he was as an artist, he was even greater as a master. His pupil, Martin Schöngauer of Cologne, excelled in the newly invented art of engraving, and by his prints Roger's designs were spread throughout Germany, and greatly influenced the style of Wolgemüth of Nuremberg, and his great scholar, Albert Dürer. Among the best known and ofttimes repeated compositions of Roger are his 'Descents from the Cross' and his Pietas or 'Deplorations' of the Virgin. One small example of the latter, deeply devotional and powerfully dramatic, with a background of mystic sunset glow typical of the departing Light of the World, was in the Bruges Exhibition; and another rendering of the same subject, but with a placid landscape background, is in the collection of the Earl of Powis.

Other artists, many of them still unknown by name, succeeded rapidly, among them the painters of Harleem, Albert of Oudevater and his pupil Gerard St. Jean, noted for his love of landscape, and Thierrie Bonts of Louvain, who combined with homely realism a keenly dramatic spirit and a talent both for architectural and landscape backgrounds, but whose genius was of somewhat coarser fibre than that of his great predecessors. Another, only recently identified name, who stands out prominently from the ranks of the hitherto unknown or unnamed, is Jacques Daret, Maître de Flémalle, whose forcible but purely native style remained unaffected by foreign influences. His inventive faculties found openings in other and minor branches of

art; he was employed to design the 'Entremets' for the great Banquet of the 'Vœu du Faisan,' which was given at Lille in 1453, when Duke Philip entertained the Knights of the Golden Fleece. But wider scope was afforded to his talent as a designer of tapestry (notably the magnificent series woven at Arras for the Abbey of St. Vaast), and as a painter of the linen hangings which were gradually replacing painting for the mural decoration of churches and palaces, and were also largely employed for the adornment of streets and balconies on festive occasions, such as that of the state entry of Margaret of York into Bruges in 1468, when Jacques Daret superintended the arrangement of the pageant. In this undertaking he was assisted by Hugo van der Goes, whose feeling for space in his compositions, and power of design on a larger scale than was usual among his fellow-artists, rendered him specially suited for works of a decorative character. His painted tapestries have perished, and to realise his talent we must turn to the large triptych at Florence, painted by him for Tomaso Portinari, the wealthiest and most influential among foreign residents at Bruges, who presented it to the Hospital of St^a. Maria Novella. In this work Flemish realism asserts itself strongly, and amid the adoring angels is a group of kneeling shepherds, closely studied from the mediæval peasantry of the day. Unlike his quiet and sober-living fellow-workers, Van der Goes was of a wild and turbulent nature; a life of dissipation alternated with fits of religious melancholy which induced him to enter the Augustinian Convent of Roovendale, where however he continued not only to pursue his art but to indulge in convivial meetings with the Archduke Maximilian.

But the central and typical figure in the art of the latter half of the fifteenth century is Hans Memlinc. In him religious earnestness and spiritual mysticism are united to realism and perfection of technique. He clings lovingly to every detail that tends to the interpretation of truth, that larger truth that rises above the mere recording of facts and holds the balance between knowledge and feeling, rejecting what is mean or trivial and perceiving in nature the essence of things Divine. His works possess the indefinable gift of charm; a living soul speaks through his brush, the plainest Virgin, the most ordinary men and women are touched by sacred dignity and transfused by the spiritual beauty of perfect purity. His type of genius is akin to that of Fra Angelico; both were incapable of depict-

ing scenes of horror or violent passion, both closed their eyes to the conflict and turmoil amid which they lived, both gazed upwards and beheld through the open gates of Paradise visions of celestial glory. Fra Angelico's genius breathed lightly on the white walls of the convent cells of San Marco, and left on them the imprint of the visions his soul beheld. Memlinc, working laboriously on oaken panels, brought his saints and angels down to earth and the surroundings of daily life, but he brought with them the atmosphere and the spirituality of heaven.

Memlinc was represented at the recent exhibition in his adopted town of Bruges by a full series of his most important works, from his life-size 'Choir of Angels,' painted for the church organ of Najara in Spain, and his early triptych painted for Sir John Donne of Kidwell, through a succession of portraits and altar-pieces, including the 'St. 'Christopher' painted for the Moreels, the triptych painted for Martin von Nieuwenhove with the dreamy, haunting portrait of the donor, and many others of equal fame, to his latest work, the 'Shrine of St. Ursula,' with the wonderful grouping of the multitudinous virgins. Memlinc's skill in presenting on a small scale narratives of sacred story, grouped together as a series of separate incidents forming a consecutive and dramatic composition, can only be fully appreciated by those who have seen his marvellous pictures of 'The Passion of Our Lord' at Turin, and the 'Seven Joys of Mary' at Munich.

In portraiture, as in sacred subjects, Memlinc preserved the quality of seeing through his soul, and infusing his own personality into that of his sitter. His portraits are delicate and subtle interpretations of character; a spiritual ennobling of the plain-featured burghers of Bruges and their homely wives. His men are seldom men of action, but rather, like himself, dreamy contemplative natures, in whom the devotional attitude both of mind and body in which they are usually depicted seems to them the most natural. His women have a homely pathos; his angels haunt one with their mystic smile, as they kneel before the Infant Saviour and offer Him the apple, type of the sin He was born to take away.

Memlinc founded no school, and, as far as we know, left but one pupil, Louis Boole (who probably painted many of the works attributed to his master), but he greatly influenced both his contemporaries and his followers, and to this is doubtless due the fact that long after the old school of

domestic realism combined with devotional idealism had died out in other towns, its traditions were handed on in Bruges into the seventeenth century.

His greatest contemporary and successor was Gerard David, whose existence as a historical personage is due to the industrious research, coupled with deep knowledge, of Mr. James Weale. Born at Oudevater in Holland, his early influences were those of the school of Harleem and of Thierrie Bonts of Louvain. In 1483 he settled at Bruges, and imbued himself with the spirit of Memlinc, at the same time preserving the originality and vigour of an independent student of nature. Italian influences can be traced in his art, especially in his chef d'œuvre, the beautiful 'Santa 'Conversatione' or the 'Virgin among Virgins' painted for the Carmelite Nuns of Sion at Bruges (now at Rouen); but he remained a true Fleming, taking his fellow-citizens as his models, clothing them in the dress of the day, placing them in fair and verdant landscapes, enriching his backgrounds with the architecture of Bruges, and throwing over all the glamour of colouring as rich and gemlike and as harmoniously blended as that of a cathedral window. His earliest known works are the two large panels in which are represented, with much power and with uncompromising realism, the story of the Judgement of Cambyses and the torture of the Unjust Judge Sisamnes, painted for the Hall of Justice at Bruges, 'pour rappeler aux échevins la gravité 'de leurs fonctions et de leurs actes.' This gruesome subject was well adapted for the purpose, and another representation of it in painted tapestry hangs in the Hall of Justice at Mons.

David's other greatest work is his triptych of the 'Baptism 'of Christ,' with its subject-painted shutters. In the centre panel the clear waters of Jordan flow through a verdant flower-studded landscape, groups of figures are dimly seen amid the groves on the distant banks, in the foreground St. John pours the water on to the head of the Saviour, who stands in the rippling stream, both realising in look and attitude the mystic import of the sacred rite so simply performed in the secluded valley, with no witness save the ministering angel who kneels in reverential awe, clad in sumptuous priestly vestments of dusky hue. In this work the landscape is no longer, as with Memlinc, a mere vista of fair and peaceful far-off country, but has assumed an importance almost equal to that of the figures themselves. Many David's paintings on a smaller scale may be men-

tioned six panels which formed the predella of a large altar-piece, formerly in the collection of Cardinal Despuyg at Majorca. The predella panels have been separated from the triptych, and are now in Lady Wantage's collection in England; they narrate, with simplicity and directness and with great charm of composition and colour, six incidents in the legendary lives of St. Nicholas of Myra and St. Anthony of Padua.

Gerard David was equally great as a miniaturist, and was a member of the Guilds both of St. Luke and of St. John the Evangelist, to which latter belonged also his wife and his daughter. He directed a large school or 'atelier' of miniature painters in which was executed the greater part of the far-famed Grimani Breviary, now at Venice. His art shows a considerable advance in freedom of composition and variety of treatment over earlier masters of the school; nevertheless a certain stiffness of grouping and attitude still remains, and neither he nor any of the northern painters could emulate Botticelli and the Renaissance painters of Italy, to whom it was given to endow their figures with the final breath of life, by depicting transitory movement, expressing action in its momentary phases, and thus giving permanence to the 'exquisite record of an 'instant.' The Flemings were content with repose, and thereby preserved the quiet serenity and seriousness of purpose that give a restful charm to their compositions.

Quentin Metsys of Antwerp was the first, under Italian influence, to enter upon the new path and to seek after liberty of movement. He strikes a more modern note than his contemporaries. In his large 'Family of St. Anne' at Brussels he conveys, with the subtle skill of a great colourist, the feeling of 'plein-air;' while in the side panel of the 'Death of St. Anne' he renders with the dramatic insight of a poet the touching episode of the Saviour as a youth of sixteen laying one hand on his dying grandmother's brow and raising the other to give her the last benediction. In their realistic groups of misers and moneychangers he and his pupils form the link between the old school of Christus and that of the seventeenth-century 'genre' Dutch painters.

The path in which Flemish painters were, however, making the most rapid strides in the early part of the sixteenth century was that of landscape, which from the early days of the miniaturists had ever been a favourite study with them. They loved to enrich their pages of sacred legends with

backgrounds of fair country, and their borders with flowers of the field and birds and strange animals. But it was Hubert van Eyck who lifted the veil from nature, and, while endeavouring to reflect in art the real world, gave to his interpretation of it a soul, and endowed it with poetical significance. Alexander von Humboldt, in his 'Cosmos,' was the first writer to draw attention to this, saying that, though the rise of landscape painting may be traced through Greek scenic painting and Roman mural decoration and mediæval mosaics and miniatures, yet 'it is 'in the painting of the brothers Van Eyck that we first 'meet with a careful elaboration of the landscape portion 'of the picture . . . which is a fact of no little importance 'in the history of art.' The veil which Van Eyck lifted was never again lowered, and each successive artist, though treating landscape according to his individual feelings and perceptions, never failed to recognise its importance and its charm. Memlinc, through his open windows and arcades, shows us vistas of winding rivers, tranquil valleys and blue hills in unison with the calm serenity of his saints and angels. Gerard David leads us through streets of gabled houses and ornate palaces and into sequestered glades and shady groves of full-foliaged trees overhanging running waters. His contemporary, and in early days his fellow-worker, Joachim Patenir, opens out yet wider and more varied scenes; he depicts far-stretching country and ranges of castle-crowned hills and villages nestling by the river-side with so loving a hand that he subordinates and ultimately suppresses the human figure. In the fair and mystic landscapes which charm us in the olden Flemish pictures, we recognise the germs from which modern landscape has developed, which, passing through Patenir's successors, yielded to the attractions of Italy, and developed in Rome under a colony of which in a subsequent century Paul Brill and Both were leaders, and of which Claude and the Poussins and Wilson felt the influence, and which may be traced down to Corot and the Barbizon School—while the more purely Netherland genius gradually developed a school of its own, whose influence also spread beyond its native shores, and moulded the art of Crome and Cotman, of Gainsborough and Constable — both schools uniting in Turner, whose genius assimilated all that was greatest in his Dutch, Italian, French, and English predecessors, adding a touch of fire divine all his own.

Gerard David and Quentin Metsys may be regarded as the

last of the great, purely national, painters of the Netherland school. Italy cast her spell over their successors who, in their endeavours to imitate the great Florentines and Umbrians, ceased to be original and became cosmopolitan. They forfeited the truthfulness and sincerity that had constituted their charm, they lost the purity and rich harmony of colour that had been their glory, they became effete imitators of a style for which the genius of their race and country had no affinity. But the process of decadence was slow, and painters arose so full of power and talent that in them the signs of decay seemed rather signs of progress. Such especially was the case with Jean Gossaert, better known as Mabuse, whose early work (such as the picture in the collection of the Earl of Carlisle) gave promise of equality with the greatest masters of the school. But his receptive faculty proved his ruin, though in portraiture and in landscape, he and others, such as Van Orley, the Pourbus &c., preserved to a considerable degree the national traditions. Notwithstanding these occasional revivals of old Flemish vigour, art continued its downward course till the period of the great struggle of the War of Independence, which plunged the land into fierce conflict. After thirty years of strife and bloodshed the Netherlands emerged, strengthened and purified by the fiery trial, but riven in twain—one a Catholic and legitimist monarchy, the other a Protestant republic. The distracted state of the country had suspended all æsthetic developement; but the artistic genius of the people, though suppressed, was not extinguished, and when the seventeenth century ushered in a period of tranquillity and revived prosperity, of spiritual as well as temporal independence, men were well content to settle down to a life of peaceful industry, satisfied with their lot, and desiring no aggrandisement. In Holland art began a fresh career under new forms and inspired by new ideals. The Reformation had effectually suppressed the spiritual ideal; a school of secular and common life arose, proceeding from a modern manner of regarding life. The link between earth and heaven was broken, and art brought down from the exclusive regions of religion. The Protestant painters of Holland no longer looked upon the visible world as a symbol of the invisible, and instead of saints and angels they painted boors carousing. Their quest after beauty found satisfaction in nature as they saw her around them; in cloud-swept plains and stormy seas, in grey mists touched by sunlight, in forest paths by rushing streams, in fishing-boats

on calm waters, in cool courts of houses, in interiors of taverns, in homely scenes of domestic life. One man only among the Dutch painters of the seventeenth century rose to greater heights; the mighty genius of Rembrandt saw in nature a struggle between darkness and light, between mystery and reality, and his paintings, whether figure or landscape, record the conflict. Frans Hals depicts with vivid but superficial realism self-satisfied burgomasters at their festive banquets; Rembrandt goes deeper and gives expression to the complex humanity that underlies outward semblance.

Catholic Belgium remained more under the influence of Italy and the spirit of the classical Renaissance, though in her also spiritual ideals were extinct, and sacred subjects were treated with superficial gracefulness. Portraiture was her glory, and Rubens and Vandyck gave to their figures a breadth of style, a freedom of line, a grace of movement that we look for in vain in their fifteenth-century ancestors.

But from these ancestors let us learn the lessons of reverence for nature, of unsparing labour, of self-suppression in the search after truth. To them the short cuts of impressionism were unknown, and would have been despised—their art must ever be the best and most perfect they could give. It requires some effort at first to enter into the spirit of these early Flemish masters, to see nature as they saw her and to feel religion as they felt it; but patient study of their works brings with it its sure reward; and in dwelling with them we dwell in an atmosphere of enchantment, and of rest from the fret and turmoil of modern life, where no note of discord disturbs the perfect harmony.

ART. IX.—*Rural England: Being an Account of Agricultural and Social Researches carried out in the years* 1901 *and* 1902. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. In two volumes. London: Longmans. 1902.

ANYONE who wishes to study the history of agriculture in England for the last 150 years will find a mass of information ready to hand in the evidence both of those who have been examined before the different Commissions appointed by the Government, and of those who from time to time have travelled through the country noting down what they saw and heard. The results of both kinds of inquiry are useful. A Commission obtains evidence in a judicial manner from hundreds of witnesses practically engaged in the agriculture of the country; and the result presented is frequently so impartial as to be nugatory so far as legislation is concerned. A writer, on the other hand, who individually and alone undertakes the work of a Royal Commission, and ventures to describe the whole of the agriculture of England, enters on a formidable task, lays himself open to criticism, and gets but little thanks for his pains. He cannot, as in the case of a Commission, escape responsibility under the cover of two or three contradictory Reports. The danger of this sort of investigation is that the individual is apt to set out with preconceived notions and theories, and is therefore naturally biassed in favour of those who are likely to support his opinions. The dilemma is one from which it is almost impossible to escape, because a practical man in agriculture or any other trade is sure to hold strong opinions, while the impartial man too often knows nothing of his subject. There is, however, a warmth and sympathy about the individual writer which are altogether wanting in the cold and bald Reports of a Royal Commission. In a study of the subject both methods of inquiry have their place, and the results of each should be read side by side by anyone who has the time, leisure, and inclination.

Mr. Rider Haggard's book 'Rural England' is the latest of the many books which have been written on the agriculture of England. The writer describes his mode of procedure, sets out the evidence collected in the different counties which were visited, and finally sums up his work with the conclusions at which he arrived. In the Introduction the author states the reason why he undertook the inquiry—'the heaviest task of his life'—and also

the difficulties which he encountered. Arthur Young, William Marshall, William Cobbett, and, fifty years ago, Sir James Caird had all described rural England, but since that date, in spite of the many and interesting changes which had taken place in connexion with the land, no single pen had been found to describe them. The scope of this inquiry is limited to England, twenty-seven counties of which were visited, and to the Channel Islands. Mr. Rider Haggard utters a warning to anyone who should have the temerity to follow in his footsteps. He must be a man of tough fibre and of sleepless vigilance. He must travel incessantly and never fall ill. After a hard day he must be prepared to 'plunge into unknown society,' his attention and observation must never flag. He must combine the mind of a trained lawyer with a patient and prosaic intelligence. He must know how to take notes, and, what is more important, be able to read them afterwards; and he must have a knowledge of his subject. Fortunately, the author was endowed with these qualifications, and passed through the ordeal unscathed, the love of his subject sustaining him. The book gives a picture of England at the present time, and contains a mass of evidence procured for the most part from farmers and landlords. It is to be regretted that the labourer, about whom so much is written in the book, was not more often consulted about his position.

The system adopted to procure the information required was that of the interview, and the bulk of the book is made up of reports of conversations. Mr. Rider Haggard warns his readers that this system may involve a certain amount of repetition, but that 'even as no two leaves are alike, 'although to the casual eye they appear so similar, so there 'exist variations between every one of a thousand tales of 'agricultural woe.' It must be confessed that the plaintive wail which is dominant throughout is somewhat tedious, and we wish there had been more dissimilarity in the leaves of 'Rural England.' But whatever criticism may be passed on the conclusions to which the author is led by his inquiry, he has evidently done his best to present to the reader a fair and truthful report of his investigations. Such a book as 'Rural England' must arouse attention and invite discussion, and this cannot fail to be beneficial to the interest concerned. Nothing is so deadly as apathy, and apparently this is the prevailing disease of agriculture.

Depression, with few exceptions, Mr. Rider Haggard found

everywhere, and the proverbial despondency of the farmer was no doubt encouraged by the sympathy of his interviewer. Some bright spots there were, however, and some witnesses who declined to take a pessimistic view. In Guernsey, which, owing to soil and climate, is a garden, 'instances are 'common in which men who begin life with no other endow-'ment than health and strength end it in the possession of 'fortunes of from 5,000*l.* to 10,000*l.*' One farmer, who kept eighty head of cattle on less than thirty acres of land, in answer to the remark, 'You all seem very rich in Guernsey,' said, 'No, sir; we are not rich, but we are thriving.' In Somersetshire the conclusion arrived at was that the great majority of farmers were paying their rent and making a living. In Herefordshire a cider enthusiast gave as a panacea for health, and it may be supposed as an antidote for depression, to eat six medium-sized apples at midnight and wash them down with a pint of cider! Another witness in the same county, an auctioneer, was very hopeful about the position of agriculture. Gloucestershire was found to be fairly prosperous. In Warwickshire farmers are just making a living, and in Shropshire farming is still a profitable industry. To the surprise of the author, the labour difficulty was found not to be severe in Essex: 'in all districts labour 'could be had at a price.' In this county the tenant farmers 'can make a living; indeed, I have not found one who fails to 'do so, to pay his rent such as it is, to keep a horse and trap, 'and even in many cases to treat himself to an occasional 'day with the hounds or gun.' This in a county which in some parts was reputed to be derelict! In Hertfordshire those who farm near the railway are prosperous, and the Cornish and Scotch tenants are progressive in their methods. Several land-agents who were interviewed in Northampton-shire said that there was a good demand for farms in the county, and that the supply of labour in 1901 was much more plentiful than it had been in the previous year. In Yorkshire many squires were found living on their estates, and, after all, taking the county through, the state of agriculture was not so bad. An interesting letter from an experienced agent in Yorkshire, who has been connected with the land since 1860, gives anything but a doleful view of the future of agriculture in that part of England. He goes so far as to say that 'taking the state of the land generally it is 'better cultivated now than it was many years ago'; and again, 'I think on the whole the outlook is hopeful, and at the present moment rents are well and promptly paid.' It

is curious that throughout the book the land-agents' evidence appears to be the least depressing, and as they probably know most about the position of those who own and cultivate the land in their neighbourhood, it should carry especial weight. In Norfolk, Lord Leicester informed Mr. Rider Haggard that 'in 1901 the demand for his farms was 'greater than had ever been the case during his long tenure 'of the estate; therefore the farmers must be living.' The farms which are being successfully cultivated on the Holkham Estate are large farms, and Lord Leicester did not think that the small farmers on his estate were doing any good.

But these witnesses of brighter hopes were rather the exception than the rule. In Wiltshire, for instance, on a farm of 700 acres, the farmer complained bitterly of the labour difficulty, and said that he made more money when he paid 800*l.* a year for his farm than he did at the present rental of 250*l.* Apparently this old gentleman had been almost deserted, for, on the author drawing his attention to a lad with some horses, he remarked, 'Ay, he is the last 'left to I, and he will be off soon.' How he managed to farm 700 acres with the help of one lad is not mentioned, but perhaps he had his tongue in his cheek. In Hampshire the same outcry was made about labour—not only is it scarce, but inferior. In Sussex, in spite of the wages being from 14*s.* to 17*s.* a week, with extra money at harvest time, labour was leaving the rural districts, employers were left with the old men, and the opinion of one farmer was that when these died out the farming industry must come to an end. In Devonshire, a farmer, after bemoaning his lot, expressed a hope that his sons would not be farmers, for 'It's a 'dog's life, sir! It's a dog's life!' Cornwall was formerly a county of small yeomen; in 1873, out of 13,866 proprietors, 8,717 owned less than a single acre, and the average size of estates was fifty-four acres. Now most of the small estates have been bought up, and the yeoman class has almost passed away. Labour was scarce; education, together with the reading of newspapers, had made the men discontented with the country, and in spite of the homœopathic remedy of reading-rooms being tried, the young labourers left the land. The ruin of agriculture in Cornwall was put down to free trade. In Dorsetshire the tale was the same: if conditions remain as at present, land must go out of cultivation. Mr. Rider Haggard could find but little hope for agriculture from the evidence he gathered in Hereford-

shire. Here the same complaints of want of labour, lowness of prices, and reduction of rents were heard; but, as has been already mentioned above, there were a few individuals who took a more hopeful view, and who, by their energy and intelligence, had been able to make farming or market gardening pay well. The opinion formed of other counties was little different. The conditions prevailing in rural Suffolk were described as disastrous.

Sufficient has been written to show the general tenour of the evidence. On the whole it is gloomy reading. The author himself was evidently much affected by the result of his inquiries, as may be gathered from one of the earlier sentences in his conclusion: 'The impression left upon my 'mind by my extensive wanderings is that English agricul- 'ture seems to be fighting against the mills of God. Many 'circumstances combine to threaten it with ruin, although 'as yet it is not actually ruined.' As has been shown, all were not of this opinion; but no doubt the large majority of those interviewed took a very despondent view of the present conditions of agriculture. The evidence of the landlords and tenants weighed heavily, and helped to depress the scale, but many land-agents and several independent witnesses who were men of business were more hopeful.

We may now proceed to study the conclusions and consider the remedies proposed. Of all the circumstances combining to threaten agriculture with ruin, foreign competition, says the author, is the chief, and this is made worse by the preferential rates granted by the railway companies. He refuses to be comforted by the idea that corn-producing countries will gradually fill up with a population of their own. The suggestion that bi-metallism or an increase in the output of gold can improve the situation is put aside. Protection is a chimera. We confess that we read with satisfaction that 'Free trade and unfettered 'imports has shot its fibres through every part and organ 'of the body corporate, till it is in truth no excrescence or 'addition, but an integral part of our national life.' This clears the air as far as artificial remedies for low prices are concerned, and the author proceeds to deal with what he considers to be the second great danger which threatens English husbandry—namely, the lack of labour. Labour was found to be more scarce in the South and near seaport and manufacturing towns, and more plentiful in the eastern and more northerly counties. But 'everywhere the young

'men and women are leaving the villages where they were 'born, and flocking into the towns . . . it is now common 'for only the dullards, the vicious, or the wastrels to stay 'upon the land, because they are unfitted for any other life; 'and it is this indifferent remnant who will be the parents 'of the next generation of rural Englishmen.' In spite of this scarcity of labour, Mr. Rider Haggard thinks that agriculture will still be carried on, but that the 'soil in the 'future may produce, perhaps, one-half of what it used to 'produce, and, say, one-third of what it could be made to 'produce.' The consequences to the nation will, however, be more serious. 'It can mean nothing less than the pro- 'gressive deterioration of the race. In the absence of new 'conditions which cannot be foreseen, if unchecked it may 'in the end mean the ruin of the race.'

Of the three classes connected with the land, the author believes that the owner has suffered most. The evidence gathered in Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk showed that after the various expenses have been met there is often nothing left for the owner. 'The farmers, with 'few exceptions, do no more than make a hard living, 'and in many cases they are actually losing capital.' He is of opinion that farmers largely cling to their profession because they have no other resource or occupation. The labourers are better off than they have ever been before, but in spite of this they are discontented. The diffusion of newspapers, the system of board-school education, and the restless spirit of the age all come in for their share of responsibility in making the labourer discontented with his lot. There is also the attraction of high wages, com- pany, and amusement, with shorter hours of work, in the towns. The prospects of rising, also, on the land are few, and in many cases the cottage accommodation is bad. Where is the remedy? Better wages the land cannot afford. Mr. Rider Haggard turns to small holdings, and suggests that the provisions of the Working Classes Act of 1890 should be so extended as to enable public bodies and landowners 'to borrow money from the Treasury to 'whatever extent they may wish for the erection of cottages 'and farm buildings sufficient for the purposes of small 'holdings.' The necessary capital for these small holdings would be advanced by credit banks, which should be under the management and control of the Board of Agriculture, the Treasury finding the half-million sterling which would be necessary to start the scheme. Mr. Rider Hag-

believes that 'men will not return from, they will not even 'cease to go to, the towns in order to become day labourers 'on the land.' He argues that a lad should become acquainted with land and with animals before he is twelve years old. This is to be accomplished by the system adopted in various continental countries, which enables the children to work on the land in summer and in the school in winter. We may point out here that the Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act (1893) Amendment Act, 1899, gave the local authority power to fix thirteen years as the minimum age for exemption from school attendance in the case of children to be employed in agriculture, and the Act further provided that such children, over eleven and under thirteen years of age, who had passed the standard for partial exemption should not be required to attend school more than 250 times in any year.

The final recommendations deal with remedies for agriculture at large. The equalisation of the incidence of rates as between real and personal property is the first suggestion. The abolition of copyholds, the cheapening of land transfer, the multiplication of light railways, and the branding of foreign meat are also advocated. In addition the author would like to see the question of preferential rates dealt with, and the promotion of co-operative societies for the manufacture of butter. But, to use his words, 'by far the 'greatest and most far-reaching of the remedies' he has to propose is the establishment of an agricultural parcel-post, to be worked as a branch of the present Post Office. All classes of agricultural goods (to include milk cans) are to be carried by this means, up to 100 lbs. weight. Produce in bulk might eventually be dealt with by the aid of road traction. The need for this post is caused by the difficulty which agriculturists meet with in their endeavour to deliver their produce in the markets that are eager for them. The effect of this reform would be to establish thousands of small holders on the land, and a nation so benefited should not grudge the outlay. This concludes the recommendations which are put forward as possible props to support the tottering industry of agriculture.

However inadequately the above may give the views of Mr. Rider Haggard as expressed in 'Rural England,' [illegible] our endeavour to present them fairly and impa[rtially] With a great deal that is written in these tw[o] volumes we agree, although we think that the pict[ure] presented is painted in colours altogether too dar[k]

The greatest cause of suffering to agriculture appears to us to be the alternation of prices. High prices inevitably lead to competition for farms, high rents, and extravagant living. Then comes the fall, bringing misery in its train, because the conditions of life require time for adjustment. The great crisis in agriculture in 1815 was caused by the inflation of prices during the war and the sudden fall after the peace. Wheat in 1800–1 had touched 115*s.* 11*d.* a quarter, in 1816 the price was 52*s.*, in the same year it rose again to 103*s.*, and sank in 1822 to 30*s.* The suffering caused to all concerned in agriculture was very great. Landlords had to forego their rents, farmers were ruined, and labourers were dismissed. Not that the prices were to be compared with those that agriculture has had to face during the last thirty years, but the alternation was greater and more sudden. Better the steady depression of the last thirty years than the fluctuations of 1812–42.

Although agriculture cannot be said to be flourishing, it is not altogether on an unhealthy footing at the present time, for the reason that present prices are accepted, rents have been brought to a fair level, and it is generally recognised that good and intelligent farming is the best substitute for protection. If the prosperity of agriculture depended wholly on high prices, as some would have us believe, then indeed would the position be hopeless. As the profits, however, do not altogether depend on high prices, but also on the cost of production, there is always the possibility of saving in the one what is lost in the other; by this means English agriculture has survived the ordeal of the last depression, and that without any protective duties being imposed. The fact that this has been done without artificial aids such as those to which other countries resort is a healthy sign which augurs well for the future, especially when we consider that there is much yet to be done which may further reduce the cost of production. It is slowly dawning on the bucolic mind that agriculture is not a holy calling, or its followers a chosen people. It is subject to the same fluctuations, competitions, and vexations as other trades. The weather perhaps makes it more speculative than most, but the agriculturist must have faith in his calling, remembering that 'he that observeth the wind shall not sow, and 'he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap.' The idea that it was a national or privileged pursuit was a weakness. It is of no more importance to the commercial prosperity of the nation than any other trade, and so long as it looks for

special privileges will never prosper. It is not necessary to travel round England to know that while the country as a whole is prosperous, and during the last thirty years has been going forward by leaps and bounds, the agricultural industry has during the same period been leaping and bounding the other way. It is unfortunately true that what has benefited commerce has hurt agriculture. The low price of all agricultural produce, which is brought to our shores without let or hindrance, has involved us in a competition so severe that old ways and customs are failing, and it is only by new methods that we can hope to survive. We are passing through a great period of trade revolution, brought about by the opening-up of vast territories eminently suited to supply our (agricultural) needs, and by the introduction of machinery. Freights—which for a time formed a protective barrier between England and the rest of the world—have now been reduced to a negligible quantity.* The great continents of America and Australia are brought to our doors. The oceans which separate us are rather a convenience than an obstacle to trade, the carriage by sea being so much cheaper than the carriage by land. The goods imported, being for the most part non-perishable, are not affected by the time occupied in transit; when they are, the freezing chamber overcomes the difficulty. This obliteration, so to speak, of time and space, which has been the work of steam and machinery, is the revolution which has caused our present distress. But we need not despair: nearly every other trade has had to face the same difficulties, and has survived by facing them with skill, with ingenuity, and with courage. We hope it will not be suggested that agriculturists are not capable of overcoming their difficulties in the same manner.

It is hardly to be hoped that, in any time which can be of benefit to the present generation, the advantages which foreign trade enjoys will be lessened. Competition, which in the shipping trade is not likely to diminish, will keep down freights, and increased facilities of communication will bring distant lands nearer to our shores. Whenever the fresh soils of the North American continent become exhausted, and the same intensity of cultivation is required there as in England, then, unless some new and artificial

* Grain freights from New York to the United Kingdom, 1874, 10*s.* 6*d.* per ton; 1902, 4*s.* 9½*d.* per ton. From San Francisco to the United Kingdom, 1874, 70*s.* per ton; 1902, 22*s.* 7*d.* per ton.

food is invented, we or those who come after us may look for a rise in prices. This, of course, will be accelerated by the growth of population, not only in North America, but also in those countries which now import foreign wheat. We are becoming accustomed to low prices for grain, and the cry for protection as a remedy is dying out. This in itself is a step in advance, because so long as agriculturists believe that the simple remedy of import duties to raise prices can be obtained, it is natural that with this boon always within their possible grasp they should hesitate to turn to other remedies. As regards agricultural depression, the position of England is not unique; almost all European countries are suffering more or less from the same cause. In some countries relief is given by means of heavy protection, but even that is not a sufficient alleviation; they are looking elsewhere for markets, and are adopting those co-operative methods which alone can enable a country to compete successfully at the present day.

Mr. Rider Haggard dwells on the depopulation of the country as a national calamity, which must lead to the deterioration, if not the extinction, of the race. That may or may not be. The nation has chosen the policy of free imports, which is largely responsible for the decrease of arable land, and the agriculturist, as such, need not worry about the nation. His business is to make the land produce as much as possible at the least cost; to see that the produce is in quality and quantity such as is required; and to produce the best, for which there will always be a market. The foreign producers at the present moment know more about the English market than the English farmer. They are competing with us, and to a large extent beating us out of our own market with articles for the production of which they have no greater facilities than ourselves. They are enabled to do this by co-operation, not only amongst themselves, but between the Government and the agricultural societies; and by an enlightened system of education. Other countries have mastered the secret of modern trade—regularity in supply and uniformity in quality. If only it was realised in England that agriculture is a trade and a business, and not merely a pursuit, then we should not be long in following the example which has already been set in Ireland and on the Continent. Why, it may well be asked, if it is possible for such countries as Holland and Denmark to prosper agriculturally, should not we prosper also? They have no natural advantages over ourselves, and yet in 1901 Denmark

exported to England nearly 14,000,000*l.*, and Holland close on 8,000,000*l.* worth of agricultural produce. The latter country is densely populated, and imports largely of grain, in which respect it is similarly situated to this country, but the nation which is almost entirely agricultural has had the versatility to change its system of cultivation and to make use of the cheapness of corn to produce those articles which are not so variable in price. The progress in Denmark has been most rapid; and here, again, co-operation has been the chief factor of success. The first co-operative dairy was formed in 1882, and now they number 1,040, converting about 1,800 millions of kilos. of milk, equivalent to a value of 7,112,000*l.* The value of eggs sold, which at the end of the seventies was only 55,000*l.*, is now 1,160,948*l.*

The same system of co-operation and organisation is being worked with advantage in France, which sends some of the best butter that reaches our market. While agriculturists in England are complaining that they are ruined, these countries are capturing our markets and beating us at what should be our own game.

It is not necessary to go deeply into the question of co-operation here: the advantages of combination are well known in this country, and in Ireland we have an example of order coming out of chaos by its means.

Much may be learnt by a study of the conditions of agriculture in Ireland, different though they are from those prevailing in this country. Ireland is a country largely of small holdings and dual ownership. The present system of land tenure is absolutely hopeless; it rests on no economic basis; by its means the laws of supply and demand are put aside, and rents are fixed by a land court every fifteen years (on the demand of landlord or tenant). This is a direct encouragement to bad farming, because the better the land is cultivated the higher the rent may become. It is hard enough for the small farmer to exist in these days even if he works the land to the utmost; with any discouragement of this sort he must fail. The position has been enormously alleviated, however, by the formation of co-operative societies all over Ireland, founded on the continental system. This has done more to encourage the cultivation of the land than any legislation could possibly have accomplished. The regeneration of Ireland will not come from political action, however well intentioned, but from the steady, sustained effort of the people themselves through co-operation. Great as the hopes are which centre round the Land Purchase

Bill, it will not settle everything. It will, it is to be hoped, do away with the evil system of dual ownership, and thus, by giving the farmer the security of absolute ownership, induce him to work and improve his land. This alone should give a great stimulus to improved agriculture, but the success of the cultivator will still depend on the markets for his produce and on his ability to supply those markets. It is safe to say that without organised combination these small holders must perish, and nothing short of the heaviest protective duties can save them. They will be ground to powder between the upper and nether millstones of the highest cost of production and the lowest market price. The leaders of the people in Ireland, irrespective of political opinion, have shown their sagacity in taking up this question of agricultural co-operation, and under the guidance of Mr. Horace Plunkett, than whom no man in our time has done more for Ireland, are now giving an object lesson to the rest of the United Kingdom which we should be wise to imitate. This great self-help movement has made State aid not only possible but efficient, and has led to the creation of an Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction which is able to work through, and in harmony with, the different organisations in the country. Apart from the great educational benefits conferred by a system of this character, the material advantages are enormous. By combination the small farmer gets all the advantages of the big man. By this means he can procure the benefit of machinery, he can improve his stock, he can reduce the cost of every article he requires, whether it be for his personal use or for use on the farm; he can save on the cost of transit of his produce. Whatever is the difference between retail and wholesale, that he saves.

These advantages, great as they are, are only a portion of those secured by co-operation. They are the advantages on the side of supply, and they enable the farmer to supply at the lowest possible cost. Supply, however, is not sufficient to give value to the products: demand is necessary before there can be any commercial transaction. It is no exaggeration to say that there was little or no demand for the produce of the small farmers of Ireland, with the exception, perhaps, of their stock, before co-operation was introduced. With much land unrivalled for the purposes of agriculture, and with the largest market in the world at their doors, the Irish farmers failed, as other farmers have failed also, because they did not supply what the consumer required. The trade

was carried on, on the lines of the old agricultural monopoly, when the farmer was the master and the consumer was the slave. There is now very little direct trading, agricultural or other, between the producer and consumer. The middleman, who caters for the general taste, is the agent of exchange. He buys wholesale and sells retail. He requires a regular supply, and a regular quality in order to satisfy the demands and tastes of his customers. Under the old system of individual farming he found that these requirements could not be met. He was obliged therefore to import from those countries where a more enlightened system of supply prevailed. This has been especially the case with regard to butter, a commodity for the production of which Ireland has special facilities. Before co-operation was applied to agriculture in Ireland the butter products were often of the most variable and inferior description, a mere collection of odds and ends, and often rancid. It was not surprising, therefore, that Ireland entirely lost its position in the butter market of England, and trade was transferred to Denmark and France. By means of co-operation the output of butter has not only been enormously increased, but the quality has so far improved that in many cases the Irish are competing successfully with their foreign rivals, and there is no reason why in time the trade should not grow to very large proportions. Unfortunately, although every detail is given in the annual returns with regard to trade from other countries, there are no statistics available to show what the amount of butter imported into England from Ireland is at the present time: a defect in the returns of the statistical department of the Customs which might without much difficulty be made good.

The co-operative movement in Ireland is now firmly established and is likely to be progressive. From the latest returns it appears that there are now 749 societies with an approximate membership of 70,000 co-operators. As it grows in dimensions those who have held back either from incredulity or from superior aloofness will come in. The fellowship engendered by the movement will grow, the advantages in trade, which will eventually be captured by the co-operators, as has happened in Denmark, will render the position of those individualists who stand outside the movement an impossible one. An entirely new position will be created in Ireland, which will undoubtedly be helped by any legislation which can give the rights of proprietor-

ship to those who farm the land. Instead of an Ireland only united by, and wholly absorbed in, its hostility and distrust of the rest of the United Kingdom, there will be an Ireland not necessarily less united in its political ideals, but at the same time united in a community of trade interests which are of direct benefit to the people as a whole. The rigid exclusion of all politics from the industrial movement gives it a sound basis. If at any time agricultural co-operation took hold in England and was worked in sympathy with the movement in Ireland, it would be of advantage to both, and help to break down the barriers which now exist between the two countries. A warm welcome should therefore be accorded to the English Agricultural Organisation Society, which is working on the same lines as the co-operative movement in Ireland. Already it has been able to start agricultural co-operative societies in different parts of England, and those in Wales, Cumberland, Worcestershire, and Yorkshire are all doing well and increasing their turnover year by year. A good example of the advantages of co-operative purchase is furnished by the Furness and South Cumberland Society, which had a turnover of 16,712*l.* last year, showing an improvement of 1,059*l.* over the trade of the previous year. The net balance to the credit of revenue account, after providing interest at 5 per cent. on the capital, was 719*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* The trade of this society was principally in cakes and manures. The expense of organising a movement of this sort is naturally very great, and in its inception, as was the case in Ireland, it depends almost entirely on voluntary support. It is to be hoped that this endeavour, which is so full of promise for the future of agriculture in this country, will not be allowed to languish for want of the necessary funds. Already the Welsh farmers are inquiring into the question, and last year a deputation from West Wales went over to Ireland to study the movement. The report which they presented on their return was in all respects favourable to the adoption of a similar system.

How far or how soon agricultural co-operation will be adopted in England is a difficult question to answer. The conditions are so different, both as regards the character of the Englishman, with his self-reliance and strong individualistic tendency, and as regards the soil, which is for the most part unsuited to small holdings, and necessitates large farms and men of capital. These, however, should not be permanent obstacles, if the rooted objection to co-

operation which undoubtedly exists among English farmers can be overcome. We see interests uniting for self-preservation all over the world, the great shipping 'combine' being the latest development. Co-operation abroad, apart altogether from natural advantages possessed by the different countries competing with us, is flooding our markets, which, if we adopted the same means, we could supply ourselves. England has become the dumping ground of foreign nations; our own market, the finest in the world, is, to a large extent, lost to us, because we keep our eyes shut to what is going on around us. Some still think that our antiquated system of business should be supported by artificial barriers to foreign trade, forgetting that the great majority of the labouring population live, as Mr. Rowntree tells us, on the verge of starvation, that they are not engaged in agriculture, and that cheap food is what enables this enormous living machine to produce the wealth of the country. Farmers will deceive themselves if they think that they can artificially heighten the cost of food and with it the cost of living in England.

Information as to the state of the markets for agricultural produce is urgently required. Our attention in this country must be turned more and more to the production of the perishable articles of food, for which, in spite of the many artificial appliances enabling their import, we still have special facilities. Information should be within reach of every farmer as to what the consuming public requires, and details should also be supplied to him as to prices, quality, and quantity. He should know which is the best and most convenient market for his produce, and what state of delivery is best suited to the requirements of the trade. Such an intelligence department as is here suggested could only be organised by the Board of Agriculture and a body of experts under their direction, and a small sum would be required to carry out the scheme. When we consider, however, the enormous importance to the nation of successful trade, not only without but within the country, judicious expenditure of this sort should be considered in the light of an investment. Surely a few pence might be spent at home with as much profit as so many pounds abroad.

To find the cheapest means of communication with the market is of the greatest importance, for in that largely depends the farmer's successful rivalry with foreign competitors. In the cost of communication the principal item is the railway rates, and this, again, is the subject of much

complaint. How far the grievance is just or unjust we shall not inquire here, the subject being too large to deal with in this article. The matter resolves itself, to a great extent, at any rate, into a question of large and small consignments. It is naturally impossible for the railway companies to pick up small parcels at country stations and carry them at the same rate as large consignments booked through. Maximum charges have been fixed by law, and the full limit of these charges is seldom reached. Railway companies are not allowed to give preferential rates, provided the services rendered are the same or similar. In the case of small quantities, however, a higher rate is allowed to be charged, as the following regulation will show: 'Where a consign-'ment of milk is less than twelve gallons the company shall 'be entitled to charge as for twelve gallons, and where a 'consignment of perishable merchandise (other than milk) 'is less than one hundredweight the company shall be 'entitled to charge as for one hundredweight, with a 'minimum charge of one shilling.' The extra expense put upon the railway companies by handling, carrying, and delivering small quantities of merchandise is here recognised. Prior to the passing of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, many instances were brought forward in which the companies were charging in excess of the maximum allowed; but that Act enabled the traders to ascertain the statutory powers of a company as to charges. Unfortunately, though the trader may be able to prove his case, it is extremely expensive for him to obtain redress. In Ireland the Agricultural Department can, if it is satisfied that the grievance is a just one, take up the case of a private trader and fight the company on his behalf. This is the proper function of such a department, and this system might with advantage be introduced into England. The State should keep an effective control of the railway monopoly, and see that no unfair advantage is taken over the small trader. But if agriculturists wish for the lowest rates they must deliver their goods in larger bulk, and, if necessary, must co-operate for this purpose. Too much stress cannot be laid on the increasing importance of co-operation.

The recommendation to which the author of 'Rural 'England' attaches most importance is the agricultural post, for the carriage of articles up to one hundred pounds weight. The view is that this will create a trade which will call into being a race of small holders, the only people

upon whom any reliance can be placed, now that the labour is leaving the land. It cannot be denied that any cheapening in the transit of goods will benefit the trade of the country, but we demur altogether to the idea that an agricultural post, as here suggested, will be the saving of agriculture. The days of small trading are past, never to return. The whole tendency of the time is the other way, and trade cannot be fostered artificially by this means. The individual producer cannot be the retailer to any large extent; however advantageous it may be to him, to the purchaser it is anything but a happy arrangement. The middleman exists because he is convenient to the public, and no parcel post can remove him. We gather that it is Mr. Rider Haggard's opinion that small lots of agricultural produce would find a ready market, if only the overwhelming charges of transport could be reduced. He gives his own case as an instance which we cannot do better than quote in his own words:—

'The other day in my own garden I saw some hundreds of particularly fine cos lettuces which were beginning to bolt—that is, go to seed. I told the gardener that he had better sell them, to which he replied that there was no local market, and that they would not pay to send away by train. If an agricultural post had existed, these lettuces would have been delivered on the following morning in Yarmouth, Lowestoft, or London, where they would have fetched a good price.'

We fear that this is a fallacy, for two reasons: first, that odd lots of vegetables suddenly thrown into the market, unless in times of great scarcity, will never procure a satisfactory return; and, secondly, these particular lettuces which were going to seed were hardly in a marketable condition. If the scheme of an agricultural post is to promote trade on these lines it is doomed to failure, because there is no demand for trade of this kind. Surely also the idea that this post will, as if by magic, create 'thousands of 'small holders' is a delusion! Small holders, like large holders, are a natural growth of the economic conditions of the time; the character of the soil and situation being also determining factors. In Ireland they exist because it is largely a country of pasture-land and dairy farming, and very little machinery is used. In some parts of England also, on grass lands, in situations near to great commercial centres where there is a demand for garden produce and small perishable products, they may succeed. Again, it is possible that with co-operation the system might be further

extended, because then, by organising the collection of the produce of the different small holders the demands of the market as to constant quality and quantity might be satisfied; but it is safe to say that no agricultural post, and no cheapening of the cost of transport can make small holdings profitable unless such a system is in conformity with the requirements of trade.

We have our doubts whether small holdings are likely to increase to any great extent in England, for, to insure success, a great deal of the country must be farmed on a large scale with abundant capital. The cost of production must be reduced to a minimum if there is to be any profit, and this can only be done by an extensive use of machinery. It is cheaper to farm a thousand than five hundred acres, and a small farm of one hundred or fifty acres is the dearest of any. In proportion as the extent of land occupied increases, so are the expenses diminished. There is a saving in management, in machinery, and in time, through the division of labour. There are also the great advantages of buying and selling in large quantities. We do not wish to suggest that there are not districts in England where small holders are prosperous and where the system may have some advantages, but looking at the agriculture of England as a whole we cannot see how the present system of large holdings can with advantage be changed. The tendency, as already observed, is all the other way. So long ago as 1770, Arthur Young, in writing of the system of cultivation in Norfolk, said: 'Great farms have been the soul of the 'Norfolk culture; split them into tenures of an hundred 'pounds a year you will find nothing but beggars and weeds 'in the whole country. The rich man keeps his land rich 'and clean.'

Mr. Rider Haggard remarks on the decrease of the yeoman class in England, and observes that in many parts it has disappeared. It is indeed sad that these men, many of whom with their families had been attached to the soil for generations, should be swept away, but it is the natural result of competition for markets. The cost of production has killed the small man. In Ireland the same absorption is going on. An interesting article on the statistical survey of Irish agriculture* gives the following information: 'While 'in 1841 holdings between one and fifteen acres were 31·5 'per cent. of the total holdings above one acre, in 1901 they

* In 'Ireland: Industrial and Agricultural.'

'were but 42·1 per cent. On the other hand, holdings 'between fifteen and thirty acres have increased from '11·5 per cent. of the total of holdings above an acre in '1841 to 26·0 in 1901, and those above thirty acres in the 'same period from 7·0 to 31·9.' In Belgium the division of farms has ceased, and there is a tendency for land to get into the hands of medium and large proprietors. In the United States, again, though the average size of farms decreased from 1850 to 1880, since then it has steadily increased, and that increase would have been greater but for the reduction in the size of the farms in the South Atlantic States where cotton-growing is the chief industry. With regard to the causes which regulate the size of holding, the report on the twelfth census of the United States contains the following: 'Throughout the United States the increase 'or decrease in the average size of farms, therefore, is due 'to the changes incident to the adjustment of the agri-'cultural operations of each locality to those branches of 'husbandry to which it is best adapted.'

It would be difficult to state precisely what are the causes which determine the size of holdings. On the Continent small holdings are largely fostered by the law of inheritance, by high protective duties, and by co-operation; but in England, where none of these influences are found, their existence will be determined by the natural margin between market price and cost of production. The present effect of the reduction of this margin has been to blot many of these small holders out, and it is not easy to see how under the present conditions they can be recreated, though something might be done by means of co-operation. However desirable it may be from a national point of view to maintain the agricultural population by the encouragement of small holdings, the benefits to agriculture will be small. The creation of small holdings will not solve the labour difficulty. Men who are working their own land are not such as can be profitably employed on a large farm. Such men will naturally wish to look after their own interests first and their employers' second. It is much more likely that the labour difficulty will solve itself without the resort to any expedients of this sort.

The great dislocation of labour, which is perhaps the most serious and interesting feature in the agricultural position of to-day, is due, in our opinion, to natural causes, which we may now proceed to examine. The reduction in the number of agricultural labourers has been going on

continuously since the year 1851. In that year agricultural labourers and shepherds numbered 1,253,786, in 1891, out of a much larger total population, they numbered only 780,707. This class of the population had therefore decreased by more than one-third in forty years. The complete returns for the census of 1901 are not yet published, and until the final report dealing with the number of persons employed in various avocations is available it is not possible to say with precision to what extent the tendency of agricultural labourers to leave the land, which was so marked a characteristic of the period 1851–91, has been continued in the decade 1891–1901. From the returns for separate counties which have just been completed it would appear, however, that the total number of shepherds and agricultural labourers of various degrees in England and Wales did not amount in 1901 to more than 620,000, and this would make the reduction during the last decade about 160,000. It must be remembered that the census was taken at a time when there was an exceptional drain on the people of the country in consequence of the South African war. No doubt large numbers of men who, in normal years, would have been returned under the head of agricultural labourers were at the time of the census serving with the colours either in South Africa or on garrison duty at home. But even after making this allowance it seems evident that the reduction of labour on the land was at least as great during the ten years 1891–1901 as it was in any previous decade, with the exception of 1861–71. The scarcity of labour on the land, however, was probably never more acutely felt than at the end of the nineteenth century. The decrease of labour prior to the year 1891 had been so great that only sufficient was left on the land for the requirements of agriculture; thus any further diminution was bound to be a serious drain on the cultivating resources of the land, which no machinery and no change of cultivation could immediately make good. What should be recognised is that this migration from the country is no new thing, that it has been going on steadily for a great many years, but that from some cause or other a great impetus was given to the movement between 1891 and 1901. It is to that point that we wish to direct attention. If we look back a few years to the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture presented in 1897, we shall find little said about bour as a reason for depression, but a great deal about es. The same reasons were given by the Richmond

Commission appointed in 1879. [illegible] depression then were, firstly, had [illegible] competition. In 1897 the Commission [illegible] 'existing depression is to be attributed [illegible] 'in prices of farm produce.' There [illegible] scarcity of labour at the time these [illegible] on the contrary, the evidence showed [illegible] districts labour had been reduced, and [illegible] less regular and more uncertain. [illegible] 'casual men were in irregular [illegible] 'seasons of 1893–94 and 1894–95 [illegible] 'years. In the latter year this [illegible] 'reducing their staff, owing to [illegible]

There are many theories [illegible] decrease of labour in the [illegible] put forward yet another [illegible] those who are considering [illegible] Mr. Rider Haggard clearly [illegible] importance and concern to [illegible] The reasons given to the [illegible] explanation of the migration [illegible] summed up shortly as (1) [illegible] (2) education unsuited for [illegible] an agricultural population [illegible] as compared with the [illegible] superior wages in the [illegible] is that not one of [illegible] 1891–1901. The cottage [illegible] much improved since [illegible] to the decrease of [illegible] occupied, and [illegible] This grievance [illegible]

The present [illegible] 1870. Mr. Rider [illegible] dislike manual [illegible] the smattering [illegible] country school [illegible] but even [illegible] commencement [illegible] tion of the [illegible] neither [illegible] we [illegible] operation [illegible] Please [illegible]

him which he did not possess before; this, and a cheaper and easier communication between the different parts of the country, have probably had an effect on the movement of labour; but none of these reasons accounts for the recent depopulation of the country-side. Of the four decades included in 1851–91, the years 1861–71 show the greatest reduction in the agricultural labouring population. In that decade the decrease was no less than 205,638. Before 1870 education can hardly be held responsible for anything: it certainly did not affect the rural population. We feel inclined therefore to rate the importance of education as a depopulating agency very lightly.

Perhaps the most potent factor of all has been the introduction of labour-saving machinery. The great change from tillage to pasture did not come till the depression in 1880–90; prior to that the amount of tillage varied but little, and the loss of labour must have been made good by machinery. It is impossible to estimate the saving, in the number of men employed, effected by such appliances as the reaper and binder, the double-furrow plough, the elevator, and the improved threshing machine, to enumerate but a few; but it must amount to a considerable percentage. And if before 1880 more men were not employed on the land than was necessary, considering that the number of acres cultivated was almost the same, machinery must have made good the deficiency.

The agricultural statistics for the United States throw some light on this question. The value of agricultural machinery in the United States was, in 1850, £151,587,638, in 1900 the value had increased to £761,261,550. The average number of acres to one male worker was, in 1880, 23·3; in 1890, 27·5; in 1900, 31·0, which is estimated in the census report to indicate a saving of labour through machinery of about 35 per cent. This, then, is one of the great causes of the diminution of manual labour on the land. Since 1880 another cause has been the reduction of acreage under the plough, owing to the low prices of corn. This, however, does not account for anything approaching the real figures.

In our opinion the rapid increase in the numbers of the people leaving the country is to be found in the low prices which prevailed in 1894–95. In the autumn of 1894 wheat was quoted at 17*s.* 6*d.* a quarter, and in 1895 the average price of wheat was 23*s.* 1*d.*, barley 21*s.* 11*d.*, oats 14*s.* 6*d.* A catastrophe seemed imminent, and if prices had not re-

covered in the next two years the exodus from the country would have been complete, landlord, tenant, and labourer sharing in the general rout. As it was, many tenant farmers were ruined, others sent in notices to quit their farms, and the whole state of agriculture was unsettled. This must have had a great effect on the labourer. The labourer knew that his employment was precarious, and that any day he might be turned adrift; many were actually discharged, the farmer being compelled to reduce his labour bill. Then it was that the demand for labour in the manufacturing districts was heard, and the call fell on willing ears. The men flocked to the towns. When times improved, the farmers, anxious to put more labour on the land, found it had gone, and this led to the great complaint about the want of labour of which we read so much in Mr. Rider Haggard's book. On the one hand there was the greater industrial demand for labour in the towns, on the other a less demand in the country caused by the uncertainty of employment, by the reduction of labour, by discharge, by the shrinkage of the wage fund, by the introduction of machinery and the increase of pasture. Education, cottage accommodation, the dull life in villages seem to us to have had but little to do with it, and if so it is fortunate for the industry concerned, because these causes are likely to be constant. If it is merely a question of demand and supply, as we think it is, matters will right themselves. Already labour is ceasing to leave the country, and, in some places, is actually returning to the land. The whole industry is accommodating itself to its changed conditions.

A great deal is heard of the unemployed in the populous centres, and there is a great demand for labour in the agricultural districts. Surely it might be possible to bridge over the gulf which separates the demand from the supply, and by reducing the evil in the towns confer a benefit on the country. There is probably many a poor fellow who has come into the town, believing that its streets are paved with gold, who would exchange his bitter experience of fog and poverty for fresh air and a competency in his native country. For the purpose of making intercommunication easier, agricultural labour *bureaux* in the big towns would be of great use—even if not permanent, they should be tried for an emergency of this kind; and if it is a question of national importance to relieve the congestion of the towns and arrest the depopulation of the country, it is difficult to

him which he did not possess before; this, and a cheaper and easier communication between the different parts of the country, have probably had an effect on the movement of labour; but none of these reasons accounts for the recent depopulation of the country-side. Of the four decades included in 1851–91, the years 1861–71 show the greatest reduction in the agricultural labouring population. In that decade the decrease was no less than 208,608. Before 1870 education can hardly be held responsible for anything: it certainly did not affect the rural population. We feel inclined therefore to rate the importance of education as a depopulating agency very lightly.

Perhaps the most potent factor of all has been the introduction of labour-saving machinery. The great change from tillage to pasture did not come till the depression in 1880–90; prior to that the amount of tillage varied but little, and the loss of labour must have been made good by machinery. It is impossible to estimate the saving, in number of men employed, effected by such appliances as reaper and binder, the double-furrow plough, the elevator and the improved threshing machine, to enumerate but a few; but it must amount to a considerable percentage. And if before 1880 more men were not employed on the land than was necessary, considering that the number of acres cultivated was almost the same, machinery must have made good the deficiency.

The agricultural statistics for the United States throw some light on this question. The value of agricultural machinery in the United States was, in 1850, $151,5[illegible] in 1900 the value had increased to $761,261,550. The average number of acres to one male worker was, in 1880, 23·3; in 1890, 27·5; in 1900, 31·0, which is estimated by the census report to indicate a saving of labour through machinery of about 35 per cent. This, then, is one of the great causes of the diminution of manual labour on the land. Since 1880 another cause has been the reduction of acreage under the plough, owing to the low prices of corn. This, however, does not account for anything approaching the real figures.

In our opinion the rapid increase in the numbers of people leaving the country is to be found in the low prices which prevailed in 1894–95. In the autumn of 1894 wheat was quoted at 17*s.* 6*d.* a quarter, and in 1895 the average price of wheat was 23*s.* 1*d.*, barley 21*s.* 11*d.*, oats [illegible]. A catastrophe seemed imminent, and if prices had [illegible]

it is astonishing that more attention is not paid by landlords to the education of those who are to succeed them in the management of their estates. If the same amount of capital was invested in an industrial business as is often put into the land, the owner would be working from morning till night, and training up one or more of his family to follow after him. The idea that any fool can manage land is one of those expensive fallacies which must be held responsible for a great deal of the trouble and discomfiture of the last few years.

There are no heroic remedies for agriculture, no surgical operation can rid us of our troubles; it is only by the increased vitality of the whole body that health can be restored. Agriculturists only depreciate their property by proclaiming their despondency, and it is difficult to see what purpose such depreciation can serve; unless it is that fatal hope that the Government may do something. We prefer the hopeful and healthy tone of the Report of the Irish Recess Committee,* in which 'the reliance upon individual and 'combined effort rather than on State aid' was emphasised. That precept should be inscribed over the portal of every farmhouse in the country. Not that the State cannot render great services to agriculture—by keeping disease from our shores, by advancing agricultural education, by spreading information with regard to the state of markets and the requirements of trade, and also by protecting the trader from any unfair treatment on the part of the railway companies. These are great services to render, but the rest is in the hands of agriculturists themselves. We have good land and a climate well suited for the rearing of stock. In spite of what is written about the labourers, it would be difficult to travel the world over and find better. We have all the advantages of machinery, easy communication, and the best possible market at our doors, and yet it is said that agriculture does not pay. There must be 'some-'thing rotten in the state of Denmark.' The attention of those who have been endeavouring to benefit agriculture during the last hundred years has been devoted principally to the improvement of the cultivation of the soil and to the breeding of live-stock, and an immense work has been done in this direction. This, however, is not sufficient for success, and equal energy and attention should now be

* Letter from the Hon. Horace Plunkett to the Chief Secretary, August 1, 1896.

turned to the not less important questions of markets and trade. The producer in the future must think less of himself and more of the consumer, whom he should aim at turning into a customer. The public will not buy articles simply because they are English-made: all that can be said is that, other things being equal, they will probably prefer English goods; so that too much reliance should not be put on branding and marking meat or any other commodity, except with the object of securing the public against fraud.

To sum up in a few words what we have endeavoured to set forth in this article. We must accept prices as they are, and meet them by cheapening the cost of production through improved methods and by co-operation for the purchase of the requirements of the farm; at the same time we must secure the highest market price by producing the best article and combining to meet the requirements of the trade; and to secure labour we must, as far as possible, give the labourer a personal interest in his work. There is nothing disheartening in the outlook for agriculture in this country, although the croakings and forebodings of some friends might make us think so. A stern determination to succeed, come what may, combined with a firm belief that success can be attained, is what is required, and, above all, a greater spirit of self-reliance and less dependence on State aid. Then, if despondency is banished and changed conditions are recognised, all will be well with British agriculture.

ART. X.—1. *Contributions* to: 'The Rambler,' 1859; 'The Home and Foreign Review,' 1862–1864; 'The Chronicle,' 1867; 'The North British Review,' 1868–1872; 'The English Historical Review,' 1875–1895.

2. *Sendschreiben an einen deutschen Bischof*, 1870.

3. *Das Vatikanische Concil*, 1871 (translated).

4. *Letters to the 'Times,'* November–December, 1874.

5. *Lectures:* 'Emperor Maximilian of Mexico,' 1868; 'The History of Freedom in Antiquity,' 'The History of Freedom in Christianity,' 1877; 'The Study of History,' 1895. Academical Lectures: 'On the French Revolution,' 'On Modern History.'

6. *George Eliot's Life*, 'Nineteenth Century,' March 1885.

7. *Private Correspondence.*

LORD ACTON died on June 19, 1902, at Tegernsee, in Bavaria, where he was in the habit of spending the summer months with his family. Before the year came to a close the first volume of 'The Cambridge History' appeared. This great work, planned by him, remains a monument of the treasures of research accumulated in the nineteenth century, and originates an historical school working on the highest lines. The architect, who had drawn the plan in all its details, and summoned assistants from England, Germany, America, and France, and had grouped them around him, inspired by the sustaining influence of a common aim, was summoned away before the edifice was erected. On the first page of the opening volume, dealing with the 'Renaissance,' a sad homage is paid to the memory of the great, indefatigable scholar who, never satisfied with the end attained, broke down before his time under the weight of an immense task. It was the mission of his life, for which he was singularly favoured by birth, to offer to the world in historical form the results of European knowledge and civilisation.

John Emerich Edward Dalberg, Lord Acton, was born at Naples on January 10, 1834, the only son of Sir Richard Acton and of the heiress of the illustrious German house of Dalberg. His grandfather on the paternal side was the famous Neapolitan minister.* His mother's father was the

* Gibbon, the historian, was related to this branch of the Acton family.

nephew of the Prince-Primate Dalberg, on whom Napoleon bestowed the ducal title, after he had entered the service of France. In 1814 he represented Louis XVIII. at the Congress of Vienna. After the early death of Sir Richard Acton, Lady Acton married the late Earl Granville, and her son was attached to the special mission of his stepfather, when the latter represented Queen Victoria at the coronation of the Emperor Alexander II. at Moscow. He had already visited the United States of America, for whose institutions and political founders he showed unwavering sympathy and admiration. In Moscow, the usually silent young man of twenty-three more than once astonished the assembled statesmen and politicians by the vastness of his knowledge and his mode of exposition. His education had been as cosmopolitan as his origin. His mother, an accomplished and distinguished lady, whose *salon*, long remembered, had become a social centre for both English and foreigners in London, sent him to Oscott in 1843. This establishment, then under the presidency of Dr. Wiseman, subsequently Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal, was one of the best Catholic schools in England, and a centre to which were attracted many of the principal personages of the Oxford Movement, and was brought into contact, shortly after he joined the Church of Rome, with its founder and leader, John Henry Newman.

Sir John Acton remained at Oscott till 1848, and always held the place in affectionate regard. Later on in life he regretted that his masters had not fostered his desire of learning Hebrew. After Oscott he went to Edinburgh, under the care of Dr. Logan, a distinguished Cambridge man, who had become a Roman Catholic. His desire of ultimately going to that university was frustrated. Cambridge then closed its gates to Catholic students, and, after repeated fruitless efforts to gain admission in one of the colleges, Sir John followed the suggestion of his family, and in the early fifties went to study with Döllinger at Munich. Thus it happened that an eminent guide in the realm of knowledge found a disciple worthy of succeeding to his intellectual inheritance. Neither the lectures which he attended at the Munich University, nor the daily intercourse with his friend and master at home and during long walks, nor the use of Döllinger's library, satisfied Acton's thirst for learning. In those years of study he laid the foundation of that knowledge of European literature, and more especially of historical science, which, as it developed

became unique and well-nigh phenomenal. Besides Latin and Greek, he mastered the four great European languages as thoroughly as his own. Assisted by an excellent memory, he added to the printed material many treasures, chiefly out of Italian and Spanish archives, copied for his use, and collected a library of many thousand volumes, which as time went on shewed in their marginal notes the progress of his studies. At the same time he began to take notes systematically. They contained the substance and purport of each work he studied, the important moments in the developement and the ideas of great intellects, the material needed for the detailed scrutiny of great historical problems which had taken hold of his mind. Such a task as this, based on strict method, could only prove successful if begun early in life; it was carried on with unswerving perseverance, continually adding to the store of knowledge, ever rendering more perfect what had been acquired, and keeping pace with the constant progress of research. The system was not without its dangers. It enhanced the receptive power at the expense of the productive. His mind was so constituted that it could never be satisfied; no effort seemed great enough, no investigation sufficiently exhaustive; no result was considered final. Every honest opinion had to be weighed, every point of view drawn into light in such a manner that, working deeper and deeper in the shaft of knowledge, each problem brought the question nearer whether at last it had been possible 'de savoir le pour-'quoi du pourquoi.' Thus it happened, to give but one example, that a long-planned 'History of Toleration and 'Political Freedom' never came to light. To the young student history was no dead letter. On the occasion of his journeys to Russia and America, he was brought into contact with the main representatives of learning and statesmanship, with the religious and intellectual leaders of the day, and, having been admitted behind the scenes, he could form an adequate idea of the intricacies of the political world.

Acton visited France with Döllinger, and became acquainted with the members of the Catholic party of action, the statesmen of the Empire and of the opposition, except Guizot, whom, curiously enough, he never knew. In Italy, which was like a second home to him, he came into personal contact with prominent persons, both in Church and State, as well as with men of learning. In a similar manner he profited by his stay in Germany. He always described him-

self as a disciple of Ranke, and never let an opportunity pass of keeping up relations with him, with Droysen, Sybel, Bluntschli, Roscher, Hermann, Sickel, Dilthey, and others. A visit to R. Rothe, at Heidelberg, remained for him a precious recollection. It seems as if the following quotation, taken from Rothe's 'Ethik,' a book greatly appreciated by Acton, rendered the Englishman's innermost thought: 'Meine kritische Richtung zieht mich in der 'Wissenschaft durchaus zur Kritik meiner eigenen Gedan-'ken hin, nicht zu der der Gedanken Anderer.'

No foreigner had followed with greater perseverance the researches and results of the Protestant theology and critique in Germany, nor given its study more careful attention.

Looking back on his Munich days Acton remembered the philosophers F. von Baader, Ernst von Lasaulx, and the theologian Martin Deutinger with special regard. Among their contemporaries in France he held perhaps none in higher estimation than Alexis de Tocqueville and Fustel de Coulanges. His reputation was so high among European scholars that on the occasion of the distribution of the 'Noble Prize' at Stockholm, in 1902, the President of the Swedish Academy was able to quote Lord Acton's opinion on the supreme excellence of Theodore Mommsen's 'History 'of Roman Law.' Acton's authority was equally valuable with regard to books which had not come under the notice of scholars of even the widest range, as, for instance, Cournot's 'Idées Fondamentales.' At least up to 1895, when he became absorbed by an overwhelming task, perhaps even then, he studied with interest every learned periodical, and allowed no treasure to escape him.

It was in a review that Acton began his own independent work. He took over the editorship of the 'Rambler' from John Henry Newman, who, having failed in his attempt to found a Catholic University in Dublin, had retired to the privacy of his ecclesiastical life. Already in 1859, there had appeared in the 'Rambler' an essay 'On Consulting the Laity in Matters of Doctrine.' The article was not signed, but Newman's authorship was an open secret. His views met with the disapproval of the ecclesiastical authorities, and the author, although he did not retract anything he had published, retired from the editorship of the 'Rambler.' Acton took his place. In one of its last numbers there is to be found an unsigned article which was written by Richard Simpson, reviewing in

an exceptionally impartial spirit for the time Darwin's 'Origin of Species.' This essay is even now well worth reading. Under the title of the 'Home and Foreign Review,' enlarged and remoulded, the periodical continued to be, up to 1864, the organ of the learned Catholics of England. Those who contributed to the magazine were a small but able group: the critic Richard Simpson; the Egyptologist Sir Peter Le Page Renouf; learned scholars in natural sciences, politicians and even statesmen belonged to it. Under Acton's editorship the treatment of historical problems was exceptionally able. He stood up in defence of the authenticity of the 'Matinées Royales' of Frederic the Great, discussed problems of English history, dealt with contemporary historical works, and, far overstepping the borders of criticism, added a profusion of valuable information. His real aim was to awaken Catholics to the understanding of what historical method really meant, what it expected of them, and what, again, if used with perfect scientific integrity, it was bound to yield in return.

Before the opening of the Congress which brought together learned Catholics in Munich, an article on Ultramontanism, written, but not signed, by Acton, appeared. His train of thought in its chief aspects came practically to this: Called into life by Joseph de Maistre and La Mennais, the modern ultramontane school is based upon an ingenious but untenable theory. De Maistre, who in his early writings had contrasted the excesses of the Revolution with the idea of liberty, now arrived at a different conclusion. He argued that Catholicism was synonymous with absolute authority, and declared it to be equally essential to Church and State. Any objection raised to this theory would be rebellion against authority. Not the people but the ecclesiastical authority is entrusted with the right and duty of exercising over the temporal power an influence of limitation and supervision. The source of authority is one and the same. We are bound to presume its infallibility even in temporal governments, where it is not to be found, lest their very existence should be threatened. La Mennais imagined that he was supporting de Maistre's theories when he taught that no evidence amounts to certain demonstration unless confirmed by the universal consent of mankind, and that the organ of this consent is the Holy See. If the infallibility of universal opinion is the origin of certainty, it is the source of authority, and the Holy See is therefore exalted over princes as much as over philosophers

and thinkers. When, in the course of events, the French Monarchy became odious to the people and hostile to the Church, La Mennais denied its right and appealed against it to the people as the source of power, and to the Pope as their organ.

The doctrine of the impotence of reason was adopted by the Traditionalists until it was condemned, and the claims of reason vindicated both by the Pope and Council, but it still largely tinged the political Catholicism of France. Acton writes with regard to the theory of the vanity of science as applied to history:

'It made history as uninteresting as an old almanac, and at the same time as arbitrary, unreal, and unreliable as the annual prophecies of a new one. It made the teaching of the Church the sole foundation and test of certain knowledge and a criterion alike of the records of history and of the arguments of unbelief. It supposed the part of malice and ignorance to be so large, and the powers of unaided reason so minute, that ecclesiastical authority could be the only guide even in matters foreign to its immediate domain—the next place being given to the presumptive authority of the more probable opinion. . . . Hence it was held impossible to verify the facts of religious history or to argue from the monuments of tradition. Catholics had no basis of criticism in common with others: every Protestant was *principia negans*. . . .'

The immediate consequence was to set aside historical study as useless or dangerous, and that courageous logician, M. Veuillot, affirmed ignorance to be quite as serviceable as knowledge for the vindication of truth, and urged that no time should be wasted in exchanging the one for the other. Examples, taken from Rohrbacher's 'Histoire de l'Eglise,' Falloux's 'Vie de Pie V,' Lacordaire's 'Vie de St. Domi-'nique,' Wilhelm von Schütz' 'Die aufgehellte Bartholo-'mäus-Nacht,' from the works of Gaume, Dom Guéranger, and Perrone, serve the author to show how far astray such a treatment of history can drift, until, after calling certainty in question, the point is reached where truth itself is denied. In justification of an entirely opposite method he referred to the works of Eckstein, Lenormant, Maret, de Broglie in France, Gügler, Möhler, Döllinger, Kuhn in Switzerland and Germany. He quotes Görres: 'They are wrong in 'wishing truth to be disguised. That is always the worst 'possible policy, and now most of all. It is dangerous 'because it is dishonest, and quite unavailing besides.' And words to the same effect from Möhler: 'From the Christian point of view we are absolutely forbidden to be partial.'

To the ultramontanism which he condemns, Sir John Acton opposes his conception of the Church :—

'Progress is a necessity of her existence and a law of her nature. She does not passively suffer it, but actively imposes it upon society. Whilst she continuously developes her doctrines and evolves truth from the inexhaustible tradition of the teaching of Our Lord, her action is the ever-present impulse, pattern, and guide of society in the formation of law and in the advancement of learning. . . . This growth of knowledge is not by new revelations or by a continuance of inspiration, but it is a conquest of the Christian mind in its conflict with the phases of untruth. It is earned by exertion; it is not simply given like faith itself. The developement of doctrine is essential to the preservation of its purity; hence its preservation implies its developement, and the intellectual act which accompanies belief is the agent of progress of the Church in religious knowledge. As she does not possess at once the fulness of all knowledge, and as her authority leaves many things uncertain, she must rely on other resources to provide that which is not hers by inheritance. Therefore, by the side of the progressive study of revealed truth, a vast intellectual labour continues incessantly, carried on in the presence of authority on the basis of faith, and within the sphere of unity and charity, in order that all science may become tributary to religion and that God may be worshipped in the harmony of His words, His works, and His ways. For the full exposition of truth is the great object for which the existence of mankind is prolonged on earth.'

At the present day every scholar in the Roman Catholic Church who counts at all is ruled by this spirit, and acknowledges such a state of mind as indispensable for all serious and lasting work.

However, the warning was given and the lesson taught at the most unpropitious hour. Since the days of the Reformation public opinion in England had never been so favourable to Catholics; numerous conversions to Rome took place among the higher classes and among the Anglican clergy, and seemed to justify unlimited expectations. Cardinal Wiseman, amiable, learned, a man of mildness and discrimination, enjoyed well-earned popularity. It was known to but a few that towards the end of his episcopate strange influences began to make themselves felt. Whilst Newman stood aside, developing his conception of Christian doctrine and writing his 'Grammar of Assent,' the reins of Church government slipped gradually into the hands of converts headed by Manning. At last, in 1865, after a series of intrigues which have thrown a lasting shadow on his memory, Manning became the successor of Wiseman. For a long time past he had been exerting a determining

influence in Church matters, and was looked upon as the coming man. Many years after, on his deathbed, he handed over his most secret documents, his diaries, and his correspondence to his friend, Mr. Purcell, who apparently did not realise that in his biography of the Cardinal he performed an 'execution' in the fullest sense of the word. Manning, who, as a dignitary of the Anglican Church, had been married, was afterwards left a childless widower, and led an ascetic life. He was rigid and unflinching in his sense of duty, but the great feature of his character was an overweening ambition and thirst for power. In singular contrast to Newman, who, having severed his connexion with the Anglican Church, never lost his feelings of love and reverence for her distinguished members and teachers, Manning was remarkable for his intolerance, and seemed to have forgotten his own past. He had made it the work of the second half of his life to train an English clergy which, in his own words, was to overcome 'the anti-Roman and anti-papal spirit of the 'English Catholics.' 'As long as the present race of bishops 'and priests has not died out or been superseded,' wrote this neophyte, 'religion in England has no great chance of 'advancement.'

From the very beginning Manning's creed was intolerant and extreme. His way of defending the Temporal Power, which he hoped to see elevated to the rank of a dogma, very nearly caused his book, 'The Temporal Power of the Vicar 'of Jesus Christ,' to be placed on the Index. The 'Home 'and Foreign Review' was compelled to retort 'that he 'knew not to discriminate between the things of Cæsar and 'the things of God,' and to remind him that

> 'the majority of moderate and religious English Protestants are hostile to the Papal Government because they believe it to be a bad and oppressive Government, not because the Holy Father is the head of the Catholic Church. . . . Dr. Manning should try, before condemning them, to place himself in the position of those who, standing outside the Catholic Church, cannot be expected to see, as Catholics see, how extremely important it is to the interests of religion to maintain the Holy See in a status of external independence, and upon whom, therefore, the obvious liberal reasonings in favour of Italian unity operate with full force.'

To these Catholics it appeared perfectly extravagant, on historical grounds, that Manning should hope to bring about England's return to Catholic unity by such theories, and absurd to compare the British Empire under Queen Victoria with the Roman Empire under Constantine.

The influence of the extreme views held by Manning ruled Catholic public opinion in France. Count Montalembert, the brilliant leader of the Catholic liberal party, which had exerted so great an influence over the destinies of France during the July Government and the Republic, was paralysed from the moment when, after a short sanction of the Coup d'État, he abandoned the cause of Louis-Napoléon. Men of his stamp and way of thinking, like Falloux, de Broglie, Lacordaire, Dupanloup and Gerbet, Bishops of Orléans and Perpignan, as well as, later on, Maret and the Oratorian Gratry, the two most learned of their theologians, had to defend themselves against the attacks and false representations of the Catholic press.

The prolonged controversy between the liberal Catholics and the Gallicans had greatly damaged episcopal authority. Confronted with the question of the Temporal Power, the liberal Catholics were bound by the Roman Expedition, which was their own work. They renounced in the case of the Papal Government those principles of political freedom which they upheld in Naples and in Poland, and even, in 1849–1850, in Rome itself. Lacordaire alone did not join in this renunciation. The feebleness and ambiguity of the compromise with which they sought to secure their intellectual independence in other domains undermined their position in France without obtaining anything more from Rome than bare toleration of their opinions. Since the return from Gaëta the mind of Pius IX. had undergone that complete change which characterised the last thirty years of his pontificate. He looked upon the liberal era of his early years as upon a delusion which the excesses of the Revolution had now dissipated. It was truly a delusion which had won his sympathies to the cause of the Italian Federation, for the Pope, full of the best intentions, but incapable of planning any consistent scheme of reform, had been carried away by the sudden intoxication of popularity. The Councillors of his liberal Pontificate had, when the ship foundered, to bear the brunt of evil days. Gioberti and Rosmini died in exile, and no further use was made of Ventura. The appointment of Antonelli as Secretary of State was synonymous with abandoning any idea of reform. Moreover, when Jesuits were summoned by special command of the Pope, with the grant of dispensations and exceptional licenses, and against the will of Roothan, the Father General of the Society, to take over the direction

'Civiltà Cattolica,' the pontificate of Pius IX. seemed to have committed itself to the system of the Society.

The Pope, who had already asserted his infallibility in the Encyclical of 1846, practically enforced it when before the Bishops' assembly in Rome in 1854, without having inquired into their opinion, but also without encountering any opposition, he promulgated the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

Germany was the only country in possession of theological schools, which, through their connexion with the Universities and their controversies with the different Church communities, remained in touch with the intellectual problems and currents of the day. Theologians like Möhler, Kuhn, Döllinger, to name but a few, were regarded by Protestants as their peers in learning. In a celebrated speech, delivered by Döllinger as Rector of the University of Munich, he declared theology to be the foundation of all science. He proposed as a motto for divines: 'Theologus 'sum, nihil divini a me alienum puto,' reminding them that the entire history of mankind in all its aspects, the science of languages, of antiquity, of anthropology, comparative science, of religion, of law, philosophy and its history, one and all came within their purview, and would have to be brought into harmony by their united efforts. Döllinger himself was, after Möhler's death, the most prominent scholar of Catholic Germany. The scope of his historical knowledge was unsurpassed, and having well-nigh reached threescore years, he had placed the labour of his life at the service of the Church, defending it with such determination that even he did not escape being accused of intolerance. The question as to when Döllinger realised how much his views about the past of the Church and her mission in the present and future contrasted with the system which prevailed at the Vatican since 1850, especially in matters relating to Church policy and history, is answered by Acton, who tells us that it was during their common stay in Rome, in 1857, that his master became conscious of the fact. Amid the ruins of the Colosseum, one beautiful moonlight night, during a conversation about Arnold of Brescia and then about the Temporal Power, Döllinger, according to Acton, for the first time showed his misgivings. Looking back on the development of events, it must be owned that this perception not merely came to him at a comparatively late hour, but also that even then it only dawned upon him slowly and by degrees.

For those who knew him personally an explanation is readily found. Döllinger's nature was essentially conservative. If this is not duly considered, it is impossible to rate him at his true value. His writings during the fifties support this view. In fact, in his book 'Heidenthum und Judenthum' he was accused of not having distributed light and shadow in due proportion. The preface, written in 1857, excludes the East Asiatic heathen world with the words: 'Brah-'manism and Buddhism, for many centuries to come, stood 'far aloof from the Christian Church, so that there was no 'contact which on the Christian side could have made any 'deep impression.'

His most remarkable work, 'Christenthum und Kirche,' by its admirable doctrinal exposition of Eschatology, exculpates him entirely from the accusation that his theology was lacking in devotional feeling. Intimate knowledge of his school and of its work shows how compatible the independent criticism of Döllinger is with the strictest orthodoxy. The part dealing with the precedence of Peter offers sufficient proof of this. When in 1861, after the Munich lectures on Temporal Power, the book, 'Kirche und Kirchen, Papst-'thum und Kirchenstaat,' was written in a few months' time, in defence and explanation of the propositions they contained, Döllinger was astonished to find that the book encountered such disapproval in Church circles, and as his biographer, Dr. Friedrich, worded it, 'indulged in the 'strangest delusions.' Looking over these pages at the present day his astonishment appears more than justified. Newman, the English Tory, and Gladstone, Döllinger's personal friend, were enthusiastic advocates of the Unity of Italy. As late as 1861 Döllinger believed in the possibility of an Italian federation. He mercilessly condemned the policy of Cavour, asking what guarantees a Government could offer which united 'the shameless tyranny of a convention, the 'impertinent sophistry of a lawyer's administration, and the 'unsparing brutality of government by the sword.' If he declares a united Italian realm to be an impossibility, he appeals to the testimony of Balbo, Gioberti, Rosmini and Galeotti. With perfect consistency he attacked Bismarck's policy in the same manner as he had done Cavour's. He deplored the war of 1866. His severe condemnation of Austria did not prevent him from being an opponent of the idea of her exclusion from Germany, nor even, perhaps, from remaining friendly to Austrian hegemony. Moreover, even after 1870, he was a Bavarian particularist in the sense of

defending and guarding the separate rights of Bavaria in the Imperial Confederation. His youth, intimately connected with the Romantic Movement, his whole life spent in a small state, whose people, largely of artistic temperament, took little or no heed of the great changes slowly preparing on the stage of the world, were circumstances which strengthened his own dislike for any interference of a revolutionary kind. When he considered enlightened opinion in the Church, and his researches into her history, he felt called upon to heal existing sores and to influence further developement. His controversy with Protestantism had convinced him of the necessity of a firmly established ruling authority in the Church. In the serene wisdom of old age, he told the writer of these lines how much he deplored 'having worked 'mischief through excessive zeal,' but the spirit which had inspired his early biography of Luther at all times prevailed in him; he aimed at the brightest hope of Christianity, the final reunion of all separate creeds.

The greatest danger which he apprehended was the fact that within the pale of the Protestant communion all criteria of doctrine in authoritative writings had been given up. A generation before the publication of Harnack's 'Essence 'of Christianity' he predicted the extinction of dogmatic principle in German Protestantism. The same methods with which Döllinger attacked his opponents prevailed with him when he refuted errors which, out of carelessness, ignorance, or wilful distortion of facts, had gained credence in his own communion. 'Hippolytus und Kallistus,' 'Die 'Papstfabeln des Mittelalters,' 'Die Beiträge zur politischen, 'kirchlichen und Culturgeschichte der sechs letzten Jahr-'hunderte,' had been published before he set forth, in 1863, at the Congress of Munich, his theory of the history and duties of Catholic theology. On this solemn occasion he was imbued with the thought of overcoming the religious dissensions from which his German Fatherland was suffering. If he emphasised the necessity of exposing all the anti-Catholic and erroneous elements in the systems of the various opponents, he equally reminded Catholic theology of the obligation of presenting her own doctrine as a homogeneous and organic entity, discriminating between the lasting and essential elements and those of a merely occasional, temporary, and foreign character. He admonished the theologian to recognise in a spirit of humility, love, and self-sacrifice, truth and virtue wherever they can be traced, to throw no veil over the failings, scandals, and shortcomings

of his own side, to replace the mediæval analytical method by the principle of historical developement and to encounter scientific errors with scientific weapons. He insisted on the duty of submission to revealed faith, in accordance with the doctrine of the Catholic Church, holding that acceptance of her claims to dogmatic infallibility was not irreconcilable with the freedom indispensable to all intellectual work. Should the scholar find himself involved in a conflict between his own conclusions and dogma, he is to test his inquiry over again, and it is there, and not in the ecclesiastical teaching, that the error will be found.

When Döllinger assembled his colleagues in Munich to discuss within the bounds of obedience the possibilities of reviving theology in accordance with the necessities of the times, it was under the impression that the dissension caused by his attitude on the question of the Temporal Power was overcome, and that the freedom of personal opinion on the subject had been conceded. At the Congress of Munich it had been possible for the last time to rally representatives of opposite tendencies (the leaders of ultramontanism and the followers of Döllinger) in testimony to his orthodoxy. The assembly which numbered several bishops and separated after having received the Pope's blessing, carried its resolutions, and avoided a conflict of antagonistic opinions. Nevertheless the intention of continuing the task in the following year had to be abandoned. In the month of March, 1864, Pius IX. addressed his brief to the Archbishop of Munich. In answer to the conclusions arrived at by the learned assembly, he declared that the opinions of Catholic writers were subject to the authority of the Roman Congregations, and that it was wrong, if not heretical, of them, to refuse compliance with the decision of the Congregations. Sir John Acton, having been an eye-witness at the Congress, kept the 'Home 'and Foreign Review' well informed of its progress. He deplored the absence of theologians like Kuhn and Hefele, and had the most decided misgivings about the hardly concealed hostility of German ultramontane theologians from Mainz and Würzburg; together with Kuhn, and several others, he fully realised that it was only a truce that had been concluded at St. Boniface, the Benedictine monastery of which the pious and learned Haneberg was then Abbot. After the Papal brief, Sir John Acton wrote for his review a last article entitled 'Conflicts with Rome.' He looked back upon the history of the religious controversy of the

century within the precincts of the Catholic Church, and found it more honest and more dignified to accept the words of the brief as they stood than to diminish their importance by sophistical argumentation. He writes:—

'If the opinions for which submission is claimed were new, or if the opposition now signalised were one of which there had hitherto been any doubt, a question might have arisen as to the limits of the authority of the Holy See over the conscience, and the necessity or possibility of accepting the view which it propounds. But no problem of this kind has, in fact, presented itself for consideration. The differences which are now proclaimed have all along been acknowledged to exist; and the conductors of this Review are unable to yield their assent to the opinions put forward in the Brief. In these circumstances there are two courses which it is impossible to take. It would be wrong to abandon principles which have been well considered and are sincerely held, and it would also be wrong to assail the authority which contradicts them. The principles have not ceased to be true, nor the authority to be legitimate, because the two are in contradiction. To submit the intellect and conscience without examining the reasonableness and justice of the decree, or to reject the authority on the ground of its having been abused, would equally be a sin—on one side against morals, on the other against faith. The conscience cannot be relieved by casting on the administration of ecclesiastical discipline the whole responsibility of preserving religious truth; nor can it be emancipated by a virtual apostasy. For the Church is neither a despotism in which the convictions of the faithful possess no power of expressing themselves and no means of exercising a legitimate control, nor is it an organised anarchy where the judicial and administrative powers are destitute of that authority which is conceded to them in civil society—the authority which commands submission even where it cannot impose a conviction of the righteousness of his acts. There is no lack of periodical publications representing science apart from religion, or religion apart from science. The distinctive feature of 'The Home and Foreign Review' has been that it has attempted to exhibit the two in union. . . . That amity and sympathy the enemies of the Church refuse to admit, and her friends have not learned to understand. Long disowned by a large part of our Episcopate, they are now rejected by the Holy See. Warned by the language of the Brief, I will not provoke ecclesiastical authority to a more explicit repudiation of doctrines which are necessary to secure its influence upon the advance of modern science. But I will sacrifice the existence of this Review to the defence of its principles, in order that I may combine the obedience which is due to legitimate ecclesiastical authority with an equally conscientious maintenance of the rightful and necessary liberty of thought. It is to the prospect of that developement of Catholic learning, which is too powerful to be arrested or repressed, that I would direct the thoughts of those who are tempted to yield either to a malignant joy or an unjust despondency the language of the Holy See. If the spirit of this Review really

animates those whose sympathy it enjoyed, neither their principles, nor their confidence, nor their hopes will be shaken by its extinction. It was but a partial and temporary embodiment of an imperishable idea, the faint reflection of a light which still lives and burns in the hearts of the silent thinkers of the Church.'

Sir John Acton was thirty years old when he retired from the struggle, having once for all firmly established his standpoint. When Rome retaliated by the publication of the 'Syllabus' he had nothing further to say to the public. His natural reserve, his respect for the sacred convictions of others, prevented him from speaking about his own religious opinions. On one occasion he broke through this rule in a conversation with Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, a refined and highly cultured intellectual eclectic, who is capable of appreciating in Catholicism its aspect of mystical devotion. It was in a conversation with him, in 1864, that Acton made the following statement:—

'I am not conscious that I ever in my life held the slightest shadow of a doubt about any dogma of the Catholic Church.' 'That statement,' continues Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, 'coming as it did from a man who had read everything worth reading in the remotest way bearing upon the controversies between his own and other forms of faith, who was a profound theologian, as well as a profound historian and philosopher, was the most remarkable ever made to me by a human being. Of its absolute sincerity, however, I am as certain as I could be of anything. His mind worked in a way totally incomprehensible to me.'

A frank opinion, which might apply to Catholics in general, and which is most probably shared by all who, standing aloof from the spiritual life of the Church, only see the struggle which cannot be spared even her children, and who have not experienced the power of grace which binds them to her in constant love. Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff noted another characteristic remark of his friend:—'I once asked him, "If you wanted to convert N. . . . or me to the Catholic faith, what would you do?" "I would give you," he replied, "some books and leave you to yourself." "What would the first be?" I said. "Rothe's Ethic," he replied.'

At the end of the fifties Sir John Acton had settled at Aldenham, the family seat in Shropshire, and from 1859 to 1864 represented Carlow in Parliament. Like all English Catholics he belonged to the Whig party, and in 1865 he stood for Bridgnorth, a small constituency which then existed near Aldenham. On that occasion he assured the electors that he represented not the body, but the spirit, of

the Church of Rome. He was elected, but was unseated on petition, and thus his career in the House of Commons came to a close. He was not a speaker who could move a popular political assembly; neither then nor later did success attend his subtle distinctions in the appreciation of things of daily political occurrence. 'Nobody agrees 'with me, and I agree with no one,' he once told a friend. From his youth his interest had been given to religious and historical problems. In 1865 Sir John Acton married a Bavarian lady, the eldest daughter of Count Arco-Valley. Domestic happiness never estranged him from his work. One son and three daughters survive him. In these years he gave some lectures at Bridgnorth, one of which, on the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, was most remarkable for its knowledge and lucidity. At about the same time, in 1867, he was connected with and wrote regularly for a weekly paper, 'The Chronicle.' He followed closely all contemporary events, continued his previous literary work, and wrote articles which, although they were not signed, were at once recognised as his. While it lasted, the 'Chronicle' was unique of its kind. When it was discontinued, and its editor took over the 'North British Review,' Acton wrote for that periodical until 1872, when it ceased to appear. For many years he was the intimate friend of Mr. Gladstone, an intimacy largely due to their common interest in religious problems, and which increased with time. In the first number, the 'North British Review' adhered to the Liberal programme at the very moment when the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, a great act of legislative justice, appeared to him to be

'no isolated fact, but an indication of a change which is beginning to affect all the nations of Christendom and bears witness to the consciousness that political obligation is determined, not by arbitrary maxims of expediency, but by definite and consistent principles. The political connexion which, in spite of many errors and shortcomings, has been identified with the developement of our constitutional liberties, and with the advance of science in our legislation, has entered on a new phase of its existence. And it follows a wise and resolute leader, at whose call the nation has risen, for the first time in history, to the full height of its imperial vocation. . . . The advance of religious knowledge is signalised by a successive transfer of questions from the region of denominational controversy to the sphere of scientific discussion; and so far as they occupy this sphere they can be adequately treated, like other metaphysical and historical subjects, without the necessity of assuming or denying the postulates of confessional theology. The Review will not enter the arena in

which ecclesiastical systems contend. It will labour in the field of that religious science which exists apart from the conflict of Churches, and can be studied and promoted without immediate reference to their claims.'

With the avowed intention of illustrating the complete practical freedom of research, Sir John Acton wrote as a first contribution to the Review his essay on the 'Massacre 'of St. Bartholomew.' His subtle enquiry into the question of Premeditation found various opponents, among others H. Baumgarten. The article was translated into Italian by T. Gar, who, being a Director of the Venetian Archives, was able to add new information, and Acton's opinion was strengthened that an understanding with Rome on the expediency of the massacre of the Huguenots, if not an absolute certainty, was nevertheless a strong probability.

Such questions as these were driven into the background by the interest awakened in the coming Council. Everybody knew why the Catholic Episcopate had really been summoned to Rome. Of all the writings for or against the doctrine of Infallibility, none created a greater sensation than a book by Janus, 'The Pope and the Council,' which attacked the Papal claims. In 1869 the 'North British 'Review' published an unsigned article bearing on the subject. Its author declared:—

'the attempt to establish the infallibility of the Pope by decree of a General Council was a phase of controversy which the internal disputes of the Church of Rome have made almost inevitable. The Catholic opposition in its several forms, national in Italy, scientific in Germany, liberal in France, has uniformly been directed against one or other of the Papal claims. At the same time, this infallibility is already a received doctrine with a considerable fraction of the Catholics. In various ways the bishops are largely committed. Since the revival of provincial synods their acts have been sent to Rome for approval, and many of them have asserted their belief in the Papal infallibility. In 1854 the Episcopate allowed the Pope to proclaim a new dogma to the Church. In 1862 they almost unanimously pronounced in favour of the Temporal Power. In 1864 they accepted the Syllabus. In 1867 they assured the Pope that they were ready to believe whatever he should teach them. It will probably appear that the question of expediency is the only one which will be fairly submitted to be affirmed or rejected by the Council.'

From such a state of things the author inferred that the bishops who, like the German Episcopate at Fulda, agreed that it would be better for the Church if the question were not raised, and in the same document declared that no serious difference of opinion disturbs the unanimity of the

Catholic Episcopate, must be capable of doing stranger things at Rome. He calls it manifestly possible that a Council, summoned under such circumstances, may proclaim that Catholicism must stand or fall with the infallibility of the Pope. On the other hand, no charge is more strenuously repelled by intelligent Catholics than that their faith is subject to be changed at will by the authorities of their Church, and that they may be called upon to believe to-morrow what they deny to-day. On the answer to this question, even more than on the deliberations of the bishops at Rome, the future of their cause depends. An answer to it has at last been given, and given with such force and distinctness that it cannot be forgotten or recalled. With regard to the testimony of the first centuries, Janus asserts more definitely and with deeper learning facts which were already known. The great problem is to explain how it came to pass that the ancient constitution of the Church was swept away, and another system substituted, contrary to it in principle, in spirit, and in action, and by what gradations the present claim arose. The history of this transformation is the great achievement of the book. The reviewer adopts its conclusions with regard to the history of the assertion of the Papal power from the middle of the ninth to that of the sixteenth century. He finds 'Janus' reluctant to tread on this later ground. The Council of Trent occupies only two or three pages. He constantly speaks of the Jesuits, without any qualification, as the supporters of the opinions in question, because Jesuits conduct the journal that chiefly promotes them. But the 'Civiltà Cattolica' is the organ of the Vatican, not of the Society, and there is no small number of Jesuits who heartily deplore its tendency, and are incapable of imitating its intellectual demoralisation. The author tells us that he hopes for a great reform in the Catholic Church, but he does not describe the reform he desires. The preface informs us that the book is not the work of one author only. But those parts of the volume which have engaged the reviewer's attention betray a single hand.

'It is evident that he who wrote them is a friend of the late Möhler. He censures by name several Catholic writers who have imagined that the false decretals made no change in the constitution of the Church; and of all recent writers the one whose error on this point is most flagrant and notorious is Möhler; yet his name is omitted. Möhler compared the preservation of the faith in the Church to the preservation of the language in a nation. This er-

planation comes very near to the idea of indefectibility, as the author appears to understand it. Möhler, on the other hand, never adopted the theory of Developement, which has since been naturalised in Germany by Döllinger in a work which the author quotes. But the theory is entirely ignored throughout the volume. And this, in the judgement of many who most heartily sympathise with the main spirit of the book, will appear the one point in which it has failed to maintain its position in the very front rank of science.'

On another occasion the author, by his personal judgement on the question, fills the gap relating to the Council of Trent, the treatment of which he criticised in the work of 'Janus':—

'The Council of Trent impressed on the Church the stamp of an intolerant age, and perpetuated by its decrees the spirit of an austere immorality. The ideas embodied in the Roman Inquisition became characteristic of a system which obeyed expediency by submitting to indefinite modification, but underwent no change of principle. Three centuries have so changed the world that the maxims with which the Church resisted the Reformation have become her weakness and her reproach, and that which arrested her decline now arrests her progress. To break effectually with that tradition and eradicate its influence, nothing less is required than an authority equal to that by which it was imposed. The Vatican Council was the first sufficient occasion which Catholicism has enjoyed to reform, remodel, and adapt the work of Trent. This idea was present among the motives which caused it to be summoned. It was apparent that two systems which cannot be reconciled were about to contend at the Council; but the extent and force of the reforming spirit were unknown.'

In the month of October, 1869, Sir John Acton had occasion to test the power of this spirit of reform. Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orléans, and Döllinger met at Herrnsheim, the Dalberg country seat on the Rhine.

The bishop was an old friend of the family; Renan, who had been educated by him at the seminary, bears testimony to the charm of his character. All his strength had been spent in the controversies of the hour; a pleasing and easy writer, he had composed a series of pamphlets, chiefly on education and in defence of classical studies, which were being attacked by short-sighted opponents. He defended the Syllabus, trying to weaken and restrict its bearing, and saved the Temporal Power by a political opposition, which induced Napoleon III. to make concessions in the hopes of securing the sympathies of the clerical party. Notwithstanding these endeavours, Dupanloup sought to separate his opportunism from the ultramontane system. This proved to be an illusion due to the internal feebleness of liberal Catholicism, always

prone to mistake sympathies for principles. In fact, it was but the difference of tone and the benevolent inclination to recognise all that was good in their time which distinguished these so-called liberal Catholics from the school of Veuillot. Yet that school was odious to Dupanloup, and it was to combat these views that, together with Montalembert, he called into life the 'Correspondant.' In the autumn of 1869, the periodical refused to publish Montalembert's 'L'Espagne et la Liberté.' It was the final severance from the policy of opportunism, and during his last illness he bore a sincere testimony to the facts of history. It was too late. The French Catholics, who continued to practise their religion, either fell into complete apathy or else they blindly followed the principles of passive obedience with which they had been imbued. The clergy were trained in the seminaries with manuals compiled in accordance with the ultramontane system. Montalembert alone gave his adhesion to the Lay Congress of Coblenz and to the German programme, in which the Latin world in general had shown no signs of interest. Both Maret, bishop i. p., and the Oratorian Gratry, who had referred to the Gallican doctrine now in such disfavour, had been stigmatised as apostates. Having returned to Orleans after his stay at Herrnsheim and a visit to his friend Montalembert, Dupanloup took leave of his diocese in a letter which touched but lightly on the learned questions concerning the Papal infallibility, but described the objections to the definition as being of such a kind that they could not be overcome.

Lord Acton—as he now was, having been made a peer by Mr. Gladstone—went to Rome for the opening of the Council, fully convinced of the hopelessness of the impending struggle, and realising how difficult it would be for a minority divided in itself, composed not only of opponents in principle to the dogma, but chiefly of opportunists, to resist the serried phalanx summoned to support the claim of Rome. Naturally enough, he was attracted by the charm with which learning, talent, eloquence, and enthusiasm had encircled the cause of the minority. With the archbishops Rauscher of Vienna, Kenrick of St. Louis, Conolly of Halifax, Darboy of Paris, Schwarzenberg of Prague, with the bishops Strossmayer, Hefele, Place and others, he could hardly bring himself to doubt the repeated solemn protests against regulations fatal to the freedom of the assembly, or the sincerity of the assurances not to yield. The minority seemed to adhere firmly to the resolution to reject as invalid any doctrine

which should not be passed by unanimous consent. In any case, Lord Acton agreed with the view and with the tactics of Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, for he writes :—

'The Archbishop of Paris had taken no hostile step in reference to the Council, but he was feared the most of all the men expected at Rome. The Pope had refused to make him a Cardinal, and had written to him a letter of reproof such as has seldom been received by a bishop. It was felt that he was hostile, not episodically to a single measure, but to the peculiar spirit of this pontificate. He had none of the conventional prejudices and assumed antipathies which are congenial to the hierarchical mind. He was without pathos or affectation, and he had good sense, a perfect temper, and an intolerable wit. It was characteristic of him that he made the Syllabus an occasion to impress moderation on the Pope : "Your blame has power, O Vicar of Jesus-Christ, but your blessing is more potent still. God has raised you to the Apostolic See between the two halves of the century, that you may absolve the one and inaugurate the other. Be it yours to reconcile reason with faith, liberty with authority, politics with the Church. From the height of that triple majesty with which religion, age, and misfortune adorn you, all that you do and all that you say reaches far, to disconcert or to encourage the nations. Give them from your large priestly heart one word to amnesty the past, to reassure the present, and to open the horizons of the future."'

'The Archbishop of Paris it was who exacted a promise 'that the idea of proclaiming the dogma by acclamation 'should not be attempted. . . . He made it known that one 'hundred bishops were ready, if a surprise was intended, to 'depart from Rome, and to carry away the Council, as he 'said, in the soles of their shoes.'

This took place at the end of December. Lord Acton had undertaken to report on the daily progress of events, and this was done in correspondence chiefly with Mr. Gladstone and Döllinger, the most important part of which was published under the title of 'Quirinusbriefe,' and appeared originally in the 'Allgemeine Zeitung.' In two essays in the 'North British Review' in 1869–70, 'The Pope and the 'Council,' and 'The Vatican Council,' which latter was translated into German in 1871, Lord Acton gave a complete and coherent rendering of the great historical events marked by the different phases of the Council, affording the most valuable and trustworthy information about the actors in the great drama, the attitude of the Curia, of the States, and of their diplomatic representatives. His illusions, if he ever had any, were very short-lived. He agrees with Manning, who considered the cause of the opposition

as lost, when, on April 24, the Supplement to the first Decree was accepted :—

'It was an admonition that the constitutions and decrees 'of the Holy See must be observed, even when they pro- 'scribe opinions not actually heretical.' Lord Acton writes :—

'They might conceivably contrive to bind and limit dogmatic infallibility with conditions so stringent as to evade many of the objections taken from the examples of history; but in requiring submission to Papal decrees on matters, not articles of faith, they were approving that of which they knew the character, they were confirming without let or question a power they saw in daily exercise, they were investing with new authority the existing bulls, and giving unqualified sanction to the Inquisition and the Index, to the murder of heretics and the deposing of kings. They approved what they were called on to reform, and solemnly blessed with their lips what their hearts knew to be accursed. . . . No proclamation of false doctrines could be so great a disaster as the weakness of faith which would prove that the power of recovery, the vital force of Catholicism, was extinct in the Episcopate.'

Six weeks after the definition of July 18, Lord Acton published his 'Sendschreiben an einen deutschen Bischof,' which was inspired by the same feeling. He demanded an explanation of the attitude of the bishops of the minority, and an indication of the line of conduct which he himself was to follow. He quoted all the sayings by which they were bound to persevere in their opposition; he referred to all the protests they had raised against the violation of the rights of the minority in favour of moral unanimity and not of majority. He speaks of the Fulda Pastoral, of the January address, finally of the address of July 17, in which the opposition had declared their opinion to have remained unaltered, and even to have become confirmed after the close of the debate. He wonders how it is possible that one of those who signed the address should have drawn a distinction between the bishops and the Christians. By these words he refers to Melchers, Archbishop of Cologne, who, at the assembly—where the last grave steps which remained to be taken were finally discussed—had said, 'Before the sanction of the 'Papal confirmation we are bishops and in duty bound to 'vote in accordance with our conscience and our convic- 'tions. From the moment this confirmation has been 'given, we are only Christians, and owe to the world the 'example of humble submission to the verdict rendered 'by the Church.' Had the minority and the bishops, at

this late hour, arrived at a similar conclusion? Were they now willing to accept as being the true doctrine and law of the Church the very opposite of what so far they had upheld? In that case they surely would wish to obliterate the cause of offence. If now priests and laymen refuse to accept the decrees, it is owing to their example, and it is merely the echo of their own words. The movement obeys the impulse first given by them. They, as the originators, are also its natural leaders. It is entirely dependent on their attitude whether the defence of the ancient ecclesiastical organisation will keep within legal bounds and limit itself to the end of preservation, or whether Catholic learning will be driven to take up a strife which would end fatally in being directed against the representatives of ecclesiastical authority.

This letter was left to be answered by the events. In Germany, Lord Acton rejoiced at the victory of German arms. Rome had intended to seek in a strengthened spiritual power a compensation for the impending loss of the Temporal Power. On September 18 the end came. In 1871 an understanding with the opposition in the Church had to be arrived at. It was a sad year. Isolated and forsaken, theologians and priests were given the choice of making their submission or being excommunicated. Döllinger, having been driven by the Archbishop of Munich to a declaration on the Vatican decrees, was put under the ban in the month of April. Nearly simultaneously the most liberal and clear-sighted dignitary of the Catholic Church, Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, fell under the bullets of the Communards, having heroically refused a deliverance which would have separated him from his fellow-sufferers. Glorious victories, followed by the conclusion of peace, had firmly established the newly founded German Empire. But the year had hardly elapsed when the 'Culturkampf' broke out. In 1869 Bismarck had refused to take any part in the Roman events, on the plea that Prussia adhered to the principle of entire freedom in Church matters, and with equal determination he objected to any encroachment in matters concerning the State. Now he abandoned this clearly defined legal position and proceeded to attack. The fatal error of putting on a par Catholicism in Germany with the ultramontanism which was then opposed to the new Federation, and to challenge it by an illegal encroachment on ecclesiastical domain, riveted the Centrum together. Moreover, the Liberal party, having renounced its principles

and sanctioned measures born of a spirit of persecution, lost its footing. The minor elements of political opposition united under the religious flag. From that time the political centre of gravity in Germany was transferred to the party which forced the Government to retreat, and which to the present day rules its Parliamentary life by a closely set majority.

Manning had returned to England from Rome in 1870, strange to say, sadly disappointed. It was in vain that he exerted his influence in favour of a struggle for the restoration of the Temporal Power. In vain he had tried to impose his theory of inspiration and the wording of the decree as he desired it to be—that is to say, the declaration of the papal infallibility 'separated from the Church.' In England controversy remained silent until the year 1874. In the month of November an article by Mr. Gladstone in the 'Contemporary Review' appeared. It was called 'The 'Vatican decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance.' His argument was substantially as follows:—

'The Catholics obtained emancipation by declaring that they were in every sense of this term loyal and faithful subjects of the realm, and that Papal infallibility was not a dogma of their Church. Later events, having falsified one declaration, have disturbed the stability of the other; and the problem, therefore, arises whether the authority which has annulled the profession of faith made by the Catholics would not be competent to change their conceptions of political duty.'

At the time, Lord Acton expressed his opinion that Mr. Gladstone's line was the result of his Catholic tendencies, and shewed a reaction not against essentials, but against increased difficulties which alone separated him from Catholicism. Nevertheless, he feared that Mr. Gladstone's words would revive passionate animosity against the Catholics. Yet, shortly before the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland, the oath, which was offensive to Catholics, had been repealed, and Acton knew that Mr. Gladstone was determined to treat them with impartial justice. Having fruitlessly tried to stop the publication of the pamphlet, Lord Acton did not disguise his intention of answering it. He did so in letters to the 'Times' of November 8, 13, and 21, and of December 12, 1874. Completely setting aside all questions connected with the events of 1870, and from a much higher level, he looked back upon the developement of the history of the Church, and the misrepresentation of religious ideas inseparably connected with it. Some years later Lord Acton

wrote in German a memorable passage on controversies of that kind, which makes his meaning clear. He says :—

'Irgendwo unter Katholiken giebt es eine Anschauung von der Religion, die unsittlich ist. Die Unsittlichkeit besteht darin, dass man glaubt, die Sünde höre auf, Sünde zu sein, wenn sie für die Zwecke der Kirche begangen wird. Raub ist nicht Raub, Lüge nicht Lüge, Mord nicht Mord, wenn sie durch religiöse Autoritäten oder Interessen sanktionirt sind. Personen, die durch Wort und That solche Sanktion erteilen, werden dennoch als Muster der Heiligkeit, als sichere Führer und Beispiele aufgestellt und anerkannt. Es soll natürlich nicht von Menschen gesprochen werden, die subjektiven Versuchungen nachgebend, zur Gottlosigkeit hinneigen, sondern von solchen, die vielleicht durchaus rein und musterhaft im Privatleben, eine gewisse Ausnahme zulassen in Sachen, wo die Kirche leiden oder gewinnen kann.

Es ist wohl unbestritten dass eine solche Lehre nicht zur Seligkeit führt, dass sie nicht Irthum, sondern Sünde, nicht gefährlich, sondern tötlich ist.

Wir haben da einen viel schlimmeren Gegner als den Protestantismus, weil Protestantismus mit der strengsten Moral sich verträgt und weil diese Richtung eben die Quelle der Wahrheit, die Heilmittel der Kirche vergiftet. Diese Richtung hat sich aber—faktisch, historisch—ausgebildet im Zusammenhang mit dem Papstthum. Ohne auf die Gründe einzugehen, es ist die Rücksicht auf die Päpste welche sie stärkt.

Ich verwerfe desswegen das Papstthum nicht, wie mir Ludwig XV die Monarchie oder Marat die Republik nicht verdirbt. Nur will ich nie aus den Augen lassen, dass es eine Macht ist, welche leicht in jene oben genannte Theorie ausartet, der grösste Segen oder das Verderben der Menschheit werden kann.

Nun sehe ich aber Männer, die eine so bedingte Bewunderung verwerfen, die die Päpste quand même vertheidigen, auf Grund jener Theorie, dass man lügen und morden darf zur Ehre Gottes. Solche Männer scheinen mir fluchwürdig im höchsten Grad, mehr als die gemeinen Verbrecher, weil sie die Religion selbst verwenden, um die Seelen zu verderben. Ich scheide alle jene Fälle aus, worauf der Vorwand der Unwissenheit anwendbar ist. Ich rede weder von ungebildeten Leuten noch von unbekannten Dingen.'

This was the train of thought which inspired his answer to Mr. Gladstone; the essence of it is condensed in the following sentences :—

'The doctrines against which you are contending did not begin with the Vatican Council. At the time when the Catholic oath was repealed the Pope had the same right and power to excommunicate those who denied his authority to depose princes that he possesses now. The writers most esteemed at Rome held that doctrine as an article of faith; a modern Pontiff has affirmed that it cannot be abandoned without taint of heresy, and that those who questioned and restricted his authority in temporal matters were worse than those who rejected

it in spirituals, and accordingly men suffered death as others did for blasphemy and atheism. The recent decrees have neither increased the penalty nor made it more easy to inflict.

'This is the true answer to your appeal. Your indictment would be more just if it was more complete. If you pursue the inquiry further, you will find graver matter than all you have enumerated. And then I think you will admit that your Catholic countrymen cannot be fairly called on to account for every particular of a system which has never come before them in its integrity, or for opinions whose existence among divines they would be exceedingly reluctant to believe.'

Against the erroneous assumption that Catholics, as a body, had ever adopted the extreme views which had sprung up in their midst, and which had been applied by authority, Lord Acton summoned a formidable array of facts. The Irish did not shrink from resisting the arms of Henry II., though two popes had given him dominion over them. They fought against William III., although the Pope had given him sufficient support in his expedition. Even James II., when he could not get a mitre for Petre, reminded Innocent that people could be very good Catholics and yet do without Rome. Philip II. was excommunicated and deprived, but he despatched his army against Rome with full concurrence of the Spanish divines. Little fellowship of confidence is possible between a man who recognises the common principles of morality as we find them in the overwhelming mass of the writers of the Catholic Church and one who, on learning that the murder of a Protestant sovereign (Queen Elizabeth) has been inculcated by a saint (Pius V.), or the slaughter of Protestant subjects approved by a Pope (Gregory XIII.), sets himself to find a new interpretation of the Decalogue. It is not the unpropitious times only, but the very nature of things that protects Catholicism from the consequences of such theories. Called upon to furnish the means of testing his statements, Lord Acton complied with the appeal in order to repel the charge that a faithful narrative of undogmatic history could involve conflict with the teaching or authority of the Church, 'whose 'communion is dearer to me than life.' He entreated those whose feelings of reverence and love were unhappily wounded by what he had said, to ask themselves seriously the question whether the laws of the Inquisition are or are not a scandal and a sorrow to their souls.

'It would be well [he concluded] if men had never fallen into the temptation of suppressing truth and encouraging error for the better

security of religion. Our Church stands, and our faith should stand, not on the virtues of men, but on the surer ground of an institution and a guidance that are divine. I should dishonour and betray the Church if I entertained a suspicion that the evidence of religion could be weakened or the authority of councils sapped by a knowledge of the facts with which I have been dealing, or of others which are not less grievous or less certain, because they remain untold.'

These letters produced an immense impression. Newman wrote to congratulate him on his moderation and to say that historical truth must be given entirely and undisguised. From London and then from Rome, where he was made a cardinal, Archbishop Manning addressed three letters to Lord Acton, which were never published. In his answers he did not retract any of his statements, on the contrary, in the most courteous tone he denied his opponent the right of exacting any particular explanation on his part, as he had avoided the dogmatic question. The controversy ended in a declaration, which satisfied his Bishop—Browne of Shrewsbury—who, like Bishop Clifford, of Clifton, testified to Lord Acton's orthodoxy, while regretting that facts which were true had been made the subject of public discussion. Manning refrained from extreme measures: he had to deal with a man who combined prudence with firmness, subtlety of mind with perfect Christian truthfulness, and who was resolved and prepared to fight for his soul. 'We are Catholics,' he said at that time, 'because we hold 'the Catholic Church to be the true one. Would it still 'mean being Catholics if we sacrificed truth to remaining 'in communion with her?' The 'Letters to the Times' remained Lord Acton's final statement of opinion in public controversy. He left it to the defenders of the system which he condemned to establish concordance between their views and the laws of morality which to him were everything in the Church.

In a 'Letter to the Duke of Norfolk' Newman had contended against Mr. Gladstone. In the month of April, 1875, Lord Acton wrote to a friend:—

'The German Bishops have repudiated the Vatican doctrine that the Pope absorbs the authority of bishops in every diocese, and they have not only been approved by the Pope, but he has declared that there is nothing new or changed in the Church. Stated in this connection, his words are a virtual acknowledgement of the rule of faith, and preclude all interpretations that are inconsistent with tradition. Newman's declaration on the authority of conscience necessarily implies that one may not build up one's system on forgeries, or

omissions, or forced constructions, and the results that can be obtained subject to this rule are such as none can quarrel about. So that Gladstone's attack has certainly helped to produce a momentary reaction. It may not be voluntary, or sincere, or lasting, and it is certainly ambiguous and capable of being explained away, like other things, but it is a sign of what I have always said, that the way out of the scrape will yet be found in insisting on the authority of tradition as the only lawful rule of interpretation.'

Lord Acton had certain affinities with Erasmus—the cosmopolitan culture, the thirst for knowledge—the subtle and occasionally ironical evaluation of human things. He also started from the principle that to disseminate as widely as possible the civilising influence of knowledge was the surest way of raising the moral standard. Acton's political convictions were intimately connected with this general view, and the principles of freedom and equality to which he firmly adhered naturally directed his sympathies into a liberal channel. To the end he remained the friend and follower of Mr. Gladstone, confident that he was called upon to carry these principles into effect. Lord Acton had been denied that gift of eloquence which exercises immediate influence over an assembly, and carries such weight in parliamentary life. His influence was exerted in his conversations and his correspondence. Lord Acton's correspondence with Mr. Gladstone for twenty-five years formed a nearly unbroken chain. Were it to see the light, would it justify the opinion of Matthew Arnold? 'Gladstone,' he used to say, 'influences all round him but Acton; it is 'Acton who influences Gladstone.' And, again, when all other information failed him, he would suggest, 'We must 'ask Acton.' At a grave crisis in 1873, when the peace of Europe was again threatened, Lord Granville sought and obtained Lord Acton's advice. The extraordinary knowledge of the situation shown on that occasion gave rise to the thought of sending him as Ambassador to Berlin. He did not follow up the idea, and showed then, as afterwards, a perfectly consistent disregard for worldly advantages and honours. Academical distinctions alone gave him real satisfaction. After having put the historical question, 'Is 'there no Dalberg present?' the Munich University was the first, in 1872, to confer upon him the dignity of Doctor H.C. of Philosophy: Oxford, which had closed its gates to the student, in 1889 made the experienced teacher a D.C.L.; Cambridge followed in 1888 with the LL.D. All Souls elected him in 1890 to an honorary Fellowship. From

1892 to 1895 he filled the office of Lord-in-Waiting, and charmed the Queen and the Court by the brilliancy and ease of a social intercourse and conversational gifts which were the delight of his friends. He seemed at once to acknowledge the right of other literary men to profit by his intellectual wealth, and it may truly be said of him that he gave like a king. We know many and curious instances in point. Whenever a manuscript or a book was submitted to him for criticism and advice, he would examine the facts in the minutest details. Even when literary references were not at hand, his unfailing memory supplied every name and enabled him to correct every date; his objections were so considerately expressed, his differences of opinion so carefully and elaborately stated, that the author found entirely new lights thrown on his subject, and the work came out changed and improved under his masterly touch. Of such a scholar the greatest achievements were expected. One day—it was in 1890—he himself wrote in a jesting tone, while engaged on the Essay 'Döllinger as an historian': 'Et puis je croyais que, n'écrivant rien, je passais à ses yeux 'pour avoir étudié moins que je l'ai fait, et qu'il ne prenait 'pas toujours fort au sérieux ce qui était le résultat d'un 'bien long et bien rude travail.'

It need hardly be said that Dr. Döllinger had the profoundest admiration for Lord Acton's learning and the inexhaustible store of his knowledge. But early in his life Newman foretold that this vast erudition would paralyse his powers as a writer. From 1875 till his nomination to the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge in 1895, the contributions of Lord Acton to historical research remained limited to various essays and two lectures, and to the end of his life he never wrote a book. The enumeration of work printed under his name remains but small. It is all the more noteworthy that he influenced the methods of research and the thoughts of men more than the famous authors of celebrated works. To those who meditated upon his words, 'the impression was left that he 'wrote from a higher level of knowledge, and that he had 'it in his power to support or to demolish more than he 'thought appropriate to the present purpose.' This judgement, expressed in the tribute to his memory in the 'English 'Historical Review,' which he started in 1886, explains one part of his influence. The greater success which he achieved is due to the elevation of his moral teaching, to the ethical force of a doctrine supported by the power of learning and

by the example of a noble and consistent life. His lectures on 'The History of Freedom in Antiquity' and 'The 'History of Freedom in Christianity,' delivered to the members of the Bridgnorth Institute in February and May, 1877, are an instance in point. They presume an intimate knowledge of antiquity, of the writings of the Fathers of the Church, of the Middle Ages and of modern times, and give in twenty-four pages in quarto the contents of many volumes. It was then that, addressing his hearers in a small town, he spoke the momentous and memorable words:—

'We are not so much concerned with the dead letters of edicts and of statutes as with the living thoughts of men.' . . 'It would be easy to point out a paragraph in St. Augustine, or a sentence of Grotius, that outweighs in influence the acts of fifty parliaments; and our age owes more to Cicero and Seneca, to Vinet and Tocqueville than to the laws of Lycurgus or the Five Codes of France.'

He gave his definition of freedom:—

'By liberty I mean the assurance that every man shall be protected in doing what he believes his duty, against the influence of authority and majorities, custom and opinion. The State is competent to enforce duties and draw the line between good and evil only in its own immediate sphere. Beyond the limit of things necessary for its well being, it can only give indirect help to fight the battle of life, by promoting the influences which prevail against temptation—religion, education, and the distribution of wealth. The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free, is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities. . . . Liberty is not a means to a higher political end. It is itself the highest end. . . . Increase of freedom in the state may sometimes promote mediocrity and expel vitality to prejudice; it may even retard useful legislation, diminish the capacity for war, and restrict the boundaries of empire. It may be plausibly argued, that if many things would be worse in Canada and Ireland under an intelligent despotism, some things would be managed better. . . . A generous spirit prefers that his country should be poor, and weak, and of no account, but free, rather than great, prosperous, and enslaved. It is better to be the citizen of a small commonwealth in the Alps, than a subject of the superb empire that overshadows half of Asia and of Europe.'

If the question were put as to which of the [illegible] Lord Acton gives at once the final and highest ideal capacity, we would direct the attention to these [illegible] Yet they are so completely forgotten that the new [illegible] who wrote in the 'English Historical Review' does not appear to know of them, and others hardly mention their existence. Nevertheless they are his masterpiece, and [illegible]

ment which, when compared with famous addresses delivered at universities and academies, may be considered as unsurpassed. The intertwined characteristics of Solon, Pericles, Plato, Seneca, Philo, Thomas Aquinas, Marsilius of Padua, Machiavelli, Luther, Calvin, the light which is thrown on innumerable others, are all to be traced back to independent inquiry or to original research. The grandeur of the survey, which covers with quiet assurance three thousand years, from the days of Israel to the present time, following up the given problem to its solution, discloses an encyclopædic knowledge and a truly great art. The style is clear, vivid, eloquent, and of original distinction. The spirit of an epoch, the portrait of the time, are reflected in a few paragraphs. We quote for the last time:—

'Europe seemed incapable of becoming the home of free States (1770). It was from America that the plain ideas that men ought to mind their own business, and that the nation is responsible to Heaven for the acts of the state, ideas long locked in the breast of solitary thinkers and hidden away in Latin folios, burst forth like a conqueror upon the world they were destined to transform, under the title of the Rights of Man.'

No Benedictine ever worked in a more unselfish spirit than Lord Acton. If he had met with understanding and sympathy he would perhaps have overcome his natural dislike to limited themes and for composition as circumscribed within the bounds of a book. The incitement was not given, and he followed the natural impulse which prompted him to give the preference to study over production. Between the years 1886 and 1892 the 'English' 'Historical Review' numbers but eleven of his articles. Two of them, it is true, 'German Schools of History' and 'Döllinger's Historical Work,' were most important, widely commented upon, and highly appreciated. Still, Mr. Gladstone remained of opinion that the intention of those who had founded the Regius Professorship excluded the nomination of a Roman Catholic. Consequently Sir John Seeley was appointed at Cambridge, and Lord Acton was made a Lord-in-Waiting. It was after the death of Sir John Seeley that the chair of modern history was finally offered to him, owing, it was said, to the influence of Lord Rosebery. He was 60 years old when this task of a lifetime was entrusted to him, a mission which required the fulness of mental and physical energy.

With youthful vigour he seized upon this late compensation; he did not blame the tardiness of destiny; he did not

think of himself, of the lost occasions, of the bitter disappointments and grievous misunderstandings. He loved Cambridge from his soul; loved the grounds and the trees, the buildings and the romance of the old colleges, the treasures of the libraries, the intercourse with scholars. Above all, he loved the young generation, the future, as it were, entrusted to his care. The opening words which in June 1895 he addressed to his hearers have lingered in the memory of all. Speaking of the days when he sought in vain for admission to one of the colleges, he said: 'Here 'from the first I vainly fixed my hopes, and here, in a 'happier hour, they are at last fulfilled.' Again, seven years later, Professor Maitland added: 'Lapidem quem 'reprobaverunt ædificantes, hic factus est caput in angulo.' 'The Study of History' was the theme selected by him for his first lecture. The stern precepts, the laws and methods which he impressed upon his hearers, the lofty ideals, which had sustained and inspired his whole work, were new only to those who had not enjoyed the privilege of his acquaintance, and who had not followed the lines or traced the ideas upon which his whole doctrine rested. To a friend who quoted to him the saying of Vinet: 'Il faut que l'histoire 'ait un parti: amour de la vérité abstraite, chimère,' he answered in 1890:—

'Oui et non. Oui, l'historien doit avoir un parti, une conviction, dans les choses où le doute n'est pas insurmontable. Il est de son devoir de donner à la vérité et à la justice qu'il reconnaît tout le relief, tout l'éclat qui lui reviennent. Mais il doit faire aussi la part de ce qui est incertain, du côté faible, même du bien, du côté fort ou favorable de l'erreur, de la vertu, du talent, du mérite des malfaiteurs. Personne n'est plus persuadé que moi de la bonne cause de 1688. Mais si je lisais Macaulay aujourd'hui pour la première fois, il me ferait douter, parce qu'il est si sûr. Les livres ne font pas les convictions. Ils font penser, ils donnent des moyens et des matériaux pour penser juste. Ils dirigent l'esprit, ils ne le gouvernent pas. . . . Quand on passe sa vie à tâcher de comprendre l'histoire, et ses lois, et ses exemples contradictoires, et ses éléments humains et divins, et ses gradations, et ses variations, ce qui est durable, ce qui est constant, et ce qui est passager, on est forcé de travailler avec tant de couleurs et d'étoffes qu'on regimbe contre une théorie très simple, contre une philosophie à point de vue unique, contre un système développé d'un seul principe, contre l'escamotage de l'induction par la dialectique à priori et le règne de l'idée souveraine. Ainsi, si on peut dire que j'ai confiance dans l'avenir et le progrès, que ma théodicée est celle des Whigs, que je partage la philosophie de l'histoire révolutionnaire, tout cela est porté, limité, interprété par une masse d'antécédents qui ne souffrent pas une désignation aussi exclusive . . . Voyez seulement le

côté religieux de la chose. On a marché de l'unité vers la diversité, de Catholicisme au Protestantisme, de la Bible aux sectes, au doute, au rationalisme, au déisme, au panthéisme, et enfin à la suprématie de la science. Qui trouve tout cela progrès croit, ou que le Catholicisme est une antiquité, ou que l'avenir sera tout autre que le passé.

It was from this objective standpoint that Lord Acton lectured on history for five years, never allowing his religious tenets, his nationality, his party spirit, his subjective likes or dislikes to gain the upper hand. The publication of his lectures on the French Revolution is expected shortly. He planned 'The Cambridge History,' and united all the forces which were to contribute to its completion. He thus endowed the university for which he had so great a love with a most precious gift. He erected an enduring monument to recall that which he had desired and endeavoured to attain. His life was the price he paid for the overwhelming attempt. It exhausted his strength. 'With 'whatever doubts I have gone to his rooms,' says Dr. Maitland in the beautiful words written in honour of his memory, 'I came away saying to myself that if contributors failed, 'if the worst came to the worst, or perhaps the best to the 'best, Lord Acton could write the twelve volumes from 'beginning to end, and (as the phrase goes) never turn a 'hair. But it was too late, too late by ten or fifteen years.' In the first volume even, which contains much that is excellent, the absence of the correcting pen is occasionally felt. For instance, the statement of Dr. Barry, in his otherwise excellent chapter on 'Catholic Europe': 'If in 'course of time the Council of Trent yielded the essence 'and the sum of all these efforts of reform, it is entitled to 'the glory of the Catholic Reform,' would have been challenged by the historian who knew the assembly of Trent under the spell of an erroneous interpretation of the historical past, and who wrote in 1873: 'Il faut se souvenir qu'à 'Trente tout le monde, excepté le seul évêque de Lérida, 'croyait que les fausses Décrétales étaient authentiques.'

The sixteenth century was a period which had greatly occupied Lord Acton's thoughts; on account of his studies on Wolsey, Henry VIII., and the Divorce, and more especially because of his publications about the Council itself. Bearing them in mind, he remarked with reference to a priest who had left the Roman Catholic Church:—

'He must mean that there was nothing heretical in the Church before 1870, if the Decrees of July make such a difference—and that is the most direct contradiction of my theory that the decisive objec-

tion to these Decrees lies in the previous doctrines which are sanctioned and received thereby. I think very much worse of the Church before July than he does, and better of the Church after July.'

The chapter which of all others he ought to have written —the one on the Council of Trent—has yet to be written. The pen dropped for ever from his hand in the spring of 1900. Surrounded by devoted care and love, he lingered for over a year. Then he was laid to rest in the little churchyard at Tegernsee, by the side of the daughter whose deathbed he had comforted with the words, 'Be glad, my 'child, you will soon be with Jesus Christ.' This was also our hope for him and the one comfort to us when we lamented his loss, as the setting of a star which had made lighter the path of duty.

Lord Acton was little susceptible to the influence of art. At a time when it is dangerously overrated—sometimes to the detriment of more precious gifts—it was no compensation to him. Possibly he never felt its want, not even in literature. Real beauty carried him away, but he considered the hour when mere rhetoric lost its hold over him as a deliverance. Nevertheless he was truly an artist: his work of art was his life. Within the bounds of human frailty he preserved it free from any taint of meanness, of selfishness, of wrong, and of sin. Heroic deeds hardly known to anyone might be related, which he accomplished simply and unassumingly as things perfectly natural. In the light of this moral fulfilment he practised his religion. Centuries of errors, heavily burdened with the work of man, did not shake his faith in the promises which have attended the advent of Christianity. He wooed religion with the unflinching sincerity of love, grateful for the graces which, from the cradle to the grave, had been the blessing of his life. He committed the future of Catholic Christendom, and with it of mankind itself, to the paternal love and care of One who is patient because He is eternal, of One to whom a thousand years are as a day.

ART. XI.—1. *The Naval and Military Defence of the Empire.* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates of the present Session.

2. *Imperial Defence.* By the Right Hon. Sir CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE, Bart., M.P., and SPENSER WILKINSON. London: Macmillan. 1892.

3. *National Defences.* By Major-Gen. MAURICE, C.B. London: Macmillan. 1897.

4. *The Problem of the Army.* A Series of Articles reprinted from the 'Times.' London: 1903.

THE first duty of British statesmanship is to provide efficiently for the national security. In so doing Ministers must have regard to the circumstances and conditions of the time. The measures of defence and the expenditure which at one period would be rightly considered ample for the protection of British interests all over the world against foreign aggression, would at another less happy period be no less rightly held to be dangerously insufficient. It is impossible to lay down any fixed and permanent rule as to the magnitude of our armaments, or their total cost, or even as to the relative cost between the naval and military services which together constitute the fighting strength of the nation. In such matters no rule of thumb can be followed. It is clear to every one that naval supremacy over our enemies is an essential condition of the safety of the Empire and Kingdom. The important part that sea-power has played in the history of the past has, indeed, been more widely recognised since the genius of Captain Mahan captivated the attention of the English-reading world on both sides of the Atlantic. But, after all, it was no great discovery for Englishmen to learn what were the true 'bulwarks' of defence for their own country—a lesson that has been taught and sung by historians, statesmen, strategists, and poets for the last century and more.

If England cannot fight and win the Trafalgars of the future, she will have to abdicate her place amongst the nations; but Trafalgar did not suffice to obtain that freedom for Europe and peaceful security for herself which were to be the result of yet another decade of war. And it has to be remembered that at the commencement of war our condition will for a time resemble that of the ante-Trafalgar period. It is foolish to imagine that the position, before battle has been joined with the enemy, will compare with

one attained when for us victory was more than half won. Naval supremacy is only to be achieved in the future, as it was in the past, by adequate preparations beforehand, and by hard fighting under skilful commanders when the time comes. The first few months of war between this country and two great military and naval Powers of the Continent will be (should it ever come) an anxious time for the British people. If forethought is a quality we are entitled to look for in our public men, they will, so to speak, endeavour to project themselves into the probable conditions (not excluding the state of the public mind) certain to exist, if the events contemplated should really come about. It would be easy, perhaps, in time of peace, for Ministers to decline to look the facts in the face, and to lull the people into a false security. 'Who wants war?' 'Who dreams of war?'—they might ask. In 1851, in 1870, nay, in 1897, who would have thought of armaments or of estimates such as those in contemplation to-day? 'Let us make vast reduc-'tions. Let us take off taxes. Let us all grow rich.' Language such as this might, for all we know, be popular for the moment. But it would not be the language of patriotic statesmanship.

And why? Mainly because this is 1903; and the conditions of the time are not the conditions of earlier years. Half a century ago the world was very different (possibly much wiser) than it is to-day. But such as it is to-day we have to deal with it. Statesmen *must* take account of surrounding conditions, of which the preparations, temperaments, ambitions, supposed interests, and passions of other nations and of our own are no small part. Let us approach this question of national security with perfect frankness. Is Mr. Balfour's Government right or wrong in asking the British people to face as a possibility, making expensive precautions desirable, the event of war between our country and (let us say) Russia and France? That is a political question of the first moment. If the Ministry is the victim of nightmare, if these dangers are unreal, the sooner the House of Commons and the country replace it by saner statesmen the better. But if, on the other hand, the danger is real, it is undeniably a very great one. Curiously enough, criticism of the Government seems to be mainly based, not on the remoteness of the danger making preparation unnecessary, but on the belief that when the struggle comes our armaments will be found to be far greater than the exigencies of the case require.

'The total of the Army Estimates for 1903–1904 together 'with the Ordnance Factories Vote, and special expenditure 'in South Africa, including payment of compensation 'claims, amounts to 34,500,000*l.*, while the number of men 'to be voted is 235,761.' From this sum may be deducted 2,000,000*l.* for compensation claims in South Africa and 2,500,000*l.* for increased cost of garrison in South Africa and transport charges, and for expenses of expeditionary forces to Somaliland and China, and a sum of between two and three millions for extra reserves of stores and clothing. Thus the Secretary of State puts the 'total amount due to 'normal services' at 27,588,000*l.**

The total amount of the Navy Estimates for 1903–1904 is 34,457,000*l.*, being 3,200,000*l.* in excess of the estimates for last year. The number of officers and men on active service ratings for the current year is 127,100, showing an excess of 4,600 above the number voted last year, for the most part due to an increase in the number of engine-room artificers and stokers. The vote for new construction is 10,137,000*l.*, of which 1,150,000*l.* will be devoted to the commencement of new ships. Last year the sums asked for on these heads were 9,000,000*l.* and 700,000*l.* respectively. It has been determined to establish a fourth naval basis and depôt in the United Kingdom, and a position in the Firth of Forth above the Forth Bridge has been selected.†

These are preparations and this is an expenditure which show that the Government at least takes the situation seriously. Englishmen hope and believe that the financial year upon which they have just entered will be a year of peace. It is not surprising, therefore, that in these days of increasing debt and high taxes the cry for retrenchment, too little heard in recent years, should again be raised. In truth, the payment of so heavy a premium for insurance can only be justified by the gigantic value of the interests insured and by the greatness of the risk to which they are exposed. The question often asked, 'Can the people of 'the United Kingdom afford to make so great an outlay?' can only be safely answered after pondering another ques-

* Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War relating to the Army Estimates for 1903–1904.

† Statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty explanatory of the Navy Estimates 1903–1904.

tion—viz. 'Can the nation afford to run the risk of entering upon a great war insufficiently prepared?'

The Ministry, upon their full responsibility, have invited Parliament to give increased strength, involving increased cost, to both Navy and Army. In the matter of securing the efficiency of those forces, and as to the best means of strengthening them, naval and military experts are naturally able to render the greatest assistance by counsel founded on their own experience and knowledge. But the fundamental question really before Parliament and the country at the present time is in truth a political one—a question as to which statesmen who have taken a wide survey of the existing state of the world, who are fully alive to their great responsibilities, and who remember the teachings of experience in great wars of the past, are likely to prove far safer guides than those whose political perspective is limited by their experiences of recent campaigning against the Boers. The nation has been solemnly invited by those who are responsible for its safety to take stock of the situation, and to make increased efforts to establish the security of the Empire. Much of the criticism to which the Government has been subjected, though sometimes professedly directed against the details of its proposals, is really based on the belief that no further military preparation is required to-day than that with which the nation contented itself a few years ago. The time of reaction has come. During the war we made many good resolutions. Never again should we be caught insufficiently prepared for a great war. Now men's blood has cooled! They grumble at the taxes, and 'ask the price of glories.' The change of sentiment is universal. But yesterday poets, political economists, preachers, who to-day are silent, urged on patriotic citizens to fight and to pay. Fighting was so good for a people! As for paying, we were all so rich that a hundred millions or so more or less could make no difference to anyone!

Unfortunately for the popularity of the Government, it has to take account of the facts as well as of public sentiment. The South African war gave us a sharp lesson on the danger of insufficient preparation for war. If sentiment has changed, the facts stand as they did when we were caught napping three years ago. Rather we should say that the conquest of the two republics has necessitated a permanent increase to our military establishments. But the necessity for strengthening the army is by no means entirely to recent events in South Africa. As we show in

another article,* imperial expansion leads, and must lead, to an increase of the burden of imperial defence. It is easy to criticise the policy of 'expansion,' especially if we do not face the alternatives which, from time to time, circumstances have presented to it. We might, no doubt, have kept out of Egypt, we might have declined to guarantee the frontiers of Afghanistan, we need not have allied ourselves with Japan, nor extended our dominions in East or West or South Africa. But if we had done none of these things, it is by no means clear that our situation would be any stronger to-day. We cannot wholly escape from our responsibilities and our dangers because the United Kingdom is an insular Power! It may be that better and wiser statesmanship in the past would have saved the nation some of the risks to which it is exposed to-day. These are questions about which men differ; but it is not the question of the hour. What the Government and the country have to consider is, how most effectually to attain national security in the actual situation in which we find ourselves. How we came there is quite irrelevant to the all-important question now before us.

The swaying backwards and forwards of popular sentiment has always greatly hampered the efforts of those who wish to construct our defensive system with reference to the permanent conditions of the problem of national security. Military men of distinction have again and again warned us that success in war largely depends on preparations made in peace, and that of all dangerous notions the most fatal is the idea that there will be plenty of time to improvise measures when the crisis is upon us. Since 1815 all our wars have been distant wars, and it is difficult for the people to realise the possibility, nearer home, of dangers of which for generations they have had no experience. But, as Sir John Maurice says (writing in 1897), every expedition which has left our shores has always told one tale.

'The needed preparations, which would cost a little money, are not made at the time when careful preliminary preparation would save lives, time, and money. Then, when it is too late, money is poured out like water. The reason is simple. To spend money when the British public does not see the need for it would give opportunity for the employment of hostile party tactics, to denunciations of extravagance. To refuse to spend money when the public is aroused and interested, when the newspaper correspondents and letters from the

* Ante, p. 347.

seat of war will describe the delay, the loss of life, and the sufferings of soldiers, would from the same point of view be equally dangerous.'[9]

Our insular position, though it does not give us absolute immunity from the dangers to which Continental nations are exposed, does immensely lighten for us the burden of self-defence. If the United Kingdom—a great commercial nation doing most of the sea-carrying trade of the world—were divided from the Continent only by a river or a range of hills, it would still be incumbent upon us to maintain a huge navy; but, in addition, we should have, like the French, the Germans, and the Russians, to compel the whole manhood of the nation to train itself to arms. In the conditions that actually exist, we feel that it is safe, if we only take proper precautions, to rely on the free spirit of our citizens. Nevertheless national security remains 'the 'supreme law'; and it is not so much out of mere blind dislike to compulsory service in the army, as from a well-reasoned belief that a recourse to that expedient is unnecessary, that Englishmen refuse to contemplate conscription.

'. . . . Britons rarely swerve
From law, however stern, that serves their strength to nerve.'

No! But they rejoice in thinking that the spirit of Englishmen is a force upon which, in the present as in the past, the country can fully rely to provide it with soldiers in quantity and in quality amply sufficient to meet all its requirements. These are days when much is said, and rightly said, on the subject of efficiency, and we are warned that our battalions are filled with recruits utterly incapable of making soldiers. The late Colonel Henderson, who served on Lord Roberts's staff in South Africa, and who, besides being a student of war, had had exceptional experience with Continental armies, had something to say, on his return to England, which merits attention.

'Let the critics of our soldiers ponder these facts well; let them recall the fine marching and patient endurance of the half-starved regiments, and if they still see no cause to doubt the superiority of the conscript, they know little of war. . . . What foreign soldiers cannot, or perhaps will not see, is that the war in South Africa, like the war in the Peninsula and the Civil War in America, is a triumph for the principle of voluntary service. The *moral* of conscript armies has always been their weakest point, and it is the hope that the *moral*

[9] 'National Defences,' by Major-General Maurice, C.B. Macmillan: 7.

of the volunteer is no longer of a higher type that accounts for the unwarrantable inferences and the unscrupulous manipulation of flimsy evidence.'*

The truth is that conscription would not meet English necessities. The chief work of our army lies beyond the seas. It would hardly be possible in any European country to raise by compulsion a force to serve in the tropics. On the other hand, for home service in defence of the country the spirit of British citizens will provide, without compulsion, as large an army as can possibly be needed. What *is* required is a satisfactory organisation, under which the enormous military resources of the country can be made the most of. Above all our system must conform to the spirit and genius of the English people. With our Regular forces, Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers, we have undoubtedly ample material for a great army, capable of doing any work it may be called upon to do.

Military critics would do good service if they would help the country in its search for the best method of rendering available the great resources of the nation; but at the present time the criticism that has attracted most attention has been of a destructive character, aimed rather at wrecking than at improving the projects of reform that Mr. Brodrick and his military advisers have put before us. In recent years, however, much consideration has been given by eminent soldiers, and by those whose expert knowledge exceeds that of most soldiers, to the best method of reforming our military system and methods. On some matters a general consensus of opinion seemed till lately to have been attained.

'The British Army at home,' wrote Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Spenser Wilkinson in 1892, 'in short, has no generals 'and can have none until its battalions are settled and 'grouped into brigades and divisions and army corps.'† The army, they urged, consisted merely of a number of battalions, each directly subject to the War Office. And, in agreement with every military reformer of weight, they preached the necessity of a great delegation of authority from Pall Mall. In some quarters a superstitious reverence appears to-day to be attached to the words 'Army Corps.' Because as a general rule it has suited, and probably will continue to suit, British

* Colonel Henderson's Introduction to Count Sternberg's 'Experiences of the Boer War.'

† 'Imperial Defence,' 1892.

exigencies to send out troops for war in divisions and brigades, rather than in army corps, it is now suggested that the main object for which reformers have for years been contending—the provision of a complete though small 'army,' perfect in all its details, where something beyond battalion drills could be practised, and where even generals might learn something—has been an utter mistake!

It is very easy to pour cheap ridicule upon the 'Six Army 'Corps Scheme' of Mr. Brodrick, and to treat his proposals as if he were seriously preparing, in a spirit of 'mere 'militarism,' to enter into rivalry with the great Powers of the Continent. But in itself the establishment of 'Army 'Corps District Commands' (to use the official title) at such centres as Aldershot, Salisbury, and Dublin, and to give these commands a large measure of local independence, thus relieving the War Office of the superintendence of a vast amount of subordinate detail, is to make at least a good beginning in the direction hitherto advocated by our best military reformers. The remaining three army corps proposed are to consist almost entirely of the auxiliary forces, 'stiffened' by a very small leavening of regular troops, the Secretary of State herein going very far to meet the views of many of his critics who vehemently urge that we need within the United Kingdom no military defence at all beyond that which the Volunteers are eminently capable of affording. It is too soon as yet to judge how far it will be possible by this scheme for the country to realise the hopes generally entertained inside and outside Parliament when it was first announced. Upon the general principle underlying it, there has in the past been much agreement, and there need be no great difficulty in modifying the details of the plan in any way that experience shows may be desirable.

It is further proposed considerably to increase the pay of the men, as well as in various ways to improve their condition; and this cannot but tend to facilitate recruiting and to raise the quality of recruits. The still further shortening of the term of enlistment will, of course, tend to a considerable increase in the numbers of the Reserve, without, it is to be hoped, diminishing the military efficiency of reservists. It is impossible to overrate the benefit which the country has received from the establishment of the system of reserve founded upon short service. No doubt, as we are told over and over again, the reservists are required to complete our first line, and are, therefore, not reserves at all in the sense of forming a provision for repair-

ing losses in war. Everyone understands this; and it is natural enough that commanders of battalions at home should complain of the unreadiness of their battalions in peace-time to take the field. But a wider view than this must be taken; and unless we are prepared to keep actually with the colours in time of peace a much larger force at a much greater cost than has ever yet been contemplated, we cannot afford to depart from a system which has enabled us to add to the battalions on an emergency, by a mere stroke of the pen, 80,000 trained soldiers in the very prime of life. If Mr. Brodrick's hopes are realised, in a few years' time the 80,000 reservists who came forward so gallantly to fill the ranks three years ago will be represented by a reserve of no less than 140,000 men.

No Secretary of State since Mr. Cardwell has been subjected to so much bitter criticism as Mr. Brodrick. The War Office has made many mistakes; but it should in fairness be remembered that it was hardly the fault of that department that it proved unequal to the task of bringing to a rapid and successful conclusion a war that required the services of 300,000 men. It is abundantly clear that in the War Office, and throughout the Army, searching reforms are required. From the severest critics of Mr. Brodrick's proposals singularly little suggestion has been forthcoming. They are right, doubtless, to demand *efficiency*, to insist on the quality as well as the quantity of our recruits; above all, to expose and denounce any attempt to represent our military position as better than it really is, as regards numbers or otherwise, or to count as soldiers to be relied upon recruits who are little better than weaklings and boys. In action of this sort they will have general approval. Again, if they can prove that the system of linked battalions breaks down, let them by all manner of means suggest something better. The War Office and the country will benefit by an abundance of the frankest criticism.

When the next war comes, let the War Office be fit to do its work—that is, the work which Parliament and the country have fitted it out to do. The responsibility for taking due precautions, and for making sufficient preparations, rests rather upon the Cabinet and Parliament and People than on any mere department of the administration. What is sufficient preparation necessarily depends upon the view the nation takes as to what it wants an army for. And here, unfortunately, the country, alarmed at the enormous expenditure of recent years, is in danger of being misled by the

shallow counsels of men who are shutting their eyes to every lesson of national experience.

The Secretary of State, as we have seen, has asked Parliament to vote 235,000 men for the Army. When he had to explain the various employments for which these troops were destined, he was expressly contemplating a time of 'imminent national danger,' *after* the reserves had been called out, owing to an outbreak of war with two of the greatest naval and military Powers of the Continent. It was as to the *number of troops* that critics on the Unionist side of the House of Commons, abandoning their hitherto somewhat vague declamation, at last became definite, and united with the Opposition in a vigorous demand for reduction. Thirty thousand men were to be struck off the roll of the Regular Army, as it was proposed by the memorandum of the Secretary of State already quoted. Mr. Brodrick of course admitted that the force on the home establishment had greatly increased since 1897:—

'The demands of the Empire have greatly increased in the last fifteen years. The Indian Army, which has to be maintained from home, has been increased by 10,000 men. The forces in the colonies, without South Africa, have been very largely increased; and these forces are not in the self-governing colonies alone. There is the increased liability which has been placed on the War Office to provide for the defence of the coaling stations, without which defence the whole expenditure on the navy may be regarded as futile. . . . The garrison of South Africa may be put tentatively at 15,000 men. . . . Our total normal colonial garrisons are 51,000.' *

Heavy calls, these, upon the Regular Army even in time of peace! And many other deductions have to be made. Even with 100,000 men drawn from the Reserve, it would, at most, be hardly possible to find some 120,000 regular troops to hold themselves in readiness to take the field wherever they might be most required.

Were such a war most unfortunately to break out, what Englishman would say that, having regard to the strength of our foes, our own military preparation was on too large a scale? In peace-time, however, there seems to have grown up a strange idea, not certainly founded on historical analogies, that there would be nothing in such a case for British troops to do! The suggestion that large reinforcements would be wanted in or could be sent to India is

* Speech of Mr. Brodrick in the House of Commons, March 10, 1903.

laughed to scorn! Yet in 'Imperial Defence' we are told that 'the interruption of our sea communication with 'Karachi would paralyse the local defence of India.' That British soldiers should come into conflict in Europe, outside these Islands, with Continental troops is too ridiculous to contemplate! If these scoffers are right, assuredly the great war of the future will be very unlike every great war of the past in which England has been engaged. Our troops are to remain at home, forsooth, because, in the first place, it would be very risky (till Trafalgar has been won) to send them to sea; and, secondly, because it is quite unthinkable that British soldiers should contend on land with the great armies of the Continent!

It would hardly be politic to particularise in public discussion the various ways in which in time of war it *might* conceivably be desirable to employ British troops abroad. The Prime Minister warned the House of Commons that war is full of surprises, as every great general well knows. Even the British Navy may not be able to play exactly, and in every detail, the part confidently assigned to it by the 'man in the street.' We are all rightly proud of the Navy. We have the fullest faith in its capacity to perform anything which it is possible for fleets and men to do. But for the sake of the Navy, as well as for our own security, it is right to remember that never in our own history or in that of other nations have duties so extensive and burdens so great been laid upon fleets and ships. In distant seas, where formerly hardly any naval flag but the Union Jack was ever seen, French and Russian and German men-of-war now have their regular stations. Under the guidance of President Roosevelt, the United States is about to make itself a first-class naval Power. These are changes which must affect the relative importance of British sea-power. When we remember that on every ocean and in every sea British ships are carrying the great proportion of the world's trade; when we think of the interests abroad which we have at stake, greater even than in former days; when we reflect upon our position in the Mediterranean and our necessities at home, we do not wonder that the Government, far from 'starving' the naval branch of our national defence, has presented to Parliament this year proposals and estimates which cast into the shade the efforts of previous years.

The naval warfare of the future will have to pass through an experimental stage. Since the American Civil War and the battle of Lissa there has been nothing deserving the

name of a sea-fight from which anything could be learned; and those instances belong to ancient history. Much, doubtless, can be picked up from manœuvres; but manœuvres, either at sea or on shore, are not war—as many an army and general have learned too late. Last year's operations of the combined Channel and Mediterranean Squadrons off Cephalonia are, indeed, full of interest; but they must be far from reassuring to those who pin their faith on the ability of a British fleet to seal up in port or bring to action an enemy inferior in strength, and therefore anxious to escape in order to form a junction with another force elsewhere.

We have no intention here of discussing the possibility of an invasion of our own shores; but it is quite certain that, given such a war as we are supposing, the prospect or chance of invasion will hold a very large place in men's thoughts. It is the duty of the Government to think *beforehand*. Our own views on the military and naval aspects of invasion were fully expressed in a very able article (April, 1897), written by an eminent authority, whose recent death is a real loss to his country and to military literature. We know that even in the lifetime of admirals such as Nelson and Jervis and Duncan invasion was for years looked upon by Englishmen as very possible indeed. That it did not take place is not conclusive evidence of its impossibility. After many years of warfare it was really rendered impossible by 'the crowning mercy' of Trafalgar. We shall require another, perhaps half-a-dozen more, such great victories before we should be justified in feeling ourselves absolutely secure. In the meantime it would be the very height of imprudence to assume the absolute immunity of our own shores from attack.

The Government evidently thinks that in a great war there will be ample field for the employment of both Army and Navy, and they decline to 'starve' either service at the expense of the other. Both services will be needed if the nation has to put out its whole strength. This assuredly it will have to do, if it is at war with a couple of first-rate Powers. It is not easy to feel patience with those who talk lightly of such a war, without apparently realising that it will involve nothing more nor less than a struggle for national existence. If we can be equally safe with greatly diminished armaments and at a much smaller cost, let us be shown how. We shall all give a ready welcome to such desirable reforms. But it affords us no assistance for critics

to declare that the mere reduction of armaments increases our efficiency, and in pursuance of this strange formula to ask Parliament to censure his Majesty's Government for making the Army too large by thirty thousand men! If reduction can safely be effected, Mr. Brodrick urged unanswerably that this should be doné not now, when the reserves have fallen to little more than sixty thousand men, but in two or three years' time, when they will have reached a strength never before known—more than twice the number at which they stand to-day.

The whole basis of the gigantic demands made upon the taxpayer is the possibility of war. The dangers which, if it comes, it will bring with it are certain. How is war to be prevented? Not, we venture to think, by lack of defensive preparations. Having made these, our statesmen will not slacken in their efforts to maintain peace. Above that of other nations it is our interest to remain at peace. That, after all, if it can be done with honour and self-respect, is the best way of establishing national security. Wars spring quite as often out of national jealousies and ill-temper as from calm calculations of ambition or self-interest. In France, in Germany, and in our own country the conduct of statesmen in recent times has shown a desire on their part to stand a little aloof from the exaggerated and shortsighted extravagances of popular discussion. As time goes on perhaps the gigantic burden of military preparation that weighs so heavily upon every European nation may tend to bring about a better condition of the public mind. Perhaps the nations will ultimately discover that the best interests of the whole world lie in peace. But, as we have already said, we must deal with the world as it is to-day. We cannot afford to run great risks, and above all the King's Ministers, as trustees of the national security, are bound to be on the safe side.

No. CCCCV. will be published in July, 1903.

INDEX.

A.

Acton, Lord, his writings reviewed, 501—plans 'The Cambridge History,' 501—his education and early career, 502—his receptive powers enhanced at the expense of the productive, 503—succeeds Newman as editor of 'The Rambler,' 504—his article on Ultramontanism, 505—Manning succeeds Wiseman, 507—Manning's extreme view of the Temporal Power, 508—its influence in France, 509—change in views of Pius IX., 509—Döllinger's position and views, 510—his political opinions, 511—his religious standpoint, 512—at the Congress of Munich, 513—Acton's article, 'Conflicts with Rome,' 513—his religious opinions, 515—the 'North British Review,' 516—Janus's 'The Pope and the Council,' 517—Acton meets Dupanloup and Döllinger, 519—attends the Vatican Council, 520—his comments on its action, 522—the 'Culturkampf' breaks out, 523—Gladstone's 'Vatican Decrees,' 524—Acton's reply, 525—his array of historical facts, 526—effect of his letters, 527—his contemporary influence, 528 — academical distinctions bestowed upon him, 528—his erudition paralysed his powers as a writer, 529—his influence on methods of research, 529—his definition of freedom, 530—accepts Cambridge Regius Professorship of Modern History, 531—his connexion with 'The Cambridge History,' 533—his private character, 534.

Addyman, F. T., his 'Practical *X*-Ray Work' reviewed, 34.

André, C., his treatise on stellar astronomy reviewed, 117.

Armstrong, E., his 'Emperor Charles V.' reviewed, 273.

B.

Bacon, Rev. J. M., his 'Dominion of the Air' reviewed, 323.

Ballad Poetry, review of Sir W. Scott's 'Border Minstrelsy,' 303—'The Young Tamlane,' 305—Scott's alterations in old ballads, 306—'Kinmont Willie,' 308—ballad origin of 'Old Mortality,' 309—Dandie Dinmont and Jamie Telfer, 310—Douglas tragedy, 311, 316—'Chevy Chase,' 312—'The Broom of Cowdenknowes' and Effie Deans, 313—love idylls, 314—Mr. Housman, 314—Irish ballads, 316—Tennyson's ballads, 317—Browning, 318—pre-Raphaelitism, 318—Stevenson and Kipling, 319—John Davidson's 'Ballads and Songs,' 321.

Beaumont, W. W., his books on 'Mechanical Road Carriages and Motors' reviewed, 202.

Bos, Camille, his 'Psychologie de la Croyance' reviewed, 395.

Brest, The Blockade of, review of books concerning, 1—Napoleon's scheme for invading England, 1—coast of France blockaded by British ships, 1—Cornwallis and his fleet off Brest, 2—Nelson's

opinion of Cornwallis, 4—Hoche's expedition to Bantry Bay, 5—Napoleon's secret plans for evading the blockade, 7—England's call to arms, 10—was the threat of invasion of England merely a pretence? 11; reasons of its failure, 12—Villeneuve's expedition to the West Indies, 15—battle off Finisterre, 17—Napoleon requisitions the Spanish fleet, 20—plan for invasion of Ireland, 22—difficulty in manning French fleet, 24—Spanish treasure-ships seized by the British, 27—blockading tactics past and present, 29—project for burning the French fleet by means of fireships, 31.

Buckinghamshire, histories of the county reviewed, 420—compared with other counties, 420—its social condition, 421—the lace-making industry, 421—its antiquities, 423—Whiteleaf Cross, 423—Roman, Saxon, and Norman remains, 424—social change caused by the Conquest, 425—a stronghold of Nonconformity, 425—and Quakers, 425—Chiltern Hills, 426—the home of the beech, 427—church architecture, 428—brasses and monuments, 430—John Hampden, 433—Edmund Burke, 434, 442—Portland and Grenville, 435—Isaac and Benjamin Disraeli, 436—William Penn, 437—Penn village, 439—Burke's school for sons of *émigrés*, 442—Milton, Waller, Gray, and Cowper, 444–6.

Burnham, S. W., his catalogue of double stars reviewed, 117.

C.

Carnegie, Andrew, his 'Rectorial Address' reviewed, 347.

Charles V., The Emperor, review of Mr. Armstrong's life of, 273—Robertson's history of, 273—territories in Germany, Spain, Italy, 275—Castilian revolt, 276—fate of Bishop of Zamora, 277—rising in Valentia against the Moors, 278—war with Francis I. of France, 279—declaration against Luther, 280—anxious for alliance with Pope Leo X., 280—desires English alliance, 283—negotiations with Wolsey, 284—Pope Adrian, 284—Henry VIII. of England and 'balance of power,' 285—triple alliance, 286—Pope Clement VII., 286—defeat of Francis I. at Pavia, 287—Bourbon and the sack of Rome, 288—divorce of Catherine of Arragon as affecting Anglo-Imperial alliance, 288—religious reform and peasants' rising, 289—Lutheranism and the Empire, 290—Zwingli, 291—diet at Augsburg, 291—Pope Paul III., 293—Charles and the Moors, 293—Barbarossa of Algiers, 295—disastrous attack on Algiers, 297—alliance of the Sultan, the Pope, Barbarossa, and Francis I. against Charles, 297—conquest of America, 298—abdication, 299—enormous appetite, 299—division of territories, 300—revolt of the Netherlands, 300—letters to his son, 301.

Conway, Sir W. Martin, his 'Early Flemish Artists' reviewed, 447.

D.

Loo, Georges Hulin, his 'Catalogue Critique de l'Exposition de Bruges' reviewed, 447.

Desbrière, E., his account of Napoleon's projected invasion of England reviewed, 1.

Dilke, Sir C. W., his 'Imperial Defence' reviewed, 535.

Ditchfield, Rev. P. H., his 'Memorials of Old Buckinghamshire' reviewed, 419.

Double Stars, review of books concerning, 117—Herschel's theory of revolving star-pairs, 117—Lick telescope, 120—Savary's calculation of orbits, 120—binary in Centaur, 122—Burnham's observations, 124—'double double stars' and triplets, 126—Sirius and Procyon, 127—dark members of pairs, 128—spectroscopic detection of binaries, 129—Capella, 132—Algol, 133—eclipsing stars, 134—variables, 135—stellar systems and tidal friction, 137—limits to our knowledge, 139.

E.

Edwards, H. S., his life of Sir W. White reviewed, 86.

English Agriculture, review of H. Rider Haggard's book on, 475—scope and system of his work, 476—general depression relieved by some bright spots, 477—pessimistic views, 478—the two great dangers, foreign competition and lack of labour, 479—Mr. Haggard's recommendations on these points, 480—and remedies for agriculture at large, 481—mischief wrought by alternation of prices, 482—hopeful factors in the situation, 482—success of co-operation in Denmark, Holland, and France, 484—lessons from Ireland, 485—The English Agricultural Organisation Society, 488—obstacles to co-operation in England, 488—an intelligence department of agriculture urgently needed, 489—cheap transit of goods required, 489—Mr. Haggard's idea of an agricultural post, 490—small holdings a doubtful remedy, 492—decrease of the yeomen class, 492—the question of the size of holdings, 493—the scarcity of labourers, 493—effect of the present system of education, 495—and of labour-saving machinery, 496—United States statistics, 496—reasons for rural exodus, 496—need for agricultural labour bureaux to bring town unemployed into the country, 497—importance of giving the labourer a personal interest in his work, 498—position of landowners, 499—the chief remedy in the hands of agriculturists themselves, 499—no need for despondency if the situation is faced manfully, 500.

Expansion and Expenditure, review of books concerning, 347—Mr. Carnegie quoted on importance of home market, 348, 349—Mr. Hobson's estimate, 348, 351—his statistical table of additions to the Empire since 1870, 352—British trade with Colonies and with foreign countries compared, 353—French expansion, 354—Russian and German expansion, 355—India as an example of Imperialism, 356—Sir Edward Grey quoted, 357—Mr. Kidd's anticipations, 358—Sir Louis Mallet on British policy, 359, 360—opposition of free-trade school to colonial expansion, 360, 361—recent rise in rate of wages accompanied by fall in rate of interest, 361, 362—Mr. Hobson's indictment of capitalists, 363—Danger

that need for additional revenue may justify return to policy of protection, 364—taxation of ground rents favoured by members of both political parties, 365—England now a Continental Power, 366—Sir Robert Giffen on the national wealth, 366, 367—as yet no sign of a real check in material prosperity, 367—failure of British working man to respond to free-trade policy, 368—Mr. Carnegie on the national drink bill, 369—Mr. Morley on the incidence of taxation, 370—the question of an Imperial Zollverein, 371.

F.

Factory Legislation, Past and Future of, review of reports concerning, 174—Act of 1802 on behalf of apprentices in cotton mills, 174—legislation of the first Sir Robert Peel and Sir J. Hobhouse, 175—Royal Commission of 1833, 176—Mrs. Humphry Ward on the physical deterioration of cotton-operatives before the Acts, 177—Lord Ashley and the ten-hour law, 178—Sir R. Peel on the regulation of female employment, 179—Lord Shaftesbury's life-work, 180—extension of legislation to all factories and workshops, 181—Coal Mines Acts, 182—dangerous trades, 183—white lead poisoning, 184—china-glazing, 185—leadless glaze, 186—sizing of cotton cloth and its regulation, 188—refreshment-house kitchens, 190—telephone workers, 191—carrying heavy weights, 192—Society of Comparative Legislation and the 'Association Internationale pour la Protection légale des Travailleurs,' 194—laundries, 194—'sweating' and State intervention, 196—Colonial legislation, 197—factory inspectors, 198—diffusion of knowledge, 199—Industrial Law Indemnity Fund, 200.

Finsen, Prof., his 'Phototherapy' reviewed, 34.

Foreign Politics and Common-sense, review of some books concerning, 253—supposed anti-British feeling on the Continent, 253—Mr. Balfour on our foreign relations, 254—Mr. G. Peel on 'Enemies of England,' 255—former antagonism between France and England, 256—British foreign policy not dictated by desire for territorial aggrandisement, 257—importance of command of the sea, 258—British power in the Mediterranean, 259—Gibraltar, 260—Morocco, 261—France as a Mediterranean Power, 262—Pro-Boer sentiment on the Continent, 263—British isolation, 264—United States and Great Britain, 265—our relations with Continental Powers since Waterloo, 267—'Imperialism,' 267—modern theories of international relations, 270—England and Russia in the Far East, 272.

G.

Gautier, Théophile, his 'Spirite' and 'Nouvelles' reviewed, 395.

H.

Harmsworth, A. C., his 'Motors and Motor-driving' reviewed, 202.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, his 'Twice-told Tales' and 'Mosses from an Old Manse' reviewed, 395.

Henderson, T. F., his edition of Scott's 'Border Minstrelsy' reviewed, 303.
Hichens, R., his 'Flames' reviewed, 395.
Hobson, J. A., his 'Imperialism: a Study' reviewed, 253, 347.
Hughes, Charles, his 'Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary' reviewed, 373.
Human, Flight, problem of, 323—in fiction, 323, 324—Sir George Cayley's machine, 325—Archytas of Tarentum, 325—so-called flying men, 325, 326—Bishop Wilkins, 326, 327—Leonardo da Vinci, 327—Roger Bacon, 327, 328—Aerostation and Aviation, 328—the Jesuit Lana, 329—Tiberio Cavallo, the pioneer of ballooning, 329—Stephen and Joseph Montgolfier make the first practical balloon, 329—Horace Walpole on 'Airgonauts' and 'balloonation,' 330—J. M. Glaisher and Rev. J. M. Bacon on service rendered by balloon to meteorology, 331—balloon has not solved the problem of human flight, 332–334—Henry Giffard's navigable balloon, 334—the achievements of MM. Renard and Krebs's 'La France' not yet exceeded, 335—difficulties of problem of a navigable balloon, 335–337—M. Santos-Dumont, 337—Professor S. P. Langley, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345—Darwin's description of condor's flight, 339—Otto Lilienthal's experiments and death, 341–343—Mr. Chanute, 343—Sir Hiram Maxim, 343, 345—Langley's 'Experiments in Aerodynamics,' 343—'Langley's Law,' 344—Mr. H. G. Wells on the flying machine of the future, 346.
Hussey, W. J., his observations of double stars reviewed, 117.

I.

Innes, R. T. A., his catalogue of double stars reviewed, 117.

J.

James, Mr. Henry, review of the novels of, 59—freshness of colour, 60—'Watch and Ward,' 'A Passionate Pilgrim,' 'Roderick Hudson,' 61—'The American,' 63—'Daisy Miller,' 'The Europeans,' 64—'Washington Square,' 'The Portrait of a Lady,' 65—'The Bostonians,' 66—'Princess Cassamassima,' 'The Reverberator,' 68—the American parent and his daughters, 69—'The Tragic Muse,' 72—'The Other House,' 74—'The Spoils of Poynton,' 75—'What Maisie Knew,' 76—apparitions and telepathy, 77—portraiture, 78—transference of vitality by affection, 79—'The Wings of the Dove,' 80—short stories, 81—portraits of women, 84.

K.

Kidd, Benjamin, his 'Control of the Tropics' reviewed, 347.

L.

Langley, S. P., his 'Greatest Flying Creature' reviewed, 323.
Le Fanu, Sheridan, his 'Through a Glass Darkly' reviewed, 395.

Leyland, J., his book relating to the Blockade of Brest reviewed, 1.
Lieven, Princess, review of some of her letters, 230—her influence on English politics, 230—her early years, 232—leader of fashion in English society, 233—change in her opinions of England, 233—intimacy with Prince Metternich, 234—Congress at Verona, 235—friendship with Count Nesselrode, 235—supports Mr. Canning in his anti-Turkish policy, 237—dislikes Duke of Wellington, 238—breach with Metternich, 240—correspondence with Lord Grey, 241—procures appointment of Palmerston as Foreign Secretary, 242—Russian policy in regard to the Netherlands, 242—Sir Stratford Canning's appointment to St. Petersburg, 244—recall of the Lievens from London, 245—residence in Paris, 246—relations with Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot, 247—estimate of her character, 249.
Lipscomb, George, his 'History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham' reviewed, 419.
Lord, W. F., his 'England and France in the Mediterranean' reviewed, 253.
Lysons, Rev. D., and *S. Lysons*, their 'Magna Britannia' [Buckinghamshire] reviewed, 419.

M.

Mallet, Sir Louis, his 'Free Exchange' reviewed, 347.
Maupassant, Guy de, his 'Le Horla' reviewed, 395.
Maurice, Major-Gen., his 'National Defences' reviewed, 535.
Medicine, The Progress of, since 1803, 34—causes of ill-health, 34—chemistry and anatomy at the dawn of the nineteenth century, 35—operative surgery and midwifery, 36—mercury and blood-letting, 37—Horace Walpole and Lord Waldegrave, 37—fallacious diagnosis, 38—Jenner's cowpox inoculation against small-pox, 38—Edinburgh school of medicine, 39—St. Bartholomew's and clinical teaching, 40—Dr. Gregory, 40—Sir C. Bell on the nervous system, 41—Syme's scientific surgery, 42—Dr. Knox and 'resurrectionists,' 42—Wakley's reforms in medical education, 43—'The Lancet' and British Medical Association, 43—anæsthetics and cellular pathology, 44—abdominal surgery and ovariotomy, 46—Pasteur and Lister, their bacteriological discoveries applied to surgery, 48—Pasteur's treatment of hydrophobia, 51—diphtheria and anti-toxin, 52—typhoid and dysentery, 52—microscopical research, 53—malarial parasites, 54—Finsen's treatment of lupus, 56—X-rays, 56—progress of medicine in America and Canada, 57.
Moryson, Fynes, his 'Itinerary' reviewed, 373—eminently a literary traveller, 373—Thomas Nashe's 'Unfortunate Traveller' and Coryate's 'Crudities,' 374—other instances in George Sandys and James Howell, 375—Mr. Hughes's edition of his 'Itinerary,' 376—Moryson's Cambridge career, 378—obtains permission of his College to travel, 379—his linguistic studies, 380—incorporated M.A. at Oxford, 380—his first journey, 380—his picture of German university life, 381—visits Italy, 382—with his brother Henry

starts for the Near East, 383—curious preliminary investments by both, 383—dangers incurred in the Holy Land, 384—Henry Moryson's death, 385—gives valuable historical information on Turkish institutions, 385—employed in negotiations to settle succession to Queen Elizabeth, 386—enters public service in Ireland, 387—awarded a pension, and sets to work on his 'Itinerary,' 388—his various works detailed, 388–390—describes the polity of the Ottoman Turks, 391—the Poles and Italians, 392—the Germans, 392–3—his prose style, 394.

Mosso, his 'La Peur' reviewed, 395.

Motor Cars, Modern, review of books concerning, 202—Light Locomotives Act, 202—ancient notions of self-moving carriages, 203—Cugnot's three-wheeled steam-carriage, 203—automobiles in reign of George IV., 204—Trevethick's 'puffing devil,' 205—Gurney's steam carriage, 206—Ogle's engine, 206—Hancock's and Hills's steam coaches, 207—prohibitive tolls on self-propelled vehicles, 208—revival of the motor-car, 209—three types of motor, 210—social revolution, 215—solution of housing problem, 217—benefit to rural districts, 217—rapid transit for farm produce, 218—objections to automobilism, 219—restrictive legislation, 221—speed-limit, 221—registration, 223—licensing of drivers, 224—maintenance of roads, 225—dust nuisance, 227—financial question, 228.

N.

National Security, works on, reviewed, 535—naval supremacy essential, 535—duty of present-day statesmen, 536—the Army and Navy Estimates, 537—reaction after the war, 538—the real question of the hour, 539—swaying of popular sentiment prevents proper preparation, 539—effects of our insular position, 540—conscription inadvisable, 541—Sir C. Dilke and Spenser Wilkinson as army critics, 541—Mr. Brodrick's scheme, 542—changed naval conditions, 545—the possibility of an invasion, 546—the duty of ministers, 547.

Naval and Military Defence of the Empire, The, reviewed, 535.

Netherlands, Art history in the, 447—the 1902 exhibition at Bruges, 447—Flemish art compared with Italian, 448—in complex civilisation, creative power replaced by critical spirit, 449—a living art cannot be one of servile imitation, 449—Charlemagne gave first great impulse to art in the North, 450—art fostered by great monasteries, 450—the Cistercian Abbey of Notre Dame de Dunes, 451—developement of mediæval Guilds, 453—all crafts held in equal esteem, 454—the apprentice system, 455—the Renaissance, 455—its different developement in England, Italy, Germany, 456—in France and the Low Countries, 457—Bruges the Venice of the North, 458—splendour of its mediæval festivities, 459—religious spirit of all Flemish art, 460—Michael Angelo's opinion of it, 460—Taine on the Van Eycks, 461—Hubert Van Eyck, 462—the altar-piece in St. Bavon, Ghent, 463—Jean Van Eyck, 464—character of Netherlands school of por-

traiture, 465—portrait of Jean Arnolfini and his wife, 465—Pieter Christus, 466—the second half of the fifteenth century the golden age of art in the North, 466—Roger Van der Weyden, 466—Jacques Daret, 467—Hugo Van der Goes, 468—Hans Memlinc, 468—Gerard David, 470—Quentin Metsys, 471—the Flemish school of landscape, and its influence, 471—period of decadence, 473—Protestant Holland produces Rembrandt and Frans Hals, 474—Catholic Belgium, Rubens and Van Dyck, 474.

O.

O'Brien, FitzJames, his 'Stories' reviewed, 395.
Oliphant, Mrs., her 'A Beleaguered City' reviewed, 395.
Oliver, Dr. T., his 'Dangerous Trades' reviewed, 174.

P.

Paget, S., his memoirs of Sir J. Paget reviewed, 34.
Panslavism in the Near East, review of life of Sir W. White, ambassador at Constantinople, 86—Bulgaria obtains independence and annexes Eastern Roumelia, 87—annoyance of Russia, 88—England's policy on behalf of the Bulgarians, 89—Russia's attention turned to Servia, 91—Shipka Pass fêtes, 93—Orthodox Church and Bulgarian Schism, 94—Russian monks on Mount Athos, 97—Hellenism *versus* Panslavism, 99—Syria and its rival nationalities, 100—schools and missions in Syria, 103—Holy Places and rival sects, 105—Russian intrigues against the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, 108—Catholic missions in Palestine, 110—Franco-Russian relations in the East, 111—Kaiser and Sultan, 113—Zionist movement for return of Jews to Palestine, 114—obstacles to Panslavism, 115.
Peel, Hon. G., his 'Enemies of England' reviewed, 253.
Poe, Edgar Allan, his works reviewed, 395.
Problem of the Army, The, reviewed, 535.

R.

Radot, R. V., his life of Pasteur reviewed, 34.
Rider Haggard, H., his 'Rural England' reviewed, 475.
Robinson, L. G., his 'Letters of Princess Lieven' reviewed, 230.

S.

Sand, George, her 'Spiridion' reviewed, 395.
See, T. J. J., his researches on the stars reviewed, 117.
Shaw, Bernard, his 'Fabianism and the Empire' reviewed, 347.
Shorthouse, J. H., his 'Countess Eve' reviewed, 395.
Supernatural Element in Nineteenth-Century Fiction, 395—growth of this school, 395—compared with earlier belief in magic, 396—foreign to spirit of eighteenth century, 396—revival of interest in the subject, 396—Swedenborg's influence, 397—the School of Terror in England, France, and America,

397–9—the new supernaturalism developed in various directions by recent writers, 399—popularity of the pleasures of fear, 400—Edgar Allan Poe the greatest master in the School of Terror, 401—his vision of life epitomised, 403—character of his verse, 403—Baudelaire's appreciation of him, 404—Sheridan Le Fanu, 405—FitzJames O'Brien's 'The Diamond Lens,' 405—his other tales, 406—Guy de Maupassant's 'Le Horla,' 406—Théophile Gautier's 'La Morte Amoureuse,' 407—Nathaniel Hawthorne's method contrasted with Poe's, 408—R. L. Stevenson as a supernaturalist, 410—the short story better suited to this subject than the novel, 410—George Sand's 'Spiridion,' 411—Mrs. Oliphant's 'A Beleaguered City, 412—J. H. Shorthouse's 'Countess Eve,' 413—Gautier's 'Spirite' and Lucas Malet's 'Gateless Barrier' compared, 415—R. Hichens's 'Flames,' 417.

T.

Thompson, Sir H., his 'Motor-Car' reviewed, 202.
Trousseau, A., his lectures on clinical medicine reviewed, 34.

V.

Valentine, E. Seton, and *Tomlinson, F. L.*, their 'Travels in Space' reviewed, 323.

W.

Walker, F., his 'Aerial Navigation' reviewed, 323.
Walsh, D., his 'Röntgen Rays in Medical Work' reviewed, 34.
Weale, W. H. James, his 'Hans Memlinc' reviewed, 447.
Webb, Mrs. Sidney, her 'Case for the Factory Acts' reviewed, 174.
White, Sir William, his life and correspondence reviewed, 86.
Willis, Browne, his 'History and Antiquities of the Town, Hundred, and Deanery of Buckingham' reviewed, 419.
Woodberry, George, his 'Life of Edgar Allan Poe' reviewed, 395.

Z.

Zola, Émile, review of his trilogy of the three cities: Lourdes, Rome, Paris, 141—his naturalism criticised by Anatole France, 142—his championship of Dreyfus, 143—his pity for mankind, 144—Pierre Froment, 145—'Lourdes,' 146—Bernadette, 146—views on religion, 147—Lourdes miracles and kindred phenomena, 150—prayer, 153—organisation of hysteria and exploitation of disease, 154—Pierre Froment on the pilgrimage, 155—Dr. Gasquet on supernatural cures and spiritual blessings, 155—'Rome,' a study of the Papacy, 157—Monsignor Nani, assessor of the Holy Office, 159—Italian life and character, 160—Catholicism and paganism, 161—Roman ideals, 163—Temporal Power, 165—secular aims of the Papacy, 166—'Paris,' a criticism of civil society, 169—mysticism and science, 171—superficial views of life, 172.

END OF VOL. CXCVII.

Spottiswoode & Co. Ltd., Printers, New-street Square, London.

COSMOS PICTURES

Sir Galahad	Size, 9 x 15 .	Watts
The Wave	Size, 9 x 15 .	James
"O Mistress Mine" .	Size, 10 x 13 .	Abbey
Vittoria Colonna . .	Size, 10 x 13 .	Lefebvre

These four beautiful ar unusual pictures in lar size, reproduced in sc olive-brown tones, will sent for 25 cents, postpai

THE ART OF THE WORLD—ONE THOUSAND SUBJECTS

Large pictures measure 9 x 15 or 10 x 13 inches, according to shape of origi painting—admirable for home decoration. Four for 25 cents or twenty of your o selection for $1.00.

Small pictures, size 6 x 8⅝ inches, ten for 25 cents or fifty for $1.00—also suita for decorative purposes but specially adapted for portfolios and educational purposes account of their uniform size. Cosmos Pictures in "Series," in portfolios, each c taining ten related subjects (standard size). 25 cents.

Send two 2-cent stamps for Catalog 9, containing nearly 1000 miniature illustratio

Cosmos Pictures Company, 296 Broadway, New Yo

ovident Life and Trust Co.

OF PHILADELPHIA.

rance in Force, - $187,000,000.
ts, - - - 46,000,000.

idence of the skillful and faithful agement of this company is found ts exceedingly low expense rate and remarkably favorable rate of mor- y. The rate of mortality is less that of any other company in this try, and the dividends arising from source will be correspondingly er.

e Provident has been conducted in rdance with the idea that Life In- nce is a sacred trust, and the best agement that which secures per- ence, unquestioned safety, moder- ost of Insurance and fair and liberal ment of its members. That the pany has not been excelled in ac- plishing these results, is matter of d.

If You Are Pruden

Why not be insured, and save money at the same time? Our new policy on the endowment plan is the best insurance contract is- sued, and is meeting with great favor. Our booklet, "How and Why," sent free on request, you will find interesting and perhaps instructive.

Penn Mutual Life Insurance C

921-5 CHESTNUT ST.,

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

A $1.50 BOOK FREE

Year Book of the Art Societies of New York, 1898-1899

THE only complete and authenticated book on the Art Societies of Ne handsomely illustrated, cloth. **Only issue printed.**

A copy of this book will be given FREE to any library or institut 25 cents for packing and postage.

The Nineteenth Century and After

EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES.

Acknowledged the foremost Review of the world.

The original English edition at about half the London price.

The contributors are the leading writers, and the subjects the ablest and most timely discussions of the topics nd problems of the day. It is indispensable to all who would keep in touch with the best contemporary thought and iticism

"This always able monthly."—*The Central Methodist.*

"Rich in contributions to the discussion of economical uestions."—*The Dominion Presbyterian.*

"The Nineteenth Century contains not an uninterest- ng page from beginning to end. There is something for lmost every taste and inclination."—*Western Christian dvocate.*

"It is a leading review of contemporary life and thought; s contributors are the foremost men and women of the ay; its articles cover most important subjects in the most mely and comprehensive way. Its discussions of current ffairs and of incidents at home and abroad, its summary of ecent science, its political papers are notable contributions modern thought, of value to the specialist and the general eader alike."—*The Church Record.*

"The Nineteenth Century is a monthly review in which ble up-to-date articles are gathered. Its readings will give cosmopolitan view to one's thoughts and judgments and ill finely supplement our best American magazines."— *lichigan Christian Advocate.*

tion $4.50; with the Contemporary, The Fortnightly or The Westminster Review .00; all four, $16.00.

SCHOOLS.

ALIFORNIA, BERKELEY,

Miss Head's School for Girls. Special are for health of girls. Gymnasium nd outdoor games. Cheerful family e. Certificates admit to University California and Vassar College.

PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY.

ear Book of Contemporary History and Patriotism
for the State of Pennsylvania

BLISHED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.

143 pages. 58 illustrations.

a new idea"—Philadelphia Public Ledger.
an entirely new line of patriotic work"—iladelphia Press.
Other State Societies ought to adopt this ex-lent idea"—Town Topics.

PRICE, POSTPAID, $1.00.

PLY TO BARR FERREE, SECRETARY,
7 WARREN STREET, NEW YORK.

Mr. Neil Munro's New Story

The new story by Mr. Neil Munro, entitled "Children of Tempest; a Tale of the Outer Isles" is now appearing in monthly installments in BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE

The fiction of "Maya" has long been famous, and this new novel is a worthy successor to many worthy predecessors . .

BLACKWOOD'S is re-issued in America under exclusive arrangements with the Scotch publishers

$3.00 per year

The Dower-Chest of Ann Ponsford

By

U. L. SILBERRAD

A Story in Four Chapters — A Unusual Tale of Great Pow and Strong Dramatic Quali

PUBLISHED COMPLETE IN *Blackwood's Magazine* FOR FEBRUARY

This number also contains articles on "Natio Strategy"; "The Ballad of the Lond River"; "Prairie to Pacific"; "Lett to a Literary Aspirant"; "A River Cathay"; "Cosas de España"; "A Poli for Ireland"; "Food Supply in Time War"; "A French Minister of Marine Naval Armaments and Policy"; A paper the author of "On the Heels of De Wet and installments of "Musings Witho Method"; and Mr. Munro's story: "Childr of Tempest."

PRICE, 30 CENTS

Two New Play

Bon Secours:

A Little Miracle Play. B the HON. MRS. ANSTRUTHE

A charming sketch—brief but full of though a dainty bit of literature with a fascinati mediæval-modern flavor.

Fortnightly Review, February

The Search-Light:

A Play in One Act. E MRS. W. K. CLIFFOR

A modern play of a very unusual ord a brilliant dramatic sketch of the de interest.

Nineteenth Century,

RECENT NOTABLE ARTICLES

Most of these Articles are still in print, and the numbers containing them may be had for 49 cents each, postpaid

HE SUCCESS OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS
By JOHN FISTER FRASER — *Nineteenth Century*, March

RENCH REPUBLICAN LEADERS AND EUROPEAN PEACE
By KARL BLIND — *Westminster Review*, March

HE REIGN OF TERROR IN MACEDONIA
By DR. E. J. DILLON — *Contemporary Review*, March

ACEDONIA AND ITS REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES
By G. F. ABBOTT — *Nineteenth Century*, March

HE CRUSADE AGAINST PROFESSIONAL CRIMINALS
By SIR ROBERT ANDERSON, K.C.B. — *Nineteenth Century*, March

RITISH RAILWAYS WAKING UP
By W. R. LAWSON — *Contemporary Review*, March

IAN'S PLACE IN THE UNIVERSE
By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, D.C.L. — *Fortnightly Review*, March

ANADA AND ITS TRADE., WITH MAP
By COLONEL C. E. CHURCH — *Fortnightly Review*, March

NGLAND AND THE BLACK RACES
By STEPHEN SWYNN — *Fortnightly Review*, March

WORKINGMAN'S VIEW OF TRADE UNIONS
By JAMES G. HUTCHINSON — *Nineteenth Century*, February

HE GERMAN MERCANTILE MARINE
By J. L. BASHFORD — *Fortnightly Review*, February

OROCCO AND THE POWERS
By S. L. BENSUSAN — *Contemporary Review*, February

E MECHANISM OF THE AIR
By JOHN M. BACON — *Contemporary Review*, February

HE NEW EDUCATION IN CHINA
By TIMOTHY RICHARD — *Contemporary Review*, January

S SOCIETY WORSE THAN IT WAS?
By LADY GUENDOLEN RAMSDEN — *Nineteenth Century*, January

HE GERMANS IN THE UNITED STATES
By HORACE SEAL — *Westminster Review*, January

ENEZUELA AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE
By ACONCAGUA — *Westminster Review*, February

HE AGITATION AGAINST ENGLAND'S POWER
Nineteenth Century, March

COLONIAL AMBITIONS AND ANGLO-SAXON INTERESTS
. ELTZBACHER — *Fortnightly Review*, March

he Character of Queen Victoria.

rinted from the Quarterly Review.

Pp. 78 WITH PHOTOGRAPH. CLOTH.

This valuable study of Queen toria attributed to Edmund Gosse, published anonymously, is one of most intimate sketches of the great en that has appeared in print. It ains details of her life not before ted and is a most careful and larly estimate of her character.

PRICE POSTPAID, 50 CENTS.

HARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.,
7 & 9 Warren Street.

YOU ASK WHY

Taylor's
COCOA & CHOCOLATE
are THE BEST

Best beans only are used.
Extra care exercised in blending.
Cocoa shells and dirt are removed
Adulterations not permitted.
Use of most improved machinery.
Standard of merit - our watchword.
Endless watchfulness during manufactur

Cost no more than others.
Once tried - always used.
GROCERS EVERYWHERE.

If not handled by your grocer send his name on Postal to at 863 Broadway, N. Y., asking for free sample and bookle

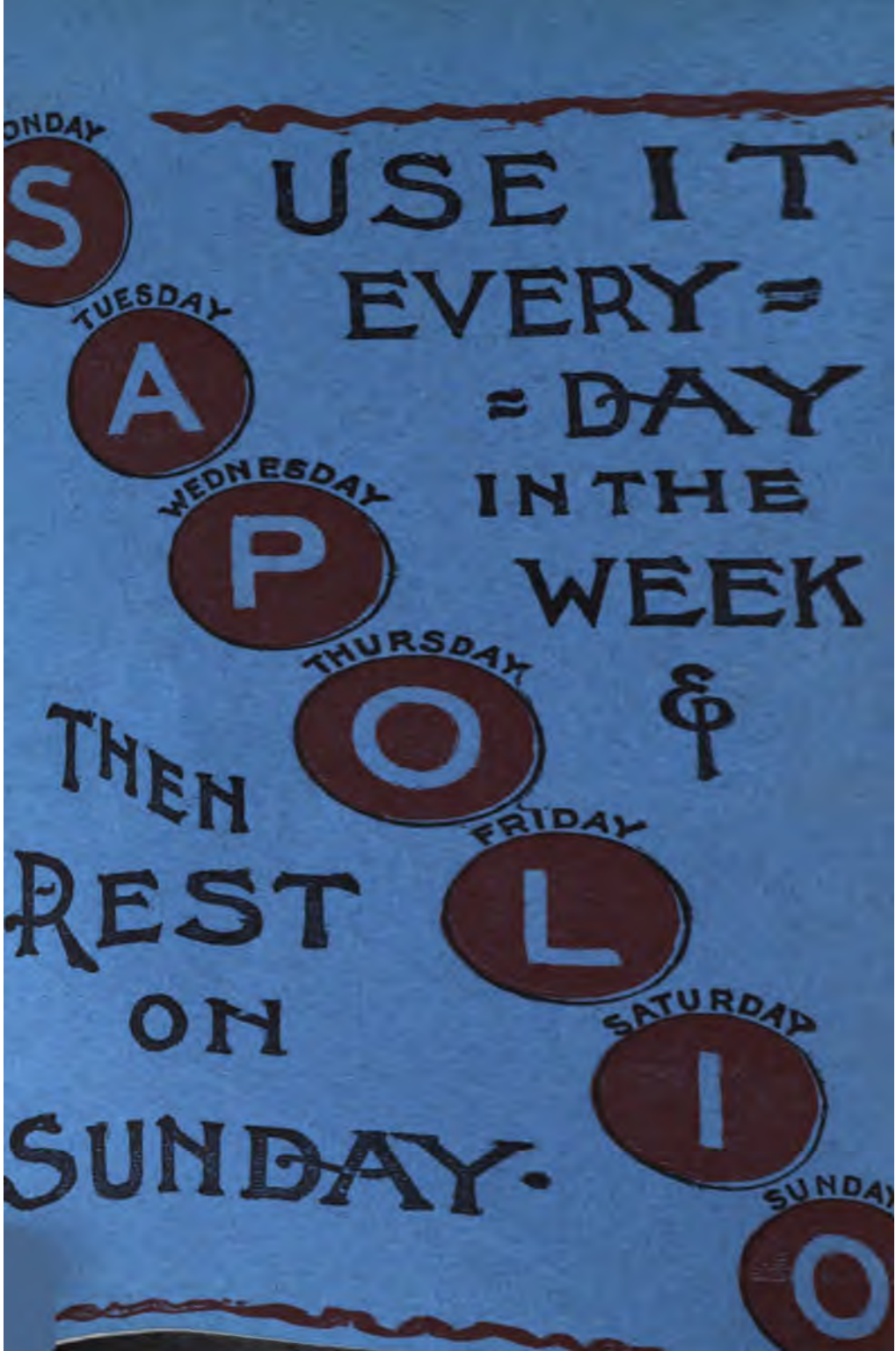
Mothers!

Mothers!

Are you disturbed at night and broken of your rest by a sick child suffering and crying with the excruciating pain of Cutting Teeth? If so, go at once and get a bottle of

MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP.

t will relieve a poor little sufferer immediately—depend upon it; there is no mistake about it. There is not a mother on earth who has ever used it who will not tell you at once that it will regulate the bowels, and give rest to the mother and health to the child, operating like magic. Pleasant to the taste, prescription of one of the oldest and best female physicians and nurses in the United States. Sold everywhere.


ONDAY
S
USE IT
EVERY
DAY
IN THE
WEEK
&
TUESDAY
A
WEDNESDAY
P
THURSDAY
O
THEN
REST
ON
SUNDAY.
FRIDAY
L
SATURDAY
I
SUNDAY
O